

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CRITICAL STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES

VOL. II.

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HOLY SCRIPTURES.

BY

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PREFACE.

This volume consists of three parts — the Criticism of the Old Testament, the Principles of Biblical Interpretation, and an Introduction to the several Books of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. It is compiled from the original second volume of Mr. Horne's work, omitting the criticism of the New Testament, and from the former half of the fourth volume.

I have been careful to remember that I was employed to edit an old work, not to compose a new one. It was my task to re-arrange and condense Mr. Horne's matter, and to make such additions as might correct any erroneous statement, and supply information which later researches of the learned have given to the world. I have endeavoured to bring the whole of the volume into consistency, but I have not made alterations in all cases in which, had I been composing afresh, I might have used somewhat different language. It would not have been just to Mr. Horne to suppress every opinion of his which was not exactly coincident with my own. Thus his view of the formula ἵνα πληρωθῇ is retained, pp. 191, 192., though it is scarcely so strong as mine in p. 198. But I am bound to say that I believe we do not vary in any material degree, and that the alterations, modifications, and corrections have been made with Mr. Horne's full knowledge and kind acquiescence; the sheets as they passed through the press having been examined by him.

A limit of size was very properly prescribed to me. I have somewhat overstepped it; but it is manifest that a *complete*

discussion of all the topics here treated would have demanded a much larger space—many volumes, in fact, instead of one. I have therefore been compelled to be concise. I have sometimes had to state conclusions with a mere summary of the reasons on which they were based; and, in the hermeneutical part of the work particularly, I have not been able to find room for all the illustrative examples I should have been glad to give. But where I could say little myself I have generally indicated the sources from which larger information may be obtained. I hope, therefore, that the volume will fulfil its purpose of being an *introduction* to sacred criticism and scripture interpretation, and that the student, if he does not learn from it all he desires, will at least be guided to the further prosecution of his inquiries.

On many of the subjects discussed good and learned men have differed. I have had no wish to conceal this, but rather, while stating what I believe to be the truth, have thought it desirable to let the reader have also before him the opinions of others. I hope I have always expressed my own judgment with modesty, and have been ready to allow due credit to those with whom I disagree. On the vital points of Christian doctrine a firm stand must ever be made; but surely differences may exist on less important matters without harsh accusations, on one side or the other, of prejudice or obstinacy.

I have made considerable use of recent German writers. From the principles of some of these I must plainly say I entirely dissent. Such men as De Wette, Gesenius, Ewald, are profound scholars; but I consider their views in many respects most erroneous. I have cited their works for the information they contain; but I think I should grievously fail in my duty, if I did not make the student aware that they are to be used with caution. The works of Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Kurtz, and Keil, are far more in accordance with my principles. I have followed them, but I trust with no

blind acquiescence, and I have freely stated that sometimes their arguments have failed to convince me.

I believe I have always mentioned the writers from whom I have really borrowed; but I have not thought it necessary to make a show of reading, by enumerating all the works which I have consulted in order to form my own opinion. There are authors whom I have not named, not because I was ignorant of what they said, but because I derived no fresh information from them, or felt that I could not agree with their conclusions.

I have, generally, verified the quotations of the original; a few cases excepted, when they seemed of inferior importance, or when I could not obtain the particular edition of a work that was used by Mr. Horne. It is due to the venerable author to say that I have herein found abundant proof of his patient and laborious habits of investigation. Small alterations, I must add, have now and then been silently made; but I have invariably placed in brackets all additions of my own of any kind of consequence.

I may be excused for further saying that I have bestowed much pains upon this work. I offer it, however, to the public with diffidence: may it be found under the Divine blessing not unuseful.

J. AYRE.

Hampstead, June 1860.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

ON THE CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

CRITICISM, in the more extensive sense of the term, is the art of forming a correct judgment concerning any object proposed to our consideration. In a more restricted sense, particularly with reference to the works of ancient authors, it was fashionable, for a considerable time, among the literati on the continent of Europe, to employ this word as indicating merely that kind of labour and judgment which was employed in settling the genuineness of the whole or part of the text of any author. But the term is now generally used in a much more enlarged sense, viz. to indicate any kind of labour or judgment, which is occupied either in the literary history of the text itself, or in settling or explaining it. To the former the appellation of *lower criticism* has been given; while the latter has been termed *higher criticism*, because its objects and results are of a much more important nature. [Other terms have also been employed, such as Biblical Criticism, Scripture Exegesis, Exegetical Theology, and the like. It matters little which of these is adopted, provided it be clearly understood what topics it is intended to embrace. There are four departments of criticism — (1) Emendatory, or the criticism of the text; (2) Explanatory, including the principles of interpretation with their application; (3) Discriminatory, the separation of the genuine from the spurious; (4) Æsthetic, the illustration of the merits of the composition.[1] To the two former the student's attention will be here particularly directed.]

The FIRST PART, which treats on Scripture-Criticism, will be found to comprise a concise account of the Languages in which the Sacred Volume is written; together with a Sketch of the Critical History of its Text, and of the several Divisions and Subdivisions of it, which have obtained at different times. The Sources of Sacred Criticism are next discussed, including a particular account of the

[1] See Black, Exegetical Study of the Original Scriptures. Edinb. 1856, pp. 5, 8.

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Manuscripts, and the History of the Ancient Versions of the Scriptures. The nature of Various Readings, and the means of determining genuine readings, are then considered, together with the Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, and the nature and different kinds of Scripture Harmonies.

In the SECOND PART the principles of Scripture Interpretation are discussed, together with the application of them to the exposition of the Sacred Volume, both exegetical and practical.

PART I.

ON SCRIPTURE-CRITICISM.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE LANGUAGES IN WHICH THE OLD TESTAMENT IS WRITTEN.

A KNOWLEDGE of the original languages of Scripture is of the utmost importance, and indeed absolutely necessary, to him who is desirous of ascertaining the genuine meaning of the Sacred Volume. Happily, the means of acquiring these languages are now so numerous and easy of access, that the student, who wishes to derive his knowledge of the Oracles of God from pure sources, can be at no loss for guides to direct him in this delightful pursuit.

SECTION I.

ON THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

Introductory Remarks on the Oriental or Shemitic Languages.—I. *Origin of the Hebrew Language.*—II. *Historical Sketch of this Language, and of the Study of Hebrew.*—III. *Of its Characters.*—IV. *Of the Vowel Points.*—V. *Hebrew Accents.*

THE languages of Western Asia, though differing in respect to dialect, are *radically* the same, and have been so, as far back as any historical records enable us to trace them. Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Arabia, and also Ethiopia are reckoned as the countries, where the languages commonly denominated *Oriental* have been spoken. Of late, many critics have rejected the appellation '*Oriental*,' as being too comprehensive, and have substituted that of '*Shemitic*,' a denominative derived from *Shem*. Against this appellation, however, objections of a similar nature may be urged; for no inconsiderable portion of those, who spoke the languages in question, were not descendants of Shem. It is matter of indifference which appellation is used, if it be first defined.

There are three principal branches of the trunk language of Western Asia, viz. the Aramæan, the Hebrew, and the Arabic.

1. The *Aramæan*, spoken in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia or Chaldæa, is subdivided into the Syriac and Chaldee dialects; or, as they are sometimes called, the West and East Aramæan.

2. The *Hebrew* or Canaanitish (Isai. xix. 18.) was spoken in Palestine, and probably with little variation in Phœnicia, and the

Phœnician colonies, as at Carthage and other places. The remains of the Phœnician and Punic dialects are too few, and too much disfigured, to enable us to judge with certainty how extensively these languages were the *same* as the dialect of Palestine.

3. The *Arabic,* to which the Ethiopic bears a special resemblance, has, in modern times, a great variety of dialects, as a spoken language, and is spread over a vast extent of country. But, so far as we are acquainted with its former state, it appears more anciently to have been principally limited to Arabia and Ethiopia.

The Arabic is very rich in forms and words: the Syriac is comparatively limited in both: the Hebrew holds a middle place between them, both as to copiousness of words and variety of forms.

Besides the preceding branches, there are many slighter variations of language. Thus, the Ephraimites could not distinguish between the letters ס (s) and שׁ (sh), as the other tribes did, in speaking: hence they pronounced *Si*bboleth instead of *Shi*bboleth (Judges xii. 6). [Traces also, it is thought, are discoverable of an Aramaic influence on the speech of the inhabitants of North Palestine; *e. g.* the prefix שׁ in Judges v. 7., vi. 17., vii. 12., viii. 26.; and the plural מִדִּין Judg. v. 10[1]]

The *Samaritan* dialect appears to be composed (as one might expect, see 2 Kings xvii.) of Aramæan and Hebrew; and the slighter varieties of Arabic are as numerous as the provinces where the language is spoken.

All the Oriental or Shemitic languages are distinguished from the Western or European tongues, in general, by a number of peculiar traits; viz.:—

(1.) Several kinds of guttural letters are found in them, which we cannot distinctly mark; and some of which our organs are incapable of pronouncing, after the age of maturity.

(2.) In general, the roots are tri-literal, and of two syllables. By far the greater part of the roots are verbs.

(3.) Pronouns, whether personal or adjective, are, in the oblique cases, united in the same word with the noun or verb, to which they have a relation.

(4.) The verbs have but two tenses, the past and future, and, in general, no optative or subjunctive moods distinctly marked.

(5.) The genders are only masculine and feminine; and these are extended to the verb as well as to the noun.

(6.) For the most part, the cases are marked by prepositions. Where two nouns come together, the latter of which is in the genitive, the first in most cases suffers a change, which indicates this state of relation; while the latter noun remains unchanged; that is, the *governing* noun suffers the change, and not the noun *governed.*

(7.) To mark the comparative and superlative degrees, no special forms of adjectives exist. But from this observation the Arabic must be excepted; which for the most part has an intensive form of adjectives, that marks both the comparative and superlative.

[1] Keil, Einleitung in die kanon. Schriften des Alten Testamentes, Frank. 1853, § 13. p. 37.

(8.) Scarcely any composite words exist in these languages, if we except proper names.

(9.) Verbs are not only distinguished into *active* and *passive* by their forms; but additional forms are made, by the inflections of the same verb with small variations, to signify the cause of action, or the frequency of it, or that it is reflexive, reciprocal, or intensive, &c.

(10.) All these dialects (the Ethiopic excepted) are written and read from the right hand to the left; the alphabets consisting of consonants only, and the vowels being generally written above or below the consonants.[1]

I. Origin of the Hebrew Language.

[The Old Testament is written in the Hebrew language, with the exception of a few words and passages which are in the Chaldæan dialect. These are Jer. x. 11.; Dan. ii. 4—vii. 28.; Ezra iv. 8—vi. 18., vii. 12—26. There also is a trace of Chaldee in Gen. xxxi. 47. It is difficult to say what is the origin of the name *Hebrew*. Of the various opinions which have been advanced on this point, it will be sufficient to notice three: 1. That the word is derived from עָבַר, *to pass over*, because Abraham crossed the river Euphrates to journey into Canaan; 2. That it is from עֵבֶר, *beyond*, because Abraham had been a dweller beyond the Euphrates, *transfluvialis* (περάτης, Gen. xiv. 13.); 3. That it is a patronymic from Eber, Gen. x. 21, 24, 25., xi. 14—17. Against the first two suppositions there is the objection that it is not easy to see how the word so derived should be applied exclusively to Abraham, since many other dwellers beyond the Euphrates doubtless crossed it also for fresh settlements; while, as the earth was divided in the days of Peleg, Eber's son, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Eber may have been prominently designated as the head of a race from whom the chosen people were to spring.[2] It has been thought that Gen. xiv. 13. favours this supposition; since, as Mamre is there called by a patronymic, "the Amorite," there is a propriety in similarly designating Abram. But a weightier argument may be fetched from Numb. xxiv. 24., where, as the Assyrians are called Asshur from their progenitor, the Israelites are denominated Eber from Eber their ancestor.

If at first the name *Hebrews, sons of Eber*, had a wider application (comp. Gen. xl. 15., xliii. 32.), it was afterwards confined to the descendants of Jacob, and given them more especially by foreigners, or assumed by them in their intercourse with foreigners (Jonah i. 9.). They were known among themselves (though not exclusively, see 1 Sam. xiii. 3.; Jer. xxxiv. 9.) as *Israelites*, or *sons of Israel*, a theocratic, and therefore more honourable, appellation, applied to the whole people till the revolt of the ten tribes after the death of Solomon, when these appropriated the name of *Israel* as distinguished from *the kingdom of Judah*. The prophets, however, frequently applied it to the whole nation, and it continued to be used,

[1] Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, pp. 1—5. (Andover, 1821); Robinson's edition of Calmet's Dictionary, abridged, pp. 605—607. [Comp. Max Müller, Survey of Languages (2d edit.) pp. 23—7.]

[2] Eusebius adopts this derivation. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Col. 1688. lib. vii. 6. p. 304.

till at length the name *Jews*, from the dominant tribe of Judah, obtained currency. Still some time before the Christian era the ancient name of *Hebrews* revived (Acts vi. 1.; 2 Cor. xi. 22.; Phil. iii. 5.).

It was hence natural that the language of the nation should be called *Hebrew*. The term does not, however, occur in the Old Testament, where the language of the people is rarely referred to. We find שְׂפַת כְּנַעַן, *the tongue of Canaan*, in Isaiah xix. 18.; also יְהוּדִית, *in the Jews' language*, in 2 Kings xviii. 26.; Isaiah xxxvi. 11, 13.; Neh. xiii. 24. *In Hebrew*, *ἑβραϊστί*, first occurs in the Prologue of the book called Ecclesiasticus; we also find *γλῶττα τῶν Ἑβραίων*, *the tongue of the Hebrews*, used by Josephus.[1] In the New Testament *ἑβραϊστί*, John v. 2., xix. 13, 17, 20.; *ἑβραῒς διάλεκτος*, Acts xxi. 40., xxii. 2., xxvi. 14. (comp. Luke xxiii. 38.; Acts i. 19.) intend the language, Aramæan, at that time spoken in Palestine. In the Targums and by the Rabbins, לִשָּׁן דְּקוּדְשָׁא, *the holy tongue*, is the appellation given to Hebrew. See Targ. Pseud.-Jon. and Jerus. on Gen. xi. 1.[2]]

The origin of the Hebrew language must be dated farther back than the period to which we can trace the appellation *Hebrew*. That it was originally the language of Palestine, so that Abraham found it there, is evident from the names of nations being appellative, and from other facts in respect to the formation of this dialect. Thus, the *West* is, in Hebrew, יָם, which means the sea, that is, towards the Mediterranean sea. As the Hebrew has no other proper word for *west*, so it is evident that the language, in its distinctive and peculiar forms, must have been formed in Palestine.[3]

It is also clear that it was used by the inhabitants of that country from the time of Abraham to that of Joshua, since they gave to places mentioned in the Old Testament, appellations which are pure Hebrew; such are, Kiriath-sepher, or the *city of books*, and Kiriath-sannah, or the *city of learning* (Josh. xv. 15, 49.). Another proof of the identity of the two languages arises from the circumstance of the Hebrews conversing with the Canaanites, without an interpreter; as the spies sent by Joshua, with Rahab (Josh. ii.); the ambassadors sent by the Gibeonites to Joshua (Josh. ix. 3—25.), &c. But a still stronger proof is to be found in the fragments of the Punic tongue which occur in the writings of ancient authors. That the Carthaginians (Pœni) derived their name, origin, and language from the Phœnicians, is a well-known and authenticated fact; and that the latter sprang from the Canaanites might easily be shown from the situation of their country, as well as from their manners, customs, and ordinances. Not to cite the testimonies of profane authors on this point, which have been accumulated by Bishop Walton, we have sufficient evidence to prove that they were considered as the same

[1] Fl. Joseph. Op. (ed. Havercamp.) Amst., &c., 1726, &c. Ant. Jud. lib. i. cap. i. 2. tom. i. p. 6.

[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 9. p. 26. Comp. Davidson, Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. i chap. ii.

[3] Stuart's Heb. Gram. p. 5.

people, in the fact of the terms Phœnicians and Canaanites being used promiscuously to denote the inhabitants of the same country. Compare Exod. vi. 15. with Gen. xlvi. 10. and Exod. xvi. 35. with Josh. v. 12., in which passages, for the Hebrew words translated *Canaanitish* and *land of Canaan,* the Septuagint reads Phœnician and the country of Phœnicia. [This must not, however, be pressed to the extent of asserting that the Hebrew, the Canaanitish, and the Punic were literally identical: it is enough to admit their substantial sameness.[1] They were probably dialectic varieties of the one parent language.

The question has been raised whether Abraham spoke Hebrew before his journey into Canaan, or whether, finding it already the language of the country, he consequently adopted it on his residence therein. Hävernick considers it "the only correct supposition, that, though the Canaanites used the language of Abraham, the latter brought with him his own speech, and abode faithful to it."[2] But the last assertion is inconsistent with the fact (Gen. xxxi. 47.) that Abraham's relatives who remained in Mesopotamia spoke Aramæan.

More difficult of solution is another question, whether Hebrew was the primitive language of mankind. Keil has enumerated a variety of scholars of older and more modern date, viz., the Rabbins, J. Buxtorf the son, B. Walton, A. Pfeiffer, Steph. Morinus, Val. Löscher, Carpzov, A. C. Bode, Hezel, Anton, Hävernick (with some modifications), Mich. Baumgarten, and Scholz, as maintaining the affirmative.[3] But other scholars have thrown reasonable doubt on this conclusion. Too much stress has perhaps been laid upon the names in the beginning of Genesis, and on the alleged fact that vestiges of Hebrew words are found in other languages. The better mode is probably to examine which dialect of the common trunk Shemitic tongue approaches nearest to that source; and, if Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramæan be the three great branches of this trunk language, it is likely that Aramæan, as least developed, may claim the highest antiquity.]

II. Historical Sketch of the Hebrew Language.

The period from the age of Moses to that of David has been considered the *golden* age of the Hebrew language, which declined in purity from that time to the reign of Hezekiah or Manasseh, having received several foreign words from the commercial and political intercourse of the Jews and Israelites with the Assyrians and Babylonians. This period has been termed the *silver* age of the Hebrew language. In the interval between the reign of Hezekiah and the Babylonish captivity, the purity of the language was neglected, and so many foreign words were introduced into it, that this

[1] Mr. Beeston (The Interpretation attempted of the Phœnician Verses in the Pœnulus of Plautus, Lond. 1850) shows the near similarity of the two tongues, and concludes that "the Israelites received their language from the descendants of Canaan, the son of Ham," p. 13.

[2] Introduction to the Old Testament, § 26. (Alexander's Translation) p. 133. Comp. Einleitung in das Alte Testament, verb. von Dr. C. F. Keil, I. i. § 26. pp. 26., &c.

[3] See Einleitung, § 13. pp. 34., &c. Keil produces many particulars which testify to the high antiquity of Hebrew; still they do not prove decisively that it is older than the cognate branches.

period has, not inaptly, been designated its *iron* age. [Other scholars, however, feeling the lines of distinction between the three periods to be very obscure, have thought it better to adhere to the old two-fold division into the golden and silver ages, the first reaching down to the Babylonish captivity, the latter comprising those books which were composed during and subsequent to that captivity.] During the seventy years' captivity, though it does not appear that the Hebrews *entirely* lost their native tongue, yet it underwent so considerable a change from their adoption of the vernacular languages of the countries where they had resided, that afterwards, on their return from exile, they spoke a dialect of Chaldee mixed with Hebrew words. On this account it was, that, when the Hebrew Scriptures were read, it was found necessary to interpret them to the people in the Chaldæan language; as, when Ezra the scribe brought the book of the law of Moses before the congregation, the Levites are said to have caused the people to understand the law, because "they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. viii. 8.[1]). [But, as it appears from Neh. xiii. 24. that the Hebrew language was yet, at least among the Jews of pure descent, in common use, it is reasonable to understand the word מְפֹרָשׁ, *distinctly, with explanation in their own,* rather than with interpretation into another, *i. e.* the Chaldæan tongue. This view is confirmed by the fact that the post-exilian prophets wrote in Hebrew.] Some time after the return from the great captivity, Hebrew ceased to be spoken altogether: though it continued to be cultivated and studied by the priests and Levites, as a learned language, that they might be enabled to expound the law and the prophets to the people, who, it appears from the New Testament, were well acquainted with their general contents and tenor: this last-mentioned period has been called the *leaden* age of the language.[2] "How long the Hebrew was retained, both in writing and conversation; or in writing, after it ceased to be the language of conversation, it is impossible to determine. The coins, stamped in the time of the Maccabees, are all the oriental monuments we have, of the period that elapsed between the latest canonical writers, and the advent of Christ; and the inscriptions on these are in Hebrew. At the time of the Maccabees, then, Hebrew was probably understood, at least, as the language of books: perhaps, in some measure, also, among the better-informed, as the language of conversation. But soon after this, the dominion of the Seleucidæ,

[1] It is worthy of remark that the above practice exists at the present time, among the Karaite Jews, at Sympheropol, in Crim Tartary; where the *Tartar* translation is read together with the Hebrew text. See Dr. Pinkerton's Letter, in the Appendix to the Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, p. 76. A similar practice obtains among the Syrian Christians at Travancore, in the East Indies, where the *Syriac* is the learned language and the language of the church; while the *Malayalim* or Malabar is the vernacular language of the country. The Christian priests read the Scriptures from manuscript copies in the *former*, and expound them in the *latter* to the people. Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. ii. p. 364.

[2] Walton, Proleg. iii. § 15—24. (edit. Dathii) pp. 84—97.; Schleusner's Lexicon, voce Ἑβραΐς; Jahn, Introd. to the Old Test. tr. by Turner and Whittingham, part i. ch. iv. § 69. Parkhurst (Gr. Lex., voce Ἑβραΐς) has endeavoured to show, but unsuccessfully, that no change from Hebrew to Chaldee ever took place.

in Syria, over the Jewish nation, uniting with the former influence of the Babylonish captivity, in promoting the Aramæan dialect, appears to have destroyed the remains of proper Hebrew, as a living language, and to have universally substituted, in its stead, the Hebræo-Aramæan, as it was spoken, in the time of our Saviour. . . . From the time when Hebrew ceased to be vernacular, down to the present day, a portion of this dialect has been preserved in the Old Testament. It has always been the subject of study among learned Jews. Before and at the time of Christ, there were flourishing Jewish academies at Jerusalem; especially under Hillel and Shammai. After Jerusalem was destroyed, schools were set up in various places, but particularly they flourished at Tiberias, until the death of R. Judah, surnamed *Hakkodesh* or *the Holy*, the author of the Mishna; about A. D. 230. Some of his pupils set up other schools in Babylonia, which became the rivals of these. The Babylonish academies flourished until near the tenth century. From the schools at Tiberias and in Babylonia we have received the Targums, the Talmud, the Masorah (of all which an account will be found in the course of the present volume), and the written vowels and accents of the Hebrew language."[1] The Hebrew of the Talmud and of the Rabbins has a close affinity with the later Hebrew; especially the first and earliest part of it, the Mishna.

III. ANTIQUITY OF THE HEBREW CHARACTERS.

The present Hebrew characters, or letters, are twenty-two in number, and of a square form; but the antiquity of these letters is a point that has been most severely contested by many learned men. From a passage in Eusebius's Chronicle[2], and another in Jerome[3], it was inferred by Joseph Scaliger, that Ezra, when he reformed the Jewish church, transcribed the ancient characters of the Hebrews into the square letters of the Chaldæans; and that this was done for the use of those Jews, who, being born during the captivity, knew no other alphabet than that of the people among whom they had been educated. Consequently, the old character, which we call the Samaritan, fell into total disuse. This opinion Scaliger supported by passages from both the Talmuds, as well as from rabbinical writers, in which it is expressly affirmed that such characters were adopted by Ezra. But the most decisive confirmation of this point is to be found in the ancient Hebrew coins, which were struck by the Maccabæan princes. The characters engraven on all of them are manifestly the same with the modern Samaritan, though with some trifling variations in their forms, occasioned by the depredations of time. These coins, whether shekels or half shekels, have all of them, on one side, the golden manna-pot (mentioned in Exod. xvi. 32, 33.); and on its mouth, or over the top of it, most of them have a Samaritan Aleph, some an Aleph and Shin, or other letters, with this inscription, *The Shekel of Israel*, in Samaritan characters. On the opposite side is to be seen Aaron's rod with almonds, and in the same letters this inscription, *Jerusalem the holy*. Other coins are extant with

[1] Stuart's Heb. Gram. pp. 11, 12. [2] Sub anno 4740. [3] Præf. in 1 Reg.

somewhat different inscriptions, but the same characters are engraven on them all.[1]

The opinion originally produced by Scaliger, and thus decisively corroborated by coins, has been adopted by Casaubon, Vossius, Grotius, Bishop Walton, Louis Cappel, Dr. Prideaux, and other eminent biblical critics and philologers, and is now generally received: it was, however, very strenuously though unsuccessfully opposed by the younger Buxtorf, who endeavoured to prove, by a variety of passages from rabbinical writers, that *both* the square and the Samaritan characters were anciently used; the present square character being that in which the tables of the law, and the copy deposited in the ark, were written; and the other characters being employed in the copies of the law which were made for private and common use, and in civil affairs in general; and that, after the captivity, Ezra enjoined the former to be used by the Jews on all occasions, leaving the latter to the Samaritans and apostates. Independently, however, of the strong evidence against Buxtorf's hypothesis, which is afforded by the ancient Hebrew coins, when we consider the implacable enmity that subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans, is it likely that the one copied from the other, or that the former preferred, to the beautiful letters used by their ancestors, the rude and inelegant characters of their most detested rivals? And, when the vast difference between the Chaldee (or square) and the Samaritan letters, with respect to convenience and beauty, is calmly considered, it must be acknowledged that they never could have been used at the same time. After all, it is of no great moment which of these, or whether either of them, were the original characters, since it does not appear that any change of the words has arisen from the manner of writing them; because the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs almost always agree, notwithstanding the lapse of so many ages. It is most probable that the form of these characters has varied at different periods: this appears from the direct testimony of Montfaucon[2], and is implied in Dr. Kennicott's making the characters, in which manuscripts are written, one test of their age.[3] It is, however, certain that the Chaldee or square character was the common one: as in Matt. v. 18. the yod is referred to as the smallest letter in the alphabet. "It is highly probable that it was the common character, when the Septuagint version was made; because the departures from the Hebrew text in that version, so far as they have respect to the letters, can mostly be accounted for, on the ground that the square character was then used, and that the final letters which vary from the medial or initial form were then wanting."[4]

[The results of modern inquiry may be briefly noticed. In the old Phœnician character (preserved in inscriptions on stones and coins), we find the western branch of Shemitic writing used in sub-

[1] Walton, Proleg. iii. §§ 29—37. pp. 103—125.; Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pp. 225—241.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 111—127.
[2] Hexapla Origenis, Præl. cap. ii. tom. i. pp. 22. *et seq.*
[3] Dissertation on the Hebrew Text, vol. i. pp. 308—314.
[4] Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, p. 16.

stantial identity by the Phœnicians, the Hebrews, and the Samaritans. This is very similar to that which we see upon the Maccabæan coins. To imagine that it was altered suddenly is to contradict universal experience; for characters, like languages themselves, are modified by degrees. Two principles may be supposed to operate; the one aiming at facility and swiftness in writing, the other, at beauty and regularity of form. We may see the progress of modification in the inscriptions on the stone of Carpentras, and on the ruins of Palmyra. So that, while the Samaritans preserved the characters in which they received the Pentateuch, a series of changes contributed to form the present Hebrew letters from those which were more ancient. It is matter of doubt whether these changes had a Babylonian or Syrian origin: the probability seems in favour of the latter. The time, also, when the later characters came into customary use is uncertain. Some, from the fact that the inscriptions on the coins of Bar-Cochab are similar to those on the Maccabæan coins, insist that the square Hebrew letters were not used till after Christ. But our Lord's expression, Matt. v. 18., is in opposition to this view. And many examples of ancient and modern date prove that an older character than that in common use is frequently adopted on money. If it could be certainly shown, as Stuart, above cited, believes, that variations in the Septuagint translation arose from the interchange of letters, nearly alike in the square character, such fact would have great influence on the question; but the evidence for and against this seems almost equally balanced. It may perhaps be concluded that the commencement of the change was not earlier than the second century before Christ, and that it gradually progressed till the end of the first century after Christ.[1]]

IV. Antiquity of the Hebrew Vowel-Points.

But, however interesting these inquiries may be in a philological point of view, it is of far greater importance to be satisfied concerning the much litigated question respecting the antiquity of the Hebrew points; because, unless the student has determined for himself, after a mature investigation, he cannot with confidence apply to the study of this sacred language. Three opinions have been offered by learned men on this subject. By some, the origin of the Hebrew vowel-points is maintained to be coeval with the Hebrew language itself: while others assert them to have been first introduced by Ezra after the Babylonish captivity, when he compiled the canon, transcribed the books into the present Chaldee characters, and restored the purity of the Hebrew text. A third hypothesis is that they were invented, about five hundred years after Christ, by the doctors of the school of Tiberias, for the purpose of marking and establishing the genuine pronunciation, for the convenience of those who were learning the Hebrew tongue. This opinion, first announced by Rabbi Elias Levita in the beginning of the sixteenth century, has been adopted by Cappel, Calvin, Luther, Casaubon, Scaliger, Masclef, Erpenius,

[1] For fuller discussion, see Davidson, Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. i. chap. iii.; Hävernick, Introduction to the Old Testament, §§ 47—50. pp. 246., &c.; or, Einleitung (by Keil), I. i. §§ 47—50. pp. 289., &c.; Keil, Einleitung, § 167., pp. 569., &c.

Houbigant, L'Advocat, Bishops Walton, Hare, and Lowth, Dr. Kennicott, Dr. Geddes, and other eminent critics, British and foreign, and is now generally received, although some few writers of respectability continue strenuously to advocate their antiquity. The *Arcanum Punctationis Revelatum* of Cappel was opposed by Buxtorf in a treatise *De Punctorum Vocalium Antiquitate*, by whom the controversy was almost exhausted. We shall briefly state the evidence on this topic.

That the vowel-points are of modern date, and of human invention, the anti-punctists argue from the following considerations: —

1. "The kindred Shemitic languages *anciently* had no written vowels. The most ancient Estrangelo and Kufic characters, that is, the ancient characters of the Syrians and Arabians, were destitute of vowels. The Palmyrene inscriptions, and nearly all the Phœnician ones, are destitute of them. Some of the Maltese inscriptions, however, and a few of the Phœnician have marks, which probably were intended as vowels. The Koran was confessedly destitute of them, at first. The punctuation of it occasioned great dispute among Mohammedans. In some of the older Syriac writings is found a single point, which, by being placed in different positions in regard to words, served as a diacritical sign. The present vowel-system of the Syrians was introduced so late as the time of Theophilus and Jacob of Edessa (Cent. viii.). The Arabic vowels were adopted, soon after the Koran was written; but their other diacritical marks did not come into use, until they were introduced by Ibn Mokla (about A.D. 900), together with the Nishi character, now in common use."[1]

2. The Samaritan letters, which (we have already seen) were the same with the Hebrew characters before the captivity, have no points; nor are there any vestiges whatever of vowel-points to be traced either on the Maccabæan shekels, or in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The words have always been read by the aid of the four letters Aleph, He, Vau, and Jod, which are called *matres lectionis*, or "mothers of reading."

3. The copies of the Scriptures which are used in the Jewish synagogues to the present time, and are accounted particularly sacred, are constantly written without points, or any distinctions of verses whatever; a practice that could never have been introduced, nor would it have been so religiously followed, if vowel-points had been coeval with the language, or of divine authority. To this fact we may add that, in many of the oldest and best manuscripts, collated and examined by Dr. Kennicott, either there are no points at all, or they are evidently a *late* addition; and that all the ancient various readings, marked by the Jews, regard only the letters: not one of them relates to the vowel-points, which could not have happened if these had been in use.

4. Rabbi Elias Levita ascribes the invention of vowel-points to the doctors of Tiberias, and has confirmed the fact by the authority of the most learned rabbins.

5. The ancient Cabbalists[2] draw all their mysteries from the letters;

[1] Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, p. 19.

[2] The Cabbalists were a set of rabbinical doctors among the Jews, who derived their name from their studying the *Cabbala*, a mysterious kind of science, comprising mystical interpretations of Scripture, and metaphysical speculations concerning the Deity and other beings, which are found in Jewish writings, and are said to have been handed down by a secret tradition from the earliest ages. By considering the numeral powers of the letters of the sacred text, and changing and transposing them in various ways, according to the rules of their art, the Cabbalists extracted senses from the sacred oracles, very different from those which the expressions seemed naturally to import, or which were even intended

but none from the vowel-points; which they could not have neglected if they had been acquainted with them. And hence it is concluded that the points were not in existence when the Cabbalistic interpretations were made.

6. Although the Talmud contains the determinations of the Jewish doctors concerning many passages of the law, it is evident that the points were not affixed to the text when the Talmud was composed; because there are several disputes concerning the sense of passages of the law, which could not have been controverted if the points had then been in existence. Besides, the vowel-points are never mentioned, though the fairest opportunity for noticing them offered itself, if they had really then been in use. The compilation of the Talmud was not finished until the *sixth century*.[1]

7. The ancient various readings, called Keri and Khethib (which were collected a short time before the completion of the Talmud), relate entirely to consonants and not to vowel-points; yet, if these had existed in manuscript at the time the Keri and Khethib were collected, it is obvious that some reference would directly or indirectly have been made to them. The silence, therefore, of the collectors of these various readings is a clear proof of the non-existence of vowel-points in their time.

8. The ancient versions — for instance, the Chaldee paraphrases of Jonathan and Onkelos, and the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, but especially the Septuagint version — *all* read the text, in many passages, in senses different from that which the points determine them to mean. Whence it is evident that, if the points had then been known, pointed manuscripts would have been followed as the most correct; but, as the authors of those versions did not use them, it is a plain proof that the points were not then in being.

9. The ancient Jewish writers themselves are totally silent concerning the vowel-points; which surely would not have been the case if they had been acquainted with them. Much stress indeed has been laid upon the books Zohar and Bahir; but these have been proved not to have been known for a thousand years after the birth of Christ. Even Buxtorf himself admits that the book Zohar could not have been written till after the tenth century; and the rabbis Gedaliah and Zachet confess that it was not mentioned before the year 1290, and that it presents internal evidence that it is of a much later date than is pretended. It is no uncommon practice of the Jews to publish books of recent date under the names of old writers in order to render their authority respectable, and even to alter and interpolate ancient writers in order to subserve their own views.

10. Equally silent are the ancient fathers of the Christian church, Origen and Jerome. In some fragments, still extant, of Origen's vast biblical work, intitled the Hexapla (of which some account is given in a subsequent page), we have a specimen of the manner in which Hebrew was pronounced in the third century; and which, it appears, was widely different from that which results from adopting the Masoretic reading. Jerome also, in various parts of his works, where he notices the different pronunciations of Hebrew words, treats *only of the letters*, and nowhere mentions the points; which he surely would have done, had they been found in the copies consulted by him.

by their inspired authors. Some learned men have imagined that the Cabbalists arose soon after the time of Ezra; but the truth is, that no Cabbalistic writings are extant but what are *posterior* to the destruction of the second temple. For an entertaining account of the Cabbala, and of the Cabbalistical philosophy, see Mr. Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 65—94., or Dr. Enfield's History of Philosophy, vol. ii. pp. 199—221.

[1] An account of the Talmud will be hereafter given.

11. The letters א, ה, ו, י, upon the plan of the Masoretes, are termed *quiescent*, because, according to them, they have no sound. At other times, these same letters indicate a variety of sounds, as the fancy of these critics has been pleased to distinguish them by points.

12. Lastly, as the *first* vestiges of the points that can be traced are to be found in the writings of Rabbi Ben Asher, president of the western school, and of Rabbi Ben Naphtali, chief of the eastern school, who flourished about the middle of the *eleventh* century, we are justified in assigning that as the epoch when the system of vowel-points was established.[1]

[The reasons that have been here alleged are sufficient to prove the absence originally of vowel-signs, but they do not touch the vowel-pronunciation of the language. In Hebrew and other cognate dialects the fundamental idea of a word was conveyed by its consonants, and its modifications indicated by the vowels; so that one to whom the tongue was vernacular would have little difficulty in supplying the proper vowels to a word. The vocalization was at first no doubt very simple, the ground-vowel being *a*. And for this and the other sounds of *i* and *u*, א, י, and ו were employed, ה, as nearly akin to א, being in less frequent use. Thus too the other vowel sounds of *e* and *o*, as well as diphthongs, were represented. And, though the writing was not developed equally with the speaking of the language, yet that there was a development is proved by the *scriptio plena* of later contrasted with the *scriptio defectiva* of earlier times. Thus דויד, and קודש, &c., appear for דוד, קדש, &c. This mode of expressing vowels is seen also in the Samaritan Pentateuch, on the Jewish coins of the Maccabæan age, and in the later Talmudic and Rabbinic productions.[2] When Hebrew ceased to be a living language, it was of course most difficult to retain the pronunciation without expressed vowels. Hence external signs, points and strokes, were introduced, not to form a new mode of reading, but as the best means of preserving that which was then in use. And it seems impossible to deny that, before the introduction of these, in the time, for instance, of Jerome and the Talmud, there was a definite vowel-pronunciation though with an absence of vowel-signs. The signs were introduced by degrees. Such a complex system as we now find must have been of slow growth. And we shall probably not greatly err, if we suppose that it was developed between the sixth and tenth centuries; the revisions of the text by Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali clearly pre-supposing that the vocalization had for some time existed. The Arabians and Syrians proceeded in the same way; but the former were contented with three vowel-signs, while the latter adopted five. These nations certainly had their

[1] Walton, Proleg. iii. §§ 38—56. pp. 125—170.; Carpzov, Crit. Sacr. Vet. Test. pars i. cap. v. sect. vii. pp. 242—275.; Bauer, Crit. Sacr. Tract. i. §§ 13—16. pp. 128—155. Bishop Marsh, Lectures, part ii. Lect. xii. pp. 136—140., has enumerated the principal treatises for and against the vowel-points.

[2] Dr. Wall, in his elaborate work lately published, Proofs of the Interpolation of the Vowel Letters in the Text of the Hebrew Bible, 1857, maintains that the *matres lectionis* were introduced by the Jews from enmity to Christianity, after the commencement of the second century. He thinks that the Samaritans imitated the Jews herein, and did the same with their Pentateuch, but that they did not make their system agree with that of the Jews; hence the difference between the two Pentateuchs in their vowel-letters. Introduction, pp. v., &c.

vocalization in the seventh century; and the Jews were probably influenced by contact with them. It is hard to say whether the influence flowed from the one or the other, nor, as the Arabian and Syrian systems had the same source, is it important to decide. That the vowel-signs we have were developed in Palestine by the grammarians of the school of Tiberias there can be no doubt; yet it would seem that there was elsewhere a different system employed. A MS. at Odessa, examined by Pinner, and marked B 3. exhibits vowels varying in shape from those to which we are accustomed, and uniformly placed above the consonants. This system perhaps owes its origin to the Jews in Babylon. On the whole, though a very high antiquity cannot be allowed to the written points, yet the value of the Masoretic system must not be set aside.[1] It represents a tradition, it is true, but a tradition of the oldest and most important character.[2]]

V. Hebrew Accents.

Besides the vowel-points, the antiquity of which has been considered in the preceding pages, we meet in pointed Hebrew Bibles with other marks or signs termed accents; the system of which is inseparably connected with the present state of the vowel-points, inasmuch as these points are often changed in consequence of the accents. The latter therefore must have originated contemporaneously with the written vowels, at least with the completion of the vowel-system. Respecting the design of the accents there has been great dispute among Hebrew grammarians. Professor Stuart, who has discussed this subject most copiously in his valuable Hebrew Grammar, is of opinion that they were originally designed, not to mark the tone-syllable of a word or the interpunction, but to regulate the *cantillation* of the Scriptures. It is well known that the Jews, from time immemorial in the public reading of the Scriptures, have *cantillated* them, that is, read in a kind of half singing or recitative way. In this manner most probably the Ethiopian eunuch was reading the prophecy of Isaiah when he was overheard and interrogated by Philip (Acts viii. 30.). "In this manner also Mussulmans read the Koran; and the people of the East, generally, deliver public discourses in this way. The mode of cantillating Hebrew in different countries is at present various, but guided in all by the accents; that is, the accents are used as musical notes, though various powers are assigned to them."[3] The mode of reading Hebrew with accents will be found treated at less or greater length in most of the Hebrew Grammars with points.

[1] Mr. Beeston, in his Interpretation attempted of the Phœnician Verses, &c. (p. 14.) finds proof that the vowel-points as now used represent the pronunciation of the ancient Hebrew.

[2] See Davidson, Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. i. chap. iv.; Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. §§ 51—55., pp. 301., &c.; Keil, Einleitung, §§ 168, 169. pp. 573., &c.

[3] Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, pp. 22, 23. 68. In pp. 64—66., and Appendix [E] pp. 344—356., Mr. Stuart has treated at large on the number, names, mode of writing, prose and poetic consecution, original design, and importance of the Hebrew accents.

SECTION II.

ON THE COGNATE OR KINDRED LANGUAGES.

I. *The Aramæan, with its two dialects;* 1. *The Chaldee;* 2. *The Syriac.*— II. *The Arabic, with its derivative, the Ethiopic.* —III. *Use and importance of the Cognate Languages to Sacred Criticism.*

THE *Cognate* or *Kindred* Languages are those which are allied to the Hebrew, as being sister-dialects of the Shemitic trunk language, all of which preserve nearly the same structure and analogy. The principal cognate languages are the Aramæan, and the Arabic, with their respective dialects or derivatives.

I. The ARAMÆAN LANGUAGE (which in the authorized English version of 2 Kings xviii. 26., and Dan. ii. 4., is rendered the *Syrian* or *Syriac*) derives its name from the very extensive region of Aram, in which it was anciently vernacular. As that region extended from the Mediterranean sea through Syria and Mesopotamia, beyond the river Tigris, the language there spoken necessarily diverged into various dialects; the two principal of which are the Chaldee and the Syriac.

1. The CHALDEE, sometimes called by way of distinction the *East-Aramæan* dialect, was formerly spoken in the province of Babylonia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the original inhabitants of which cultivated this language as a distinct dialect, and communicated it to the Jews during the Babylonian captivity. By means of the Jews it was transplanted into Palestine, where it gradually became the vernacular tongue; though it did not completely displace the old Hebrew until the time of the Maccabees. Although the Aramæan, as spoken by Jews, partook somewhat of the Hebrew character, no entire or very important corruption of it took place; and to this circumstance alone the Babylonians are indebted for the survival, or at least the partial preservation, of their language, which, even in the mother-country, has, since the spread of Mohammedism, been totally extinct.

The principal remains of the Chaldee dialect now extant will be found —

(1.) In the Canonical Books, Ezra iv. 8 to vi. 18. and vii. 12—26. Jer. x. 11., and Dan. ii. 4. to the end of chapter vii.; and

(2.) In the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases of the Books of the Old Testament, of which an account will be hereafter given.[1]

2. The SYRIAC or *West-Aramæan* was spoken both in Syria and Mesopotamia; and, after the captivity, it became vernacular in Galilee. Hence, though several of the sacred writers of the New Testament expressed themselves in Greek, their ideas were Syriac; and they consequently used many Syriac idioms, and a few Syriac words.[2] The

[1] Jahn, Elementa Aramaicæ Linguæ, p. 2.; Walton's Proleg. xii. §§ 2, 3. pp. 559—562. (edit. Dathii); Riggs' Manual of the Chaldee Language, pp. 9—12. (Boston, Mass. 1832.). To his excellent Chaldee Grammar Mr. R. has appended a Chrestomathy, containing the biblical Chaldee passages, and select portions of the Targums with very useful notes and a vocabulary, to facilitate the acquisition of this dialect to the biblical student.

[2] Masclef, Gramm. Hebr. vol. ii. p. 114.; Wotton's Misna, vol. i. præf. p. xviii.

chief difference between the Syriac and Chaldee consists in the vowel-points or mode of pronunciation; and, notwithstanding the forms of their respective letters are very dissimilar, yet the correspondence between the two dialects is so close that, if the Chaldee be written in Syriac characters without points, it becomes Syriac, with the exception of a single inflection in the formation of the verbs.[1] The earliest document still extant in the Syriac dialect is the Peshito or old Syriac version of the Old and New Testaments; of which an account will be hereafter given. The great assistance, which a knowledge of this dialect affords to the critical understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures, is illustrated at considerable length by the elder Michaelis, in a philological dissertation, originally published in 1756, and reprinted in the first volume of MM. Pott's and Ruperti's "Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum."[2]

[Some scholars have denied that there was any real distinction between the so-called East and West-Aramæan dialects. Thus De Wette would consider the Chaldee as merely a branch of the single Aramæan tongue debased by admixture with the Hebrew.[3] It may be conceded that there is no proof that two dialects, Chaldee and Syriac, existed in anything like strong contrast; still there would seem to be variations, lexical and grammatical, enough to show that a peculiar language, the East-Aramæan, was in use in Babylon.[4] The Syriac, which has also been termed a New-Aramæan, has been developed among the Syrian churches in Nisibis and Edessa, and is to this day the ecclesiastical language of those Syrian Christians who are comprehended under the divisions of Jacobites, Maronites, and Papal Syrians. The Nestorians, and Chaldeans, or Papal Nestorians, use Chaldee in its purer form in their liturgies and theological literature. A vulgar dialect of Chaldee is spoken by the Nestorians.

The Samaritan language, which, as before stated, is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramæan, exists only in the translation of the Pentateuch, and in some ecclesiastical poems published from the British Museum by Gesenius in 1824.[5] The Zabian is a corrupt New-Aramæan dialect.]

II. Though more remotely allied to the Hebrew than either of the preceding dialects, the ARABIC LANGUAGE possesses sufficient analogy to explain and illustrate the former, and is not, perhaps, inferior in importance to the Chaldee or the Syriac; particularly as it is a living language, in which almost every subject has been discussed, and has received the minutest investigation from native writers and lexicographers. The Arabic language has many roots in common with the Hebrew tongue: there are roots, too, yet existing in Arabic, of which only the derivatives are to be found in the Hebrew writings that are

[1] Walton, Proleg. xiii. §§ 2, 3, 4, 5. pp. 594—603.

[2] D. Christiani Benedicti Michaelis Dissertatio Philologica, quâ Lumina Syriaca pro illustrando Ebraismo Sacro exhibentur (Halæ, 1756), in Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge, tom. i. pp. 170—244. The editors have inserted in the notes some additional observations from Michaelis's own copy.

[3] Einleitung in die Bibel A. und N. Test., Erster Theil, § 32. pp. 49, 50.

[4] See Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. §§ 19., &c. pp. 104., &c.; Keil, Einleitung, § 11. pp. 29., &c.

[5] See De Wette, Einleitung, as above.

extant. The learned Jews, who flourished in Spain from the tenth to the twelfth century under the dominion of the Moors, were the first who applied Arabic to the illustration of the Hebrew language; and subsequent Christian writers, as Bochart, the elder Schultens, Olaus Celsius, and others, have diligently and successfully used the Arabian historians, geographers, and authors on natural history, in the explanation of the Bible.[1]

[The Arabic is the richest and most fully developed of all the Shemitic languages. Originally confined within the limits of Arabia, it has with the success of Mohammedanism extended itself largely through Asia and Africa. There were doubtless many dialects of it. Of these the Himyaric in Yemen was distinct from that of central Arabia. It was simpler and more nearly allied to Hebrew. From it sprung the Ethiopic tongue; in which a version of the Scripture, and some ecclesiastical writings, exist. This was vernacular in Abyssinia, till it was supplanted in the 13th century by Amharic, still the language of the country. The Koreishite dialect was that of Mecca, and prevailed through north-western Arabia, till it became emphatically the Arabic language.[2] All Arabic literature is found in it. It flourished till the 14th or 15th century, when it degenerated into the yet-spoken vulgar Arabic, which is more simple, and therefore nearer to the Hebrew and Aramæan, but corrupted with many foreign and especially Turkish words.[3]]

The Ethiopic Language, which is immediately derived from the Arabic, has been applied with great advantage to the illustration of the Scriptures by Bochart, De Dieu, Hottinger, and Ludolph (to whom we are indebted for an Ethiopic Grammar and Lexicon)[4]; and Pfeiffer has explained a few passages in the books of Ezra and Daniel, by the aid of the Persian language.[5]

III. The *Cognate* or *Kindred Languages* are of considerable use in sacred criticism. Besides the help they furnish for interpretation, to be hereafter noticed, they may lead us to discover the occasions of such false readings as transcribers unskilled in the Hebrew, but accustomed to some of the other dialects, have made by writing words in the form of that dialect instead of the Hebrew form. Further, the knowledge of these languages will frequently serve to prevent ill-grounded conjectures that a passage is corrupted, by showing that the common reading is susceptible of the very sense which such passage requires; and, when different readings are found in copies of the Bible, these languages may sometimes assist us in determining which of them ought to be preferred.[6]

[1] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 82, 83, 106, 107.; Walton, Proleg. xiv. §§ 2—7. 14. pp. 635—643, 649.; Bishop Marsh, Divinity Lectures, part iii. lect. xiv. p. 28.

[2] So it is especially called in the Koran: وَهَذَا لِسَانٌ عَرَبِيٌّ مُبِينٌ Sur. 16.

[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 12. pp. 22., &c.
[4] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. p. 107.; Walton, Proleg. xv. §§ 6—8. pp. 674—678.
[5] Dubia Vexata, cent. iv. no. 66. Op. tom. i. pp. 420—422. and Herm. Sacra, c. vi § 9. Ibid. tom. ii. p. 648.; Walton, Proleg. xvi. § 5. pp. 691, 692.
[6] Gerard, Institutes of Biblical Criticism, part i. chap. iii. § 3. p. 68.

CHAP. II.

CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

SECTION I.

HISTORY AND CONDITION OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *From the writing of the Books of the Old Testament, until the time of Jesus Christ;* 1. *History of the Pentateuch;* 2. *Ancient History of the remaining books of the Old Testament.*—II. *From the time of Jesus Christ to the age of the Masoretes;* 1. *History of the text in the first century;* 2. *From the second to the fifth century;* 3. *Particularly in the time of Jerome.*—III. *From the age of the Masoretes to the invention of the art of Printing;* 1. *Origin of the Masorah,—its object and critical value;* 2. *Oriental and Occidental Readings;* 3. *Recensions of Aaron Ben Asher and Jacob Ben Naphtali;* 4. *Standard copies of the Hebrew Scriptures in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.*—IV. *From the invention of the art of Printing to our own time.*

The Critical History of the Text of the Old Testament has been divided into various periods. Dr. Kennicott has specified *six;* Bauer divides it into *two* principal epochs, each of which is subdivided into two periods; Jahn has *five* periods; and Muntinghe, whose arrangement is here adopted, has disposed it into *four* periods; viz. 1. From the writing of the Hebrew books until the time of Jesus Christ; 2. From the time of Christ to the age of the Masoretes; 3. From the age of the Masoretes to the invention of the art of printing: and, 4. From the invention of printing to our own time.

I. History of the Hebrew text from the writing of the books of the Old Testament until the time of Jesus Christ.

1. We commence with the Pentateuch; concerning the earliest history of which we have more minute information than we have of the other books of the Old Testament. Previously to the building of Solomon's temple, the Pentateuch was deposited BY[1] *the side of the ark of the covenant* (Deut. xxxi. 24—26.), to be consulted by the Israelites; and, after the erection of that sacred edifice, it was deposited in the treasury, together with all the succeeding productions of the inspired writers. On the subsequent destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, the autographs of the sacred books are supposed to have perished; but some learned men have conjectured that they were preserved, because it does not appear that Nebuchadnezzar evinced any particular enmity against the Jewish religion; and, in the account of the sacred things carried to Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. Jer. lii.), no mention is made of the sacred

[1] So it should be rendered; not, IN *the side of the ark.* See Dr. Kennicott, Diss. ii. p. 298.

books. However this may be, it is a fact that copies of these autographs were carried to Babylon; for we find the prophet Daniel quoting the law (Dan. ix. 11, 13.), and also expressly mentioning the prophecies of Jeremiah (ix. 2.), which he could not have done, if he had never seen them. We are further informed that, on the finishing of the temple in the sixth year of Darius, the Jewish worship was fully re-established according *as it is written in the book of Moses* (Ezra vi. 18.); which would have been impracticable, if the Jews had not had copies of the law then among them. But what still more clearly proves that they must have had transcripts of their sacred writings during, as well as subsequent to, the Babylonish captivity, is the fact that, when the people requested Ezra to produce the law of Moses (Nehem. viii. 1.), they did not entreat him to get it dictated *anew* to them; but that he would bring forth *the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel.* Further, long before the time of Jesus Christ, another edition of the Pentateuch was in the hands of the Samaritans, which has been preserved to our time; and, though it differs in some instances from the text of the Hebrew Pentateuch, yet upon the whole it accurately agrees with the Jewish copies.[1] And, in the year 286 or 285 before the Christian era, the Pentateuch was translated into the Greek language[2]; and this version, whatever errors may now be detected in it, was so executed as to show that the text, from which it was made, agreed substantially with the text which we now have.

2. With regard to the entire Hebrew Bible.—About fifty years after the re-building of the temple, and the consequent re-establishment of the Jewish religion, it is generally admitted that the canon of the Old Testament was settled; but by whom this great work was accomplished is a question on which there is considerable difference of opinion. On the one hand it is contended that it could not have been done by Ezra himself; because, though he has related his zealous efforts in restoring the law and worship of Jehovah, yet on the settlement of the canon he is totally silent; and the silence of Nehemiah, who has recorded the pious labours of Ezra, as well as the silence of Josephus, who is diffuse in his encomiums on him, has further been urged as a presumptive argument that he could not have collected the Jewish writings. But to these hypothetical reasonings we may oppose the constant tradition of the Jewish church, uncontradicted both by their enemies and by Christians, that Ezra, with the assistance of the members of the great synagogue (among whom were the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi), did collect as many copies of the sacred writings as he could, and from them set forth a correct edition of the canon of the Old Testament, with the exception of his own writings, the book of Nehemiah, and the prophecy of Malachi; which were subsequently annexed to the canon by Simon the Just, who is said to have been the last of the great synagogue. In this Esdrine text, the errors of the former copyists were corrected; and Ezra (being himself an inspired writer)

[1] See a fuller account of the Samaritan Pentateuch, *infra*, sect. ii.
[2] See a critical account of the Septuagint version, in chap. iii. sect. ii. *infra*.

added in several places, throughout the books of this edition, what appeared necessary to illustrate, connect, or complete them.[1] Whether Ezra's own copy of the Jewish Scriptures perished in the pillage of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes is a question that cannot now be answered; nor is it material, since we know that Judas Maccabæus repaired the temple, and re-placed every thing requisite for the performance of divine worship (1 Macc. iv. 36—59.), which included a correct, if not Ezra's own, copy of the Scriptures.[2] It is not improbable that in this latter temple an ark was constructed, in which the sacred books of the Jews were preserved until the destruction of Jerusalem, and the subversion of the Jewish polity by the Romans under Titus, before whom the volume of the law was carried in triumph, among the other spoils which had been taken at Jerusalem.[3]

[It must be allowed that there is much difficulty in determining the time when the canon of the Old Testament was settled. Hävernick may be consulted for arguments to prove that Ezra, Nehemiah, and the men of the great synagogue, closed the canon at an early date.[4] Keil also advocates the same opinion.[5] But, on the other hand, Dr. Davidson in his Biblical Criticism adduces reasons for believing that the entire collection, though the work had been begun by Ezra and Nehemiah, was not declared complete till about 200 B. C.[6]]

II. History of the Hebrew text from the time of Jesus Christ to the age of the Masoretes.

1. As the Jews were dispersed through various countries, to whose inhabitants Greek was vernacular, they gradually acquired the knowledge of this language, and even cultivated Greek literature: it cannot therefore excite surprise, that the Septuagint version should be so generally used, as to cause the Hebrew original to be almost entirely neglected. Hence the former was read in the synagogues: it appears to have been exclusively followed by the Alexandrian Jew, Philo, and it was most frequently, though not solely, consulted by Josephus, who was acquainted with Hebrew.[7]

2. In the second century, both Jews and Christians applied themselves sedulously to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. Besides the Peshito or Old Syriac version (if indeed this was not executed at the close of the first century), which was made from the Hebrew for the Syrian Christians, three Greek versions were undertaken and completed; one for the Jews by Aquila, a Jewish proselyte, and two

[1] Prideaux, Connection, part i. book v. sub anno 446. vol. i. pp. 329—344.; and the authorities there cited; Carpzov, Introd. ad Libros Biblicos Vet. Test. cap. ii. § 2. cap. xviii. § 2. pp. 24, 308, 309.

[2] Bp. Tomline, Elements of Theology, part i. chap. i. vol. i. p. 11.

[3] Fl. Joseph. Op. (ed. Havercamp.) Amst., &c., 1726, &c., De Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. v. 5. tom. ii. p. 415.

[4] Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. §§ 7, 8, 9. pp. 24., &c.

[5] Keil, Einleitung, § 158. See also Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, art. Canon.

[6] Davidson, Biblical Criticism, vol. i. chap. vi. pp. 103., &c.

[7] Muntinghe, Expositio Critices Sacræ, pp. 51, 52.; Jahn et Ackermann, Introd. ad Libros Vet. Fœd. § 90.

for the Ebionites or semi-Christians by Theodotion and Symmachus.[1] The Hebrew text, as it subsequently existed in the East to the end of the fifth century, is presented to us by Origen in his Hexapla, by Onkelos in his Targum or Paraphrase on the Pentateuch, by Jonathan in his Targum on the Prophets, and by the rabbins in the Gemaras or Commentaries on the Mishna or Traditionary Expositions of the Hebrew Scriptures. The varieties are scarcely more numerous or more important than in the versions of the second century. But the discrepancies, which were observed in the Hebrew manuscripts in the second or at least in the third century, excited the attention of the Jews, who began to collate copies, and to collect various readings; which, being distributed into several classes, appear in the Jerusalem Talmud about the beginning of the fourth century. They are as follows:—

[עִטּוּר סוֹפְרִים, *rejection of the scribes:* marking five places in which ו is to be rejected, viz. Gen. xviii. 5., xxiv. 55.; Numb. xii. 14.; Ps. xxxvi. 7., lxviii. 26.

Extraordinary points over several words, six noted in the Talmud, fifteen in the Masorah, viz. Gen. xvi. 5., xviii. 9., xix. 33., xxxiii. 4., xxxvii. 12.; Numb. iii. 39., ix. 10., xxi. 30., xxix. 15.; Deut. xxix. 28.; 2 Sam. xix. 20.; Isai. xliv. 9.; Ezek. xli. 20., xlvi. 22; Psal. xxvii. 13.

קְרִי וְלֹא כְתִיב, words not written in the text, but which ought to be read. The Talmud notes the following: Ruth iii. 5, 17.; 2 Sam. viii. 3., xvi. 23.; Jer. xxxi. 38., l. 29.; Is. lv. 9.; Psal. xcvi. 2. Other books mention more.

כְּתִיב וְלֹא קְרִי, words in the text which are not to be read, as in Ruth iii. 12.; 2 Sam. xiii. 32., xv. 21.; Jer. xxxix. 12.; 2 Kings v. 18.; Jer. xxxviii. 16., li. 3.; Ezek. xlviii. 16.

There are besides occasionally noted various readings (called by the Masoretes קְרִי וּכְתִיב), *e. g.* Job xiii. 15; Hag. i. 8.

The Talmud also refers to letters larger, smaller, or in other ways differing from the ordinary ones in the text. These have been supposed, though possibly without sufficient ground, to have had originally a critical meaning. Afterwards, some mystical sense was imagined to be concealed in them.[2]

Keil would regard the notes of the Talmud as intended for the interpretation rather than the criticism of the text, and explains the distinctions between מקרא and מסרת, *the typical reading* and *the tradition*, &c., and the directions, אל תקרא כן אלא כן, &c., on this principle[3]; but, while some of his conclusions may be just, it can hardly be denied that the Talmudists, though their critical labours were not extensive, yet observed various readings, and intended to suggest those which they deemed preferable.]

3. The state of the Hebrew text, in the west of Europe, during the fifth century, is exhibited to us in the Latin version made by Jerome from the original Hebrew, and in his commentaries on the

[1] An account of these versions and of the biblical labours of Origen is given in chap. iii. sect. ii. § 2. *infra.*

[2] De Wette, Einleitung, § 89. For a full account of the Talmudic observations, see Cappel. Crit. Sac. ed. Vogel. Halæ Magd. 1775–6, tom. i. pp. 443., &c., 173., &c. Comp. Bauer, Crit. Sac. Tract. ii. § 28. pp. 204—211. The Keri and Khethib are copiously discussed by Bp. Walton, Proleg. viii. §§ 18—26.

[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 206. pp. 665—669.

Scriptures. From a careful examination of these two sources, several important facts have been collected, particularly that

(1.) The Old Testament contained the same books which are at present found in our copies.

(2.) The form of the Hebrew letters was the same which we now have, as is evident from Jerome's frequently taking notice of the similar letters; beth and caph, resh and daleth, mem and samech, &c.

(3.) The modern vowel-points, accents, and other diacritic signs were utterly unknown to Jerome. Some words were of doubtful meaning to him, because they were destitute of vowels.

(4.) The divisions of chapters and verses did not exist in any Hebrew MSS.; but it should seem that both the Hebrew original and the Septuagint Greek version were divided into larger sections, which differ from those in our copies; because Jerome, in his commentary on Amos vi. 9., says that what is the beginning of another chapter in the Hebrew is in the Septuagint the end of the preceding.[1]

(5.) The Hebrew MS. used by Jerome for the most part agrees with the Masoretic text; though there are a few unimportant various readings.[2]

III. History of the Hebrew Text from the Age of the Masoretes to the Invention of the Art of Printing.

1. After the destruction of Jerusalem and the consequent dispersion of the Jews into various countries of the Roman empire, some of those who were settled in the East applied themselves to the cultivation of literature, and opened various schools, in which they taught the Scriptures. One of the most distinguished of these academies was that established at Tiberias in Palestine, which Jerome mentions as existing in the fifth century.[3] The doctors of this school, from the sixth century, were accustomed to collect all the scattered critical and grammatical observations they could obtain, which appeared likely to contribute towards fixing both the reading and interpretation of Scripture. This collection they called מסורה, that is, *tradition*, because it consisted of remarks which they had received from others. Some rabbinical authors pretend that, when God gave the law to Moses on Mount Sinai, he taught him, first, its *true reading*, and, secondly, its *true interpretation;* and that both these were handed down by oral tradition, from generation to generation, until at length they were committed to writing.

The Masoretic notes and criticisms comprise corrections of the text, and observations on it, and relate to the books, verses, words, letters, vowel-points, and accents. The *Masoretes*, as the inventors of this system were called, were the first who distinguished the books and sections of books into verses. They adopted and enlarged the critical remarks contained in the Talmud, and introduced conjectures, סְבִירִין, of their own, explanatory, grammatical, and orthographical.[4] We find also in the Masorah תִּקּוּן סוֹפְרִים, *correction of the scribes*, referring to sixteen places in which eighteen corrections were made. These are

[1] In Hebraicis alterius hoc capituli exordium est; apud LXX. vero finis superioris. This is Bauer's citation. Compare Comm. lib. iii. in Amos vi. 1.

[2] Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 212—215.

[3] Præfat. ad Comment. in libros Paralipomenωn.

[4] De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 90, 91.; Keil, Einleitung, §§ 209, 210.; Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. § 62.

Gen. xviii. 22.; Numb. xi. 15., xii. 12. (two corrections); 1 Sam. iii. 13.; 2 Sam. xvi. 12.; 1 Kings xii. 16.; Job vii. 20., xxxii. 3.; Psal. cvi. 20.; Jer. ii. 11.; Lam. iii. 20. (two corrections); Ezek. viii. 17.; Hos. iv. 7.; Hab. i. 12.; Zach. ii. 12.; Mal. i. 13. The Masoretes, moreover, marked the number of all the verses of each book and section, and placed the amount at the end of each in numeral letters, or in some symbolical word formed out of them; and they also marked the middle verse of each book. Further, they noted the verses where something was supposed to be forgotten; the words which they believed to be changed; the letters which they deemed to be superfluous; the repetitions of the same verses; the different reading of the words which are redundant or defective; the number of times that the same word is found at the beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word; the agreement or conjunction of one word with another; what letters are pronounced, and what are inverted, together with such as hang perpendicular, and they took the number of each; for the Jews cherish the sacred books with such reverence, that they make a scruple of changing the situation of a letter which is evidently misplaced, supposing that some mystery has occasioned the alteration. They have likewise reckoned which is the middle letter of the Pentateuch, which is the middle clause of each book, and how many times each letter of the alphabet occurs in all the Hebrew Scriptures. The following table from Bishop Walton will give an idea of their laborious minuteness in these researches: —

			Times.				Times.
א	Aleph	occurs in the Hebrew Bible	42,377	ל	Lamed	occurs in the Hebrew Bible	41,517
ב	Beth		38,218	מ	Mem		77,778
ג	Gimel	-	29,537	נ	Nun	-	41,696
ד	Daleth	-	32,530	ס	Samech	-	13,580
ה	He	-	47,554	ע	Ain	-	20,175
ו	Vau	-	76,922	פ	Pe	-	22,725
ז	Zain	-	22,867	צ	Tsaddi	-	21,882
ח	Cheth	-	23,437	ק	Koph	-	22,972
ט	Teth	-	11,052	ר	Resh	-	22,147
י	Yod	-	66,420	ש	Shin	-	32,148
כ	Caph	-	48,253	ת	Tau	-	59,343 [1]

[1] Bishop Walton, Proleg. viii. § 8. p. 275. edit. Dathii. In the last century, an anonymous writer published the following calculation similar to that of the Masoretes, for the English Version of the Bible, under the title of the *Old and New Testament Dissected.* It is said to have occupied three years of the compiler's life, and is a singular instance of the trifling employments to which superstition has led mankind.

THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT DISSECTED.

Books in the Old	39	In the New	27	Total	66
Chapters	929		260		1,189
Verses	23,214		7,959		31,173
Words	592,439		181,253		773,692
Letters	2,728,800		838,380		3,567,180

APOCRYPHA.

Chapters	183
Verses	6,081
Words	252,185

[The total number of letters is thus 815,130. But, as Bishop Walton observes, this calculation is evidently not to be depended on. Some suppose that it excludes the Pentateuch. Those, who, by counting the letters in a page, and multiplying by the number of pages in the Bible, have endeavoured to form an approximate notion of the number of letters, reckon them at 1,200,000.]

Such is the celebrated Masorah of the Jews. At first it did not accompany the text; afterwards the greatest part of it was written in the margin, *Masora textualis*. In order to bring it within the margin, it became necessary to abridge the work itself. This abridgment was called the *little* Masorah, *Masora parva;* but, being found too short, a more copious abridgment was inserted, which was distinguished by the appellation of the *great* Masorah, *Masora magna.* The omitted parts were added at the end of the text, and called the *final* Masorah, *Masora finalis.*[1] The great Masorah was first printed in Bomberg's Rabbinical Bibles: the little Masorah is found in most Hebrew Bibles. Some ascribe the Masoretic notes to Moses; others to Ezra and the members of the great synagogue, and their successors after the restoration of the temple worship, on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. It is needless to refute such assumptions. Archbishop Ussher places the Masoretes before the time of Jerome; Cappel, at the end of the fifth century; Bishop Marsh is of opinion that they cannot be dated higher than the fourth or fifth century; Bishop Walton, Basnage, Jahn, and others, refer them to the rabbins of Tiberias in the sixth century, and suppose that they commenced the Masorah, which was augmented and continued at different times, by various authors; so that it was not the work of one man, or of one age. In proof of this opinion, which we think the most probable, we may remark, that the notes which relate to the variations in the pointing of particular words must have been made *after* the introduction of the points, and consequently after the Talmud; other notes must have been made before the Talmud was finished, because it is from these notes that it speaks of the points *over* the letters, and of the

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The middle chapter, and the least in the Bible, is Psalm 117.
The middle verse is the eighth of the 118th Psalm.
The middle line, 2d of Chronicles, 4th chapter, 16th verse.
The word *and* occurs in the Old Testament, 35,543 times.
The same word occurs in the New Testament, 10,684 times.
The word *Jehovah* occurs 6855 times.

OLD TESTAMENT.

The middle book is Proverbs.
The middle chapter is Job 29th.
There is no middle verse: it would be 2d Chronicles, 20th chapter, between the 17th and 18th verses.
The least verse is 1st Chronicles, 1st chapter, and 25th verse.

NEW TESTAMENT.

The middle book is Thessalonians 2d.
There is no middle chapter: it would be between the 13th and 14th Romans.
The middle verse is chapter 17th of Acts, 17th verse.
The least verse is 11th chapter of John, verse 35.

The 21st verse of the 7th chapter of Ezra has all the letters in the alphabet except j.
The 19th chapter of the 2d of Kings and the 37th of Isaiah are alike.

[1] Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, vol. i. p. 61.

variations in their size and position. Hence it is evident that the *whole* was not produced at once, but was continued by successive scholars till perhaps the eleventh century.[1]

Concerning the *value* of the Masoretic system of notation, the learned are greatly divided in opinion. Some have highly commended the undertaking, and have considered the work of the Masoretes as a monument of stupendous labour and unwearied assiduity, and as an admirable invention for delivering the sacred text from a multitude of equivocations and perplexities to which it was liable, and for putting a stop to the unbounded licentiousness and rashness of transcribers and critics, who often made alterations in the text on their own private authority. Others, however, have altogether censured the design, suspecting that the Masoretes corrupted the purity of the text by substituting, for the ancient and true reading of their forefathers, another reading more favourable to their prejudices, and more opposite to Christianity, whose testimonies and proofs they were desirous of weakening as much as possible.

Without adopting either of these extremes, Bishop Marsh observes that "the text itself, as regulated by the learned Jews of Tiberias, was probably the result of a collation of manuscripts. But, as those Hebrew critics were cautious of introducing *too many* corrections in the text, they noted in the margins of their manuscripts, or in their critical collections, such various readings, derived from other manuscripts, either by themselves or by their predecessors, as appeared to be worthy of attention. This is the *real* origin of those marginal or Masoretic readings which we find in many editions of the Hebrew Bible. But the propensity of the later Jews to seek mystical meanings in the plainest facts induced gradually the belief that both textual and marginal readings proceeded from the sacred writers themselves; and that the latter were transmitted to posterity by *oral* tradition, as conveying some mysterious application of the *written* words. They were regarded therefore as materials, not of *criticism*, but of *interpretation*."[2] The same eminent critic elsewhere remarks that, notwithstanding all the care of the Masoretes to preserve the sacred text without variations, "if their success has not been complete, either in *establishing* or in *preserving* the Hebrew text, they have been guilty only of the fault which is common to every human effort."[3]

2. In the period between the sixth and the tenth centuries, the Jews had several celebrated academies, some in Babylonia in the east, and others in the west, at Tiberias and elsewhere; where their literature was cultivated, and the Scriptures were very frequently transcribed. Hence arose two *recensions* or editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were collated in the eighth or ninth century. The differences or various readings observed in them were noted, and have been transmitted to our time under the appellation of the ORIENTAL and OCCIDENTAL or EASTERN and WESTERN READINGS. They are variously computed at 210, 216, and 220, and are printed by Bishop Walton in the Appendix to his splendid edition

[1] Waehner's Antiqnitates Hebræorum, sect. i. cap. xxxvi. vol. i. pp. 93—137.; Walton, Proleg. viii. §§ 1—16.
[2] Lectures in Divinity, part ii. lect. x. p. 84.
[3] Ibid. part iii. lect. xiv. p. 98.

of the Polyglott Bible. It is worthy of remark, that not one of these various readings is found in the Pentateuch: they do not relate to vowel-points or accents (with the exception of two about ה), nor do any of them affect the sense. Our printed editions vary from the eastern readings in fifty-five places.[1]

To the tenth century may be referred the completion and establishment of the modern system of vowel-points. At length, in the early part of the eleventh century, Aaron Ben Asher, president of the academy at Tiberias, and Jacob Ben Naphtali, president of the academy at Babylon, collated the manuscripts of the oriental and occidental Jews. The discrepancies observed by these eminent Jewish scholars amount to upwards of 864; with one single exception, they relate to the vowel-points, and consequently are of little value; they also are printed by Bishop Walton. The western Jews, and our printed editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, almost wholly follow the recension of Aaron Ben Asher.[2] From this period we may consider the established text to be substantially the Masoretic one: few alterations were afterwards made; and existing MSS. are for the most part conformable thereto.

3. The learned Jews, who removed to Europe in the middle of the eleventh century, brought with them pointed manuscripts; and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries copies were transcribed with greater care than was exercised in succeeding ages. In making these transcripts the copyists adopted certain exemplars, which were highly esteemed for their correctness, as the standard texts. These standard copies bear the names of the Codex of Hillel, of Ben Asher, which is also called the Palestine, Jerusalem, or Egyptian Codex, of Ben Naphtali, or the Babylonian Codex, the Pentateuch of Jericho, and the Codex Sinai.

(1.) The CODEX OF HILLEL was a celebrated manuscript which rabbi Kimchi (who lived in the twelfth century) says that he saw at Toledo, though rabbi Zacuti, who flourished towards the close of the fifteenth century, states that part of it had been sold and sent into Africa. Who this Hillel was, the learned are by no means agreed: some have supposed that he was the very eminent rabbi Hillel who lived about sixty years before the birth of Christ; others imagine that he was the grandson of the illustrious rabbi Judah Hakkodesh, who wrote the Mishna, and that he flourished about the middle of the fourth century. Others, again, suppose that he was a Spanish Jew, named Hillel; and Bauer, with greater probability, supposes the manuscript to have been of more recent date, and written in Spain, because it contains the vowel-points, and all the other grammatical minutiæ; and that the feigned name of Hillel was inscribed on its title in order to enhance its value.

(2.) (3.) The Codices of BEN ASHER and BEN NAPHTALI have already been noticed. We may, however, state, on the authority of

[1] Walton, Proleg. viii. §§ 27, 28.; Cappel, Critica Sacra, lib. iii. c. 17.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 222—224.

[2] Walton, Proleg. viii. § 29.; Cappel, Critica Sacra, lib. iii. c. 18.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 224—226.

Maimonides, that the first of these was held in most repute in Egypt, as having been revised and corrected in very many places by Ben Asher himself, and that it was the exemplar which he (Maimonides) followed in copying the law, in conformity with the custom of the Jews.

(4.) The CODEX of JERICHO is highly commended by rabbi Elias Levita, as being the most correct copy of the law of Moses, and exhibiting the defective and full words.

(5.) The CODEX SINAI was a very correct copy of the Pentateuch, characterized by some variation in the accents, in which respect it differed from the preceding exemplar.[1]

[We find also some other noted copies mentioned; as the Codex Sanbouki, the Codex Ezræ, by R. Menahem de Lonzano in his *Or Torah.* The Codex Ezræ is said to have been taken by the Black Prince in his Spanish campaign, to have been ransomed by the Jews, and to have been afterwards burnt. See a curious account of it in Porter's Principles of Textual Criticism, pp. 73, 74.]

Lastly, to this period may be referred the division of the text of the Old Testament into chapters by cardinal Hugo de Sancto Victore, who died in 1260, of which an account is given in Sect. iii. of this chapter.

IV. HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT FROM THE INVENTION OF THE ART OF PRINTING TO OUR OWN TIME.

Shortly after the invention of the art of printing, the Hebrew Scriptures were committed to the press; at first in detached portions, and afterwards the entire Bible.

The earliest printed portion was the Book of Psalms, with the commentary of rabbi Kimchi: it appeared in 1477, without any indication of the place where it was printed. In 1482 the Pentateuch was published at Bologna: at Soncino, the former and latter prophets were accurately printed in 1485-86, in two volumes folio, with the commentary of Kimchi; the Megilloth, in 1482, 1486: in 1487, the Book of Psalms, with the commentary of Kimchi, and the remainder of the Hagiographa, appeared at Naples in two volumes *folio* according to Jahn, but in two volumes *quarto* according to De Rossi, with the commentaries of rabbi Immanuel on the Proverbs, of Ben Gershom on the book of Job, and of Kimchi on the remaining books.

The most ancient edition of the entire Hebrew Scriptures was printed at Soncino, in 1488: it was followed in that printed at Brescia in 1494. In 1502—1517 the Complutensian Polyglott was printed at Alcala or Complutum in Spain. The Hebrew text is printed after manuscripts, with the vowel-points, but without accents. The Hebrew text of this Polyglott is followed, 1. In the Antwerp Polyglott printed in 1569—1572; 2. In the Paris Polyglott printed in 1629—1645 at the expense of M. Le Jay; and, 3. In the London Polyglott edited by Bishop Walton in 1657. Two celebrated editions were executed by Cornelius and Daniel Bomberg, with the Targums and Rabbinical Commentaries;—the first in 1518, under the care of

[1] Walton, Proleg. iv. §§ 8—11.; Kennicott, Diss. Gen. §§ 55, 56.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 226—229.

Felix Pratensis, a converted Jew; and the second in 1525-26, under the care of Jacob Ben Chayim.

The Brescian edition of 1494, the Complutensian, finished in 1517, and the second Bomberg edition of 1525-26, are the three standard texts, after which all subsequent impressions have been printed.[1] A bibliographical and critical account of the principal editions of the Hebrew Scriptures is given in the fourth volume of this work, Bibliographical List, Sects. i. v.

SECT. II.

HISTORY AND CONDITION OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

I. *Origin of the Samaritans.*—II. *Account of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*—III. *Variations of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the Hebrew.*—IV. *Versions of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*

I. ORIGIN OF THE SAMARITANS.

The Samaritans being generally considered as a Jewish sect, the specification of their tenets properly belongs to the third volume of this work. At present, it will be sufficient to remark that they were descended from an intermixture of the ten tribes with the Gentile nations. This origin rendered them odious to the Jews, who refused to acknowledge them as Jewish citizens, or to permit them to assist in re-building the temple, after their return from the Babylonish captivity. In consequence of this rejection, as well as of other causes of dissension, the Samaritans erected a temple on Mount Gerizim, and instituted sacrifices according to the prescriptions of the Mosaic law. Hence arose that inveterate schism and enmity between the two nations, so frequently mentioned or alluded to in the New Testament. The Samaritans (who still exist but are greatly reduced in numbers) reject all the sacred books of the Jews except the Pentateuch or five books of Moses. Of this they preserve copies in the ancient Hebrew characters; which, as there has been no friendly intercourse between them and the Jews since the Babylonish captivity, there can be no doubt were the same that were in use before that event, though subject to such variations as will always be occasioned by frequent transcribing. And so inconsiderable are the variations from our present copies (which were those of the Jews), that by this means we have a proof that those important books have been preserved uncorrupted for the space of nearly three thousand years, so as to leave no room to doubt that they are the same which were actually written by Moses.

II. ACCOUNT OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

Although the Samaritan Pentateuch was known to and cited by Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius of Gaza, Diodorus of Tarsus, Jerome, Syncellus, and other ancient fathers, yet it after-

[1] Jahn et Ackermann, Introductio ad Libros Vet. Fœd. § 112.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 229—234.

wards fell into oblivion for upwards of a thousand years, so that its very existence began to be questioned. Joseph Scaliger was the first who excited the attention of learned men to this valuable relic of antiquity; and M. Peiresc procured a copy from Egypt, which, together with the ship that brought it, was unfortunately captured by pirates. More successful was the venerable Archbishop Ussher, who procured six copies from the East; and from another copy, purchased by Pietro della Valle for M. de Sancy (then ambassador from France to Constantinople, and afterwards bishop of St. Malo), father Morinus printed the Samaritan Pentateuch, for the first time, in the Paris Polyglott. This was afterwards reprinted in the London Polyglott by Bishop Walton, who corrected it from three manuscripts which had formerly belonged to Archbishop Ussher. A neat edition of this Pentateuch, in Hebrew characters, was edited by Dr. Blayney, in octavo, Oxford, 1790.

[There is much difficulty in deciding upon the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This is evident not only from the disagreement of eminent scholars, but also from the fact that the same individuals have at different times adopted different conclusions.[1] That the ten tribes were acquainted with the Pentateuch at the time of their revolt from Rehoboam is a most reasonable supposition; since it was Jeroboam's anxiety to prevent his people from resorting to Jerusalem for sacrifice according to the law, that induced him to set up the calves of gold at Bethel and Dan (1 Kings xii. 26—33.). The address of Abijah to Jeroboam's army also presupposes that the Israelites had a knowledge of the Mosaic law (2 Chron. xiii. 4—12.). In 1 Kings xviii. there is, moreover, an incidental notice of Elijah's observation of the time at which the sacrifices were offered in the temple. And that such great prophets were ignorant of the book of the covenant, especially when we find them holding intercourse with Judah (1 Kings xix. 3.; 2 Kings iii. 14.; 2 Chron. xxi. 12.), is certainly a most unlikely notion. Hengstenberg has also proved that there are traces of the Pentateuch in the writings of Hosea and Amos, peculiarly Israelitish prophets.[2] So that it must be allowed that the Pentateuch, copies of which would be written in the old Hebrew, *i. e.* Samaritan, character, was not unknown to the ten tribes before their Assyrian captivity. That these copies were but few may readily be conceded: some, indeed, have asserted that the priests alone knew of them. The godly priests and Levites, however, resigning their possessions, had quitted Israel for Judah (2 Chron. xi. 14.); and, if any of the sacred tribe remained there, they, as well as the idolatrous priests, were little likely to preserve a book which especially condemned them. But surely some such books survived; and we find Josiah in his reformation, which extended over Samaria, rather appealing to "the book of the covenant," as Hezekiah had done before him, than introducing it afresh (2 Kings xxiii. 21.; 2 Chron. xxx. 5—9.). The desire of

[1] Comp. Cycl. of Bibl. Lit., art. Samaritan Pent., with Davidson, Biblical Crit. vol. i. pp. 96., &c.

[2] Hengstenberg, Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 107, &c.

the Samaritans, moreover, to aid Zerubbabel in re-building the temple, presupposes an acquaintance with the law; and the subsequent enmity between them and the Jews will account for their preservation of the original characters.[1]

Keil, agreeing with many eminent critics, imagines the Samaritan Pentateuch not older than the establishment of the independent worship and the temple on Gerizim.[2] But, for the reasons above stated, it is probably to be assigned to an earlier date.]

III. Variations of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the Hebrew.

The celebrated critic, Le Clerc[3], has instituted a minute comparison of the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Hebrew text; and has, with much accuracy and labour, collected those passages in which he is of opinion that the former is more or less correct than the latter. For instance,—

1. *The Samaritan text appears to be more correct than the Hebrew,* in Gen. ii. 4., vii. 2., xix. 19., xx. 2., xxiii. 16., xxiv. 14., xlix. 10, 11., l. 26.; Exod. i. 2., iv. 2.

2. *It is expressed more conformably to analogy,* in Gen. xxxi. 39., xxxv. 26., xxxvii. 17., xli. 34, 43., xlvii. 3.; Deut. xxxii. 5.

3. *It has glosses and additions* in Gen. xxxix. 15., xxx. 36., xli. 16.; Exod. vii. 18., viii. 23., ix. 5., xxi. 20., xxii. 5., xxiii. 19., xxxii. 9.; Lev. i. 10., xvii. 4.; Deut. v. 21.

4. *It appears to have been altered by a critical hand,* in Gen. ii. 2., iv. 10., ix. 5., x. 19., xi. 31., xviii. 3., xix. 12., xx. 16., xxiv. 38, 55., xxxv. 7., xxxvi. 6., xli. 50.; Exod. i. 5., xiii. 6., xv. 5.; Numb. xxii. 32.

5. *It is more full than the Hebrew text,* in Gen. iv. 8., xi. 31., xix. 9., xxvii. 34., xxxix. 4., xliii. 25.; Exod. xii. 40., xl. 17.; Numb. iv. 14.; Deut. xx. 16.

6. *It is faulty* in Gen. xx. 16., and xxv. 14.

7. *It agrees with the Septuagint version* in Gen. iv. 8., xix. 12., xx. 16., xxiii. 2., xxiv. 55, 62., xxvi. 18., xxix. 27., xxxv. 29., xxxix. 8., xli. 16, 43., xliii. 26., xlix. 26.; Exod. viii. 3., and in many other passages. Though,

8. *It sometimes varies from the Septuagint,* as in Gen. i. 7., v. 29., viii. 3, 7., xlix. 22.; Numb. xxii. 5.

The differences between the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs may be accounted for, by the usual sources of various readings, viz. the negligence of copyists, introduction of glosses from the margin into the text, the confounding of similar letters, the transposition of letters, the addition of explanatory words, &c. The Samaritan Pentateuch, however, is of great use and authority in establishing correct readings: in many instances it agrees remarkably with the Greek Septuagint, and it contains numerous and excellent various lections, which by some have been considered preferable to the received Masoretic readings, and are further confirmed by the agreement of other ancient versions.

The most material variations between the Samaritan Pentateuch

[1] For fuller disquisitions see Davidson, Biblical Crit. vol. i. chap. vi. pp. 78., &c.; Cycl. of Bibl. Lit., art. Samaritan Pent.

[2] Einleitung, § 207., p 663.

[3] Comment. in Pentateuch, Index, ii. See also some additional observations on the differences between the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs, in Dr. Kennicott's Remarks on Select Passages in the Old Testament, pp. 43—47.

and the Hebrew, which affect the authority of the former, occur, first in the prolongation of the patriarchal generations; and, secondly, in the alteration of Ebal into Gerizim (Deut. xxvii.), in order to support their separation from the Jews.[1]

[Little value is now attributed to the Samaritan text in a critical point of view. Gesenius has examined its pretensions in an able manner, and has proved that its authority is not to be relied on. Four readings alone does he admit to be superior to those of the Hebrew copies, viz. Gen. iv. 8., xiv. 14., xxii. 13., xlix. 14.[2] Whether, moreover, the chronology can be satisfactorily maintained, is a question. It may be added that Kennicott's attempt to charge the alteration of Deut. xxvii. upon the Jews is a failure.

A writer in the Journal of Sacred Literature for July 1853[3] has criticized Gesenius's censures with some minuteness. He considers severally the eight classes of variations on which Gesenius grounds his charges of wilful corruption against the Samaritan Pentateuch; and sums up his conclusion in the following words: "We have thus examined at some length the whole of the objections brought against the Samaritan Pentateuch by, undoubtedly, the ablest and most learned opponent that ever assailed that venerable document. Without pretending that all his numerous charges are *wholly* destitute of truth, we think it will be evident that this celebrated work abounds in rash assumptions, and unfair accusations; and that, *as a whole*, it is a signal failure." The writer maintains that many of the variations, adduced by Gesenius as instances of wilful corruption, are merely mistakes of copyists. Others he believes to have arisen from the retention of the so-called *matres lectionis*. "Incredible as it may appear, *more than a hundred variations*, which are ascribed with great ostentation by this celebrated critic to all imaginable causes — at one time to *Samaritanisms;* at another, to attempts to remove *solœcisms of speech*, or *obscurities of meaning;* and then, again, to the desire to conform the language to *the hermeneutics* and *domestic worship* of the Samaritan nation, when examined by this simple test, all resolve themselves into '*various modes of writing the same word*.'" The writer further dwells on the acknowledged agreement of the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Septuagint version as strongly confirming the critical value of the former. It must be allowed that there is considerable weight in the arguments adduced; still it is questionable whether the conclusion is materially altered. And, though Gesenius may possibly have given less credit to the Samaritan document than it deserves, and not have fully substantiated his charges of designed corruption, it is not likely that this will ever again be regarded as on a par in critical value with the Hebrew text.]

IV. Versions of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

Of the Samaritan Pentateuch two versions are extant; one in the proper Samaritan dialect, which is usually termed the Samaritan version, and another in Arabic.

[1] Kennicott, Diss. ii. pp. 20—165.
[2] De Pent. Sam. Orig. Ind. et Auct. Halæ, 1815. § 17. pp. 61—64.
[3] Vol. iv. pp. 298—327.

1. The Samaritan version was made in Samaritan characters, from the Hebræo-Samaritan text into the Samaritan dialect, which is intermediate between the Hebrew and the Aramæan languages. This version is of great antiquity, having been made at least before the time of Origen, that is, early in the second century. The author of the Samaritan version is unknown, but he has in general adhered very closely and faithfully to the original text; so that this version is almost exactly the counterpart of the original Hebrew-Samaritan codex with all its various readings. This shows, in a degree really surprising, how very carefully and accurately the Hebrew Pentateuch has been copied and preserved by the Samaritans, from the ancient times in which their version was made.[1]

2. The Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch is also extant in Samaritan characters, and was executed by Abu Said, A.D. 1070, in order to supplant the Arabic translation of the Jewish rabbi, Saadias Gaon, which had till that time been in use among the Samaritans. Abu Said has very closely followed the Samaritan Pentateuch, whose readings he expresses, even where the latter differs from the Hebrew text: in some instances, however, both Bishop Walton and Bauer have remarked that he has borrowed from the Arabic version of Saadias. From the paucity of manuscripts of the original Samaritan Pentateuch, Bauer thinks this version of use in correcting its text. Some specimens of it have been published by Dr. Durell in the "Hebrew Text of the Parallel Prophecies of Jacob relating to the Twelve Tribes," &c. (Oxford, 1763, 4to.), and before him by Castell in the last volume of the London Polyglott; also by Hwiid, at Rome, in 1780, in 8vo., and by Paulus, at Jena, in 1789, in 8vo.[2] [About A.D. 1208, Abul Baracat wrote scholia on this version. Hence arose two recensions of it, the Egyptian of Abu Said, and the Syrian of Abul Baracat; but they have been mixed together, and cannot now be separated.[3]]

SECT. III.

ON THE DIVISIONS AND MARKS OF DISTINCTION OCCURRING IN MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *Different appellations given to the Scriptures.*—II. *General divisions of the canonical books of the Old Testament.*—1. *The Law.*—2. *The Prophets.*—3. *The Khethubim or Hagiographa.*—III. *Modern divisions of the books of the Old Testament.*—*Chapters and verses.*

I. THE collection of writings, which is regarded by Christians as the sole standard of their faith and practice, has been distinguished, at various periods, by different appellations. Thus, it is frequently termed the Scriptures, the Sacred or Holy Scriptures, and sometimes

[1] North American Review, New Series, vol. xxii. p. 313.

[2] Bp. Walton, Proleg. xi. §§ 10—21. pp. 527—553.; Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pp. 585—620.; Leusden, Philologus Hebræo-Mixt. Diss. viii. pp. 59—67.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 325—335.; Muntinghe, Expositio Critices Veteris Fœderis, pp. 148, 149.

[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 198. p. 642.

the Canonical Scriptures. This collection is called *The Scriptures*, as being the most important of all *Writings;* the *Holy* or *Sacred Scriptures*, because they were composed by persons divinely inspired; and the *Canonical Scriptures*, either because they are a rule of faith and practice to those who receive them; or because, when the number and authenticity of these books were ascertained, lists of them were inserted in the ecclesiastical *canons* or catalogues, in order to distinguish them from such books as were *apocryphal* or of uncertain authority, and unquestionably not of divine origin. But the most usual appellation is that of the BIBLE—a word which in its primary import simply denotes a book, but which is given to the writings of the prophets and apostles, by way of eminence, as being the Book of Books, infinitely superior in excellence to every unassisted production of the human mind.[1]

II. The most common and general division of the canonical books is that of the Old and New Testament[2]; the former containing those revelations of the divine will which were communicated to the Hebrews, Israelites, or Jews, before the birth of Christ, and the latter comprising the inspired writings of the evangelists and apostles.

The arrangement of the books containing the Old Testament, which is adopted in our Bibles, is not always regulated by the exact time when the books were respectively written; although the book of Genesis is universally allowed to be the first, and the prophecy of Malachi to be the latest of the inspired writings. The various books contained in the Old Testament were divided by the Jews into three parts or classes — the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Khethubim*, or *Hagiographa*, that is, the Holy Writings; which division obtained in the time of our Saviour[3], and is noticed by Josephus[4], though he does not enumerate the several books.

1. The LAW (so called, because it contains precepts for the regulation of life and manners) comprised the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses, which were originally written in one volume, as all the manuscripts are to this day, which are read in the synagogues. It is not known when the writings of the Jewish legislator were divided into *five* books; but, as the titles of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, are evidently of Greek origin (for the tradition related by Philo, and adopted by some writers of the Roman church, that they were given by Moses himself, is too idle to deserve refutation), it is not improbable that these titles were prefixed to the several books by the authors of the Alexandrine or Septuagint Greek version.

2. The PROPHETS, which were thus designated because these books were

[1] Lardner, Works, 8vo. Hist. of Apostles, &c. chap. i. vol. vi. pp. 1—8. 4to. vol. iii. pp. 137—140.; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. § 1.

[2] Concerning the import of the word "Testament," see vol. i. p. 36.

[3] *These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled which are written in the* LAW, *and in the* PROPHETS, *and in the* PSALMS, *concerning me* (Luke xxiv. 44.). In this passage by the *Psalms* is intended the Hagiographa; which division beginning with the Psalms, the whole of it (agreeably to the Jewish manner of quoting) is there called by the name of the book with which it commences. St. Peter also, when appealing to prophecies in proof of the gospel, says, "All the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days" (Acts iii. 24.). In which passage the apostle plainly includes the books of Samuel in the class of prophets.

[4] Contr. Apion. lib. i. § 8. tom. ii. p. 441.

written by inspired prophetical men, were divided into the *former* and *latter*[1], with regard to the time when they respectively flourished: the former prophets included the books of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings, the last two being each considered as one book; the latter prophets comprised the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and of the twelve minor prophets, whose books were reckoned as one.

3. The KHETHUBIM or HAGIOGRAPHA, that is, the Holy Writings, comprehended the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah (reckoned as one), and the two books of Chronicles, also reckoned as one book.[2] This third class or division of the sacred books has received its appellation of *Khethubim* or *Holy Writings*, because they were not orally delivered, as the law of Moses was; but the Jews affirm that they were composed by men divinely inspired, who, however, had no public mission as prophets; and they conceive that they were not dictated by dreams, visions, or voice, or in other ways, as the oracles of the prophets were, but that they were more immediately revealed to the minds of their authors. It is remarkable that Daniel is excluded from the number of prophets, and that his writings, with the rest of the Hagiographa, were not publicly read in the synagogues as the Law and the Prophets were: this is ascribed to the singular minuteness with which he foretold the coming of the Messiah before the destruction of the city and sanctuary (Dan. ix.), and the apprehension of the Jews, lest the public reading of his predictions should lead any to embrace the doctrines of Jesus Christ.[3]

[It is easier to object to the reason here alleged, than to supply one more satisfactory. Possibly, however, the book of Daniel occupies the position in which we find it, because Daniel did not exercise his prophetic office in the more restricted and proper sense of the term "prophecy;" he was not *professionally* a prophet.[4] Thus David was a prophet (Acts ii. 30.); and yet his writings are not placed among "the Prophets."

It is probable that the Hebrews in the earliest times wrote for the most part without dividing one word from another. And, when the separation of words came into more general use, as it especially did after the introduction of the square character, it would still seem that there was no regularly-acknowledged mode of division. The authors of the Septuagint version evidently divided words in a way different from the modern custom. In the Talmud, however, directions are given for spaces between words in synagogue rolls. Paragraphs began to be early marked. In the Pentateuch there were 669, called פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת, and these were termed פְּתוּחוֹת, *open*, or סְתוּמוֹת, *closed*, according as they were sections beginning or in the middle of

[1] This distinction, Carpzov thinks, was borrowed from Zech. i. 4.: "Be ye not as your fathers, unto whom the *former* prophets have cried." — Introd. ad Lib. Bibl. Vet. Test. cap. ix. § i. p. 146.

[2] The Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, are, in the modern copies of the Jewish Scriptures, placed immediately after the Pentateuch, under the name of the five *Megilloth* or volumes. [These books were publicly read, Canticles at the passover; Ruth at the feast of weeks; Lamentations the 9th day of Ab, when the temple was both times burnt; Ecclesiastes at the feast of tabernacles; and Esther the 14th and 15th of Adar, at the feast of Purim.—Carpzov. Crit. Sacr. pars i. cap. iv. p. 134.] The book of Ruth holds sometimes the first or second, and sometimes the fifth place.

[3] Hottinger, Thesaurus, lib. ii. cap. i. sect. 3. p. 505.; Leusden, Philologus Hebræus. Diss. viii. p. 92.; Bishop Cosin, Scholastical Hist. of the Canon, chap. ii. 18.

[4] See Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit., art. Daniel.

the lines. They are respectively marked פ and ס in Hebrew Bibles. Like divisions are also to be found in the other parts of Scripture. The larger Perashioth, 54 in number, one of which was to be read every sabbath-day, are of much later origin than those just noticed. They are mentioned for the first time in the Masorah; while the smaller divisions are certainly prior to the Talmud, and have, even by some modern scholars, been carried up to the very sacred writers themselves.[1] Where the larger correspond with the smaller divisions, פפפ and ססס are used to denote the open and closed Perashioth. The הַפְטָרוֹת were paragraphs or reading-lessons taken from the Prophets. They are mentioned in the Mishna. Most likely, according to Vitringa's opinion, they were introduced from a desire to improve the public services by adding the reading of the Prophets to that of the Law.[2]

In the poetry of the Old Testament we find פְּסוּקִים, rhythmical members marked off into separate lines. And a division into periods with the same name was introduced into the prose. These divisions, mentioned in the Mishna, were nearly coincident with modern verses. Whether any marks were at first used to denote these periods is a question. After the Talmud, Soph-pasuk (:), was employed; and this sign is certainly older than the vowel-points and accents.

The סְדָרִים were divisions adopted in R. Jacob Ben Chayim's edition of the Bible (the second Bomberg). They are 447 in number, and are a kind of distinction into chapters.[3]] [4]

III. The divisions of the Old Testament, which now generally obtain, are four in number: namely, 1. The *Pentateuch*, or five books of Moses; 2. The *Historical Books*, comprising Joshua to Esther inclusive; 3. The *Doctrinal* or *Poetical Books* of Job, Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon; and, 4. The *Prophetical Books* of Isaiah, Jeremiah with his Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets. These are severally divided into Chapters and Verses, to facilitate reference, and not primarily with a view to any natural division of the multifarious subjects which they embrace: but by whom these divisions were originally made is a question, concerning which there exists a considerable difference of opinion.

[1] See Keil, Einleitung, § 170. Of these divisions we have evident traces in the New Testament; thus, the section (περιοχὴ) of the prophet Isaiah, which the Ethiopian eunuch was reading, was, in all probability, that which related to the sufferings of the Messiah (Acts viii. 32.). When St. Paul entered into the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia, he stood up to preach, *after the reading of the Law and the Prophets* (Acts xiii. 15.); that is, after reading the first lesson out of the Law, and the second lesson out of the Prophets. And, in the very discourse which he then delivered, he tells the Jews that *the Prophets were read at Jerusalem on every sabbath-day*, that is, in those lessons which were taken out of the Prophets (Acts xiii. 27.).

[2] See Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pars i. cap. iv. pp. 148, 149.

[3] See Keil, Einleitung, §§ 170, 171.; Davidson, Bibl. Critic. vol. i. chap. v.; Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit., arts. Scripture, Holy, Verse; Dr. M'Caul, Reasons for holding fast the Authorized English Version of the Bible, 1857, pp. 5., &c.

[4] In Vol. iii. Part iii. Chap. i. Sect. 4. we have given a table of the *Perashioth* or sections of the Law, together with the *Haphtaroth*, or sections of the Prophets, as they are read in the different Jewish synagogues for every sabbath of the year, and also showing the portions corresponding with our modern divisions of chapters and verses.

That they are comparatively a modern invention is evident from its being utterly unknown to the ancient Christians, whose Greek Bibles, indeed, then had Τίτλοι and Κεφάλαια (*Titles* and *Heads*); but the intent of these was rather to point out the *sum* or contents of the text, than to divide the various books. They also differed greatly from the present chapters; many of them containing only a few verses, and some of them not more than one. The invention of chapters has by some been ascribed to Lanfranc, who was archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of William the Conqueror and William II.; while others attribute it to Stephen Langton, who was archbishop of the same see in the reigns of John and Henry III. But the real author of this very useful division was cardinal Hugo de Sancto Caro, who flourished about the middle of the 13th century, and wrote a celebrated commentary on the Scriptures. Having projected a concordance to the Latin Vulgate version, by which any passage might be found, he divided both the Old and New Testaments into chapters, which are the same we now have: these chapters he subdivided into smaller portions, which he distinguished by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, and G, which are placed in the margin at equal distances from each other, according to the length of the chapters.[1] The facility of reference thus afforded by Hugo's divisions having become known to Rabbi Mordecai Nathan (or Isaac Nathan, as he is sometimes called), a celebrated Jewish teacher in the fifteenth century, he undertook a similar concordance for the Hebrew Scriptures; but, instead of adopting the marginal letters of Hugo, he referred to the Masoretic verses by Hebrew numerals, retaining, however, the cardinal's division into chapters.

The concordance of Rabbi Nathan was commenced A.D. 1438 and finished in 1445. The Latin chapters are found in Bomberg's edition of the Hebrew Bible published in 1518. The verses of the several psalms were marked with figures by Jaques le Fevre in his edition of the "Quincuplex Psalterium, Gallicum, Romanum, Hebraicum, Vetus et Conciliatum," printed at Paris by Henry Stephen in 1509, in fol. In 1528 Santes or Xantes Pagninus published his Latin version of the Bible at Lyons, which is the first that is divided throughout into verses marked with Arabic numerals in the margin both in the Old and New Testaments. The text runs on continuously, except in the Psalms, where each verse commences the line. The whole Bible was marked with figures, according to the divisions now in use, by Robert Stephen in his editions of the Latin Vulgate published in 1555 and 1557; in which he followed Pagninus except in the New Testament and Apocrypha. His Latin oncordance, to which he adapted these figures, was published in 1555. The introduction of figures into the printed editions of the Hebrew Bible was commenced in the Hebrew Pentateuch, Megilloth, and Haphtaroth, published at Sabionetta in Italy in 1557. In this edition every fifth verse is marked with a Hebrew numeral. Each verse of the Hebrew text is marked with an Arabic numeral in the Antwerp Polyglott published in 1569.[2] Athias, in his celebrated edition of the Hebrew Bible published in 1661 and reprinted in 1667, also marked every verse with the figures now in use, except those which had been previously

[1] These divisions of cardinal Hugo may be seen in any of the older editions of the Vulgate, and in the earlier English translations of the Bible, particularly in that usually called *Taverner's Bible*. London, 1539, folio.

[2] Buxtorf, Præf. ad Concordant. Bibliorum Hebræorum; Prideaux, Connection, sub anno 446, vol. i. pp. 332—342.; Carpzov, Introd. ad Libros Biblicos Vet. Test. cap. ii. § 5. pp. 27, 28.; Leusden, Philol. Hebr. Diss. iii. pp. 23—31.; Ackermann, Introd. in Libros Sacros Vet. Fœd. pp. 100—104.; Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Verse (by the Rev. Dr. Wright); Pettigrew, Bibliotheca Sussexiana, vol. i. part ii. p. 388.

marked in the Sabionetta edition with Hebrew letters, in the manner in which they at present appear in our Bibles.

The first English Bible divided into verses is that executed at Geneva by William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Sampson, and published in 1560. (The New Testament, divided into chapters and verses, was previously published at Geneva in 1557, and again in 1560.) Of the authorized English versions, Archbishop Parker's, or the "Bishops' Bible," is the first that has the divisions of chapters and verses, which were subsequently adopted in King James's, or the Authorized English version, published in 1611, and now in use.

CHAP. III.

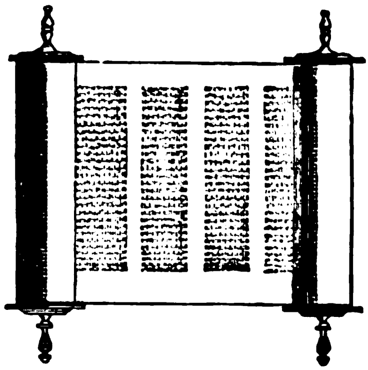
ON THE CRITICISM OF THE TEXT OF SCRIPTURE.

Necessity of the Criticism of the Text.

SINCE the editions of the Sacred Text very often differ from each other, and some also contain spurious readings, besides which great numbers of other readings are extant; the exhibition of a correct text becomes a very important object of attention with those who are desirous of understanding the Holy Scriptures: in other words, the interpreter and the divine stand equally in need of the art of criticism, by the aid of which a proper judgment may be formed of various readings, the spurious may be discerned, and the genuine, or at least the most probable, may be restored. This subject, which involves an inquiry respecting the fact, what the author wrote, has not inaptly been compared by Dr. Jahn to a judicial procedure, in which the critic sits upon the bench, and the charge of corruption in the reading is brought against the text. The witnesses from whom evidence is to be obtained respecting what the author wrote, or, in other words, the SOURCES of the text of Scripture, are, MANUSCRIPT COPIES, ANCIENT VERSIONS, THE EDITIONES PRINCIPES AND OTHER EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS, and other BOOKS OF ANTIQUITY, THE AUTHORS OF WHICH QUOTED THE TEXT FROM MANUSCRIPTS. But, since these witnesses are often at variance with one another, and very frequently it is impossible to ascertain the truth from their evidence, it further becomes necessary to call in the aid of *internal* arguments, or those which are drawn from the very nature of the case. Such are the facility or the difficulty of a more modern origin, the absence of any sense, or at least of one that is suitable, the agreement or disagreement of a reading with the series and scope of the discourse, the probability or improbability of any particular word or expression having arisen from the author, and the correspondence or discrepancy of parallel places; lastly, the laws by which, on such evidence, the critic is guided in pronouncing sentence, are the rules of criticism.[1]

[1] Jahn, Introductio ad Libros Canonicos Veteris Fœderis, § 115.

These topics it is proposed severally to discuss in the following sections.



Form of a SYNAGOGUE ROLL of the Pentateuch.

SECT. I.

ON THE HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *Different classes of Hebrew manuscripts.*—II. *The rolled manuscripts of the synagogues.*—III. *The square manuscripts used by the Jews in private life.*—IV. *Age of Hebrew manuscripts.*—V. *Of the order in which the Sacred Books are arranged in manuscripts.—Number of books contained in different manuscripts.*—VI. *Modern families or recensions of Hebrew manuscripts.*—VII. *Notice of the most ancient manuscripts.*—VIII. *Brief notice of the manuscripts of the Indian and Chinese Jews.*—IX. *Manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*

ALTHOUGH, as we have already seen[1], the Hebrew text of the Old Testament has descended to our times uncorrupted, yet, with all the care which the ancient copyists could bestow, it was impossible to preserve it free from mistakes, arising from the interchanging of the similar letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and other circumstances incident to the transcription of ancient manuscripts. The rabbins boldly asserted, and, through a credulity rarely to be paralleled, it was implicitly believed, that the Hebrew text was absolutely free from error, and that in all the manuscripts of the Old Testament not a single various reading of importance could be produced. Father Morin was the first person who ventured to impugn this notion in his *Exercitationes in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, published at Paris in 1631; and he grounded his opinion of the incorrectness of the Hebrew manuscripts on the differences between the Hebrew and the Samaritan texts in the Pentateuch, and on the differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint in other parts of the Bible.

[1] Vol. i. pp. 104—107.

Morinus was soon after followed by Louis Cappel (whose *Critica Sacra* was published in 1650), who pointed out a great number of errors in the printed Hebrew, and showed how they might be corrected by the ancient versions and the common rules of criticism. He did not, however, advert to the most obvious and effectual means of emendation, namely, a collation of Hebrew manuscripts; and, valuable as his labours unquestionably are, it is certain that he neither used them himself, nor invited others to have recourse to them, in order to correct the sacred text. Cappel was assailed by various opponents, but chiefly by the younger Buxtorf in his *Anticritica*, published at Basil in 1653, who attempted, but in vain, to refute the principles he had established. In 1657 Bishop Walton, in his Prolegomena to the London Polyglott Bible, declared in favour of the principles asserted by Cappel, acknowledged the necessity of forming a critical apparatus for the purpose of obtaining a more correct text of the Hebrew Bible, and materially contributed to the formation of one by his own exertions. Subsequent biblical critics acceded to the propriety of their arguments; and, since the middle of the seventeenth century, the importance and necessity of collating Hebrew manuscripts have been generally acknowledged.[1]

I. Hebrew Manuscripts are divided into two classes, viz. *autographs*, or those written by the inspired penmen themselves, which have long since perished; and *apographs*, or copies made from the originals, and multiplied by repeated transcription. [Existing MSS. differ little from each other, exhibiting generally the Masoretic text the older retaining possibly the pre-Masoretic in substance, while the later are cast more exactly into the Masoretic mould. They may be divided into synagogue rolls, and private copies, the last of which are some in the square, some in the rabbinical character.[2]]

II. The Pentateuch was read in the Jewish synagogues from the earliest times; and, though the public reading of it was intermitted during the Babylonish captivity, it was resumed shortly after the return of the Jews. Hence numerous copies were made from time to time; and, as they held the books of Moses in the most superstitious veneration, various regulations were made for the guidance of the transcribers, who were obliged to conform to them in copying the rolls destined for the use of the synagogue. The date of these regulations is not known, but they seem posterior to the Talmud. [The earliest notice of them is in the Tract *Sopherim*, a later appendage to the Babylonian Talmud.] Though many of these rules are ridiculous, yet the religious observance of them, which has continued for many centuries, has certainly contributed in a great degree to preserve the purity of the Pentateuch. The following are a few of the principal.

The copies of the law must be transcribed from ancient manuscripts of approved character only, with ink of peculiar quality, on parch-

[1] Jahn et Ackermann, Introductio ad Libros Canonicos Veteris Fœderis part i. ch. vi. § 104.; Bp. Marsh, Lectures, part ii. lect. xi. pp. 99, 100.
[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 173. pp. 588, 9.

ment prepared from the hide of a clean animal, for this express purpose, by a Jew, and fastened together by the strings of clean animals; every skin must contain a certain number of columns of prescribed length and breadth, each column comprising a given number of lines and words; no word must be written by heart or with points, or without being first orally pronounced by the copyist; the name of God is not to be written but with the utmost devotion and attention, and, previously to writing it, he must wash his pen. The want of a single letter, or the redundance of a single letter, the writing of prose as verse, or verse as prose, respectively vitiates a manuscript; and, when a copy has been completed, it must be examined and corrected within thirty days after the writing has been finished, in order to determine whether it is to be approved or rejected. These rules, it is said, are observed to the present day by the persons who transcribe the sacred writings for the use of the synagogue.[1] The form of one of these rolled manuscripts (from the original among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 7619.) is given in the vignette at the head of this section. It is a large double roll, containing the Hebrew Pentateuch, written with very great care on forty brown African skins. These skins are of different breadths; some containing more columns than others. The columns are one hundred and fifty-three in number, each of which contains about sixty-three lines, is about twenty-two inches deep, and generally more than five inches broad. The letters have no points, apices, or flourishes about them. The initial words are not larger than the rest; and a space, equal to about four lines, is left between every two books. Altogether, this is one of the finest specimens of the synagogue-rolls that has been preserved to the present time. [The Haphtaroth and five Megilloth, it may be added, were written on separate rolls.]

III. The PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS are written with black ink [the points generally by a different person, and with a different shade of ink], either on vellum, or on parchment, or on paper, and of various sizes, folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo. [He who wrote the consonants was called סֹפֵר; while he who added the points was termed נַקְדָן. If the same person wrote both, it was at separate times.] Those manuscripts which are on paper are considered as being the most modern; and they frequently have some one of the Targums, or Chaldee paraphrases, either subjoined to the text in alternate verses, or placed in parallel columns with the text, or written in the margin of the manuscript. The characters are, for the most part, those which are called the square Chaldee; though a few manuscripts are written with rabbinical characters, but these are invariably of recent date. Biblical critics, who are conversant with the Hebrew manuscripts, have distinguished three sorts of characters, each differing in the beauty of their form. The *Spanish* character is perfectly square, simple, and elegant: the types of the quarto Hebrew Bibles, printed

[1] Carpzov, Crit. Sacr. pars i. cap viii. pp. 371, 372. Dr. Henderson, Biblical Researches, pp. 208—211., has given an account of the laborious minutiæ, in many respects coinciding with those above stated, to which the modern Jews are subjected.

by Robert Stephen and by Plantin, approach the nearest to this character. The *German*, on the contrary, is crooked, intricate, and inelegant in every respect; and the *Italian* character holds a middle place between these two. The pages are usually divided into three columns of various lengths; and the initial letters of the manuscripts are frequently illuminated and ornamented with gold. In many manuscripts the Masorah [1] is added; what is called the *larger Masorah* being placed above and below the columns of the text, and the *smaller Masorah* being inserted in the blank spaces between the columns.

[The Jews distinguish between the *Tam* and the *Welshe* character. The former is said to have its name from Tam, the grandson of Rashi (Rabbi Solomon Jarchi), or more probably from כתיבה תמה, perfect or regular mode of writing. It has sharp-pointed corners, and perpendicular *coronulæ* called תגין, on the consonants שעטנזגץ, and was generally used by the German and Polish Jews. The Welshe, כתב ועלש, is of later date; it has rounder strokes in the letters, the *coronulæ* ending in a thick point, and was in use among the Jews of Spain and the East.[2]]

IV. As the authority of manuscripts depends greatly on their antiquity, it becomes a point of considerable importance to ascertain their age as exactly as possible. Now this may be effected either by *external* testimony or by *internal* marks.

1. *External* testimony is sometimes afforded by the subscriptions annexed by the transcribers, specifying the time when they copied the manuscripts. But this criterion cannot always be depended upon; for instances have occurred, in which *modern* copyists have added ancient and false dates, in order to enhance the value of their labours. As, however, by far the greater number of manuscripts have no subscriptions or other criteria by which to ascertain their dates, it becomes necessary to resort to the evidence of

2. *Internal Marks.* Of these the following are stated by Dr. Kennicott and M. De Rossi to be the principal: 1. The inelegance or rudeness of the character (Jablonski lays down the *simplicity* and *elegance* of the character as a criterion of antiquity); 2. The yellow colour of the vellum; 3. The total absence, or at least the very rare occurrence, of the Masorah, and of the Keri and Khethib [3]; 4. The writing of the Pentateuch throughout in one book, without any greater mark of distinction appearing at the beginning of books than at the beginning of sections; 5. The absence of critical emendations and corrections; 6. The absence of the vowel-points; 7. Obliterated letters, being written and re-written with ink; 8. The frequent occurrence of the name Jehovah in lieu of Adonai; 9. The infrequency of capital and little letters; 10. The insertion of points to fill up blank spaces; 11. The non-division of some books and psalms; 12. The poetical books not being distinguished from those in prose by dividing them into hemistichs; 13. Readings frequently differing from the Masoretic copies, but agreeing with the Samaritan text, with ancient versions, and with

[1] See an account of the Masorah in pp. 23—26. *supra.*
[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 174. pp. 590, 591.
[3] For an account of these, see p. 22. *supra.*

the quotations of the fathers. The conjunction of all, or of several, of these internal marks, is said to afford certain criteria of the antiquity of Hebrew manuscripts. But the opinions of the eminent critics above named have been questioned by Professors Bauer and Tychsen, who have advanced strong reasons to prove that they are uncertain guides in determining the age of manuscripts. The most ancient Hebrew manuscripts are *all* written without any divisions of words. This circumstance is corroborated by the rabbinical tradition, that the law was formerly one verse and one word.

V. A twofold Order of Arrangement of the sacred books is observable in Hebrew manuscripts, viz. the *Talmudical* and the *Masoretic*. Originally, the different books of the Old Testament were not joined together: according to Rabbi Elias Levita (the most learned Jewish writer on the subject), they were first joined together by the members of the great synagogue, who divided them into three parts, the Law, the Prophets, and Hagiographa[1], and who placed the Prophets and Hagiographa in a different order from that assigned by the Talmudists in the book entitled *Baba Bathra*.

[The following is the Talmudical arrangement of the Old Testament: The *Law*, containing the five books of Moses. The *Prophets*, comprising Joshua, Judges, Samuel (1 and 2), Kings (1 and 2), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah[2], and the twelve minor prophets (in one book). The *Hagiographa*, Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra (with Nehemiah), Chronicles (1 and 2). By the Masoretes in the *Prophets* Isaiah is made to precede Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and the *Hagiographa* is thus arranged: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the five Megilloth (*i. e.* Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther), Daniel, Ezra (with Nehemiah), Chronicles (1 and 2). The Talmudic order is generally adopted by the German and French Jews, the Masoretic by the Spanish. But, according to Keil, the Masoretic arrangement of the Hagiographa is in use among the Germans.[3] De Wette gives another Masoretic order in MSS. of the Hagiographa, Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra.[4]]

There are, however, several manuscripts extant, which depart both from the Talmudical and from the Masoretical order, and have an arrangement peculiar to themselves.

Of the various Hebrew manuscripts which have been preserved, few contain the Old Testament entire: the greater part comprise only particular portions of it, as the Pentateuch, the five Megilloth, and the Haphtaroth, or sections of the prophets which are read on the sabbath-days; the Prophets, or the Hagiographa. Some, indeed, are confined to single books, as the Psalms, the book of Esther, the Song of Solomon, and the Haphtaroth. This diversity in the contents of manuscripts is occasioned, partly by the design of the copyist,

[1] See Carpzov, Crit. Sacr. pars i. cap. iv. pp. 137, 138.

[2] Isaiah is said to be thus placed because the books of Kings end with desolation, and the whole book of Jeremiah is of the same character; while Ezekiel begins with consolation and ends with consolation, and Isaiah is consolatory throughout: hence writings of a similar class are coupled together.

[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 159., pp. 551, 552.

[4] Einleitung, § 110., p. 141. Comp. Keil, Einleitung, § 175., p. 592.

who transcribed the whole or part of the sacred writings for particular purposes; and partly by the mutilations caused by the consuming hand of time. Several instances of such mutilations are given in the account of the principal Hebrew MSS. now extant, in pp. 46—49. *infra.*

VI. As the Hebrew manuscripts which have been in use since the eleventh century have all been corrected according to some particular *recension* or edition, they have from this circumstance been classed into families, according to the country where such recension has obtained. These *Families* or Recensions are three or four in number, viz.

1. The SPANISH MANUSCRIPTS, which were corrected after the Codex of Hillel, described in page 27. *supra.*

They follow the Masoretic system with great accuracy, and are on this account highly valued by the Jews; though some Hebrew critics hold them in little estimation. The characters are written with great elegance, and are perfectly square: the ink is pale: the pages are seldom divided into three columns: the Psalms are separated into hemistichs; and the Chaldee paraphrases are not interlined, but written in separate columns, or are inserted in the margin in smaller letters. Professor Tychsen speaks in high terms of the caligraphy of the Spanish manuscripts. As the Spanish monks excelled in that art, he thinks the Jews, who abounded in Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, acquired it from them, and he appeals to manuscripts which he had seen, where the letters are throughout so equal, that the whole has the appearance of print.[1]

2. The ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS are nearly the same as the Spanish manuscripts, and may be referred to the same class.

3. The GERMAN MANUSCRIPTS are written with less elegance than the Spanish codices: their characters are more rudely formed: the initial letters are generally larger than the rest, and ornamented: the ink is very black. They do not follow the Masoretic notation, and frequently vary from the Masoretic manuscripts, exhibiting important readings that are not to be found in the Spanish manuscripts, but which agree with the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, and with the ancient versions. The Chaldee paraphrases are inserted in alternate verses.

4. The ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS hold a middle place between the Spanish and German codices, and sometimes have a nearer affinity to one class than to the other, both in the shape of the Hebrew characters, and also as it respects their adherence to or neglect of the Masoretic system. Bruns, the able assistant of Dr. Kennicott in collating Hebrew manuscripts, has given engraved specimens of the Spanish, German, and Italian manuscripts, in his edition of Dr. K.'s *Dissertatio Generalis* (8vo. Brunswick, 1783); and Professor Tychsen has given *fourteen* Hebrew alphabets, of various ages and countries, at the end of his *Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebræorum Vet. Test. MSS. Generibus.* Ancient and unpointed Hebrew manuscripts, written for the use of the synagogues, and those Masoretic Spanish

[1] Tychsen, Tentamen de variis Cod. Heb. MSS. pp. 302—308.

exemplars, which have been transcribed by a learned person, and for a learned person, from some famous and correct copy, are preferred by De Rossi to the copies written for private use, or even for the synagogue, from Masoretic exemplars, of which last the number is very great. But Bauer pronounces those manuscripts to be the best, whose various lections are most frequently confirmed by the ancient versions, especially by the Alexandrian and Syriac, and also by the Samaritan Pentateuch and version.[1]

[It is difficult to determine with accuracy the class to which a MS. belongs. The criteria on which Bruns relies are thus given by Dr. Davidson. "Spanish MSS. are written with paler ink than German ones. In these the pages are seldom divided into three compartments. The Psalms are written like the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, as it is in most editions of the Bible. The Chaldee text does not alternate with the Hebrew in single verses, but occupies a peculiar position at the side of the Hebrew text in smaller character. In like manner the Spanish scribes arrange the Hagiographa after the Masoretic rule, and never put Jeremiah before Isaiah. The lines always end with an entire word; to effect which the letters are sometimes put more closely together, and sometimes farther apart. Sometimes an empty space is left between the closing words of a line; or it is filled with particular signs. Sometimes the last letters of the closing words run beyond the line. The half of a book is not marked in the text itself; still less with the usual letters. The initial words of the *parshioth* are not larger, and not set apart from the rest. Figures, ornaments, and little decorative flourishes are wanting in Spanish MSS. The beginning of *parshioth* is signified in the margin פרש with small letters. A threefold פ at the beginning of a *parshiah* is not found in the text. Every book does not end with a חזק. Books are separated by a space of four lines. *Metheg* and *Mappik* seldom appear; but *Raphe*, or a peculiar stroke over the *undageshed* consonant, is frequent. These criteria along with the Spanish character will determine, in Bruns's opinion, a Spanish copy."[2]]

VII. De Rossi has divided Hebrew manuscripts into three classes, viz. 1. *More ancient*, or those written before the twelfth century; 2. *Ancient*, or those written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; 3. *More recent*, or those written at the end of the fourteenth, or at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The most recent, or those written since the fifteenth century, which are very numerous, and are those found in the synagogues, he pronounces to be of little or no use, unless it can be proved that they have been transcribed from ancient apographs.[3] The total number of Hebrew manuscripts col-

[1] Walton, Proleg. iv. §§ 1—12. pp. 171—184. vii. viii. pp. 225—331. edit. Dathii; Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pars i. capp. vi.—viii. pp. 283—387.; Dr. Kennicott, Diss. i. pp. 313—317.; also his Dissertatio Generalis, *passim*; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœdus, § 117.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, Tract. ii. §§ 30—33., Tract. iii. §§ 102—124., pp. 215—226. 343—407.; De Rossi, Var. Lect. tom. i. Proleg. §§ xi.—xix. pp. *xi.—xxii.*

[2] Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxiii. pp. 340, 1.

[3] For some useful observations on MSS. generally, and their application to criticism, see Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxv. pp. 370—2.

lated by Dr. Kennicott for his critical edition of the Hebrew Bible is six hundred and thirty-four, besides forty-three printed editions, and seventeen copies of the Talmud, rabbinical works, and collections of various readings, making in all six hundred and ninety-four. The number of manuscripts collated by De Rossi is eight hundred and twenty-five, besides three hundred and seventy-five printed editions, making a total of twelve hundred. The following are the most ancient manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott:—

1. The Codex Laudianus, A. 172. and 162., in the Bodleian Library, and numbered 1. in Dr. Kennicott's list of Hebrew manuscripts. Though now in two folio parts, it is evident that they originally formed only one volume: each part consists of quinquernions, or gatherings of five sheets or ten leaves; and at the bottom of every tenth leaf is a catch-word beginning the next leaf, which is the first of the succeeding gathering of ten leaves. But, at the end of the first part or volume, one leaf of the next quinquernion is pasted on, completing the book of Deuteronomy; so that this volume concludes with five sheets and one leaf over. And the first gathering in the second volume consists of only four sheets and one leaf, which last is likewise pasted on, for want of its fellow-leaf. This manuscript is written on vellum, according to Dr. Kennicott, in the Spanish character, but in the opinion of Dr. Bruns it is in the Italic character, to which De Rossi assents. The letters, which are moderately large, are plain, simple, and elegant, but universally unadorned; and they were originally written without points, as is evident from the different colour of the ink in the letters and in the points. Some of the letters, having become obliterated by the lapse of ages, have been written over a second time; and, though such places were re-written in the same strong character, yet many of the words were becoming a second time invisible, when collated by Dr. K. This eminent critic assigns it to the tenth century; but De Rossi refers it to the eleventh. The Laudian manuscript begins with Gen. xxvii. 31.: it contains *fourteen thousand* variations from Vander Hooght's edition of the Hebrew Bible. More than two thousand are found in the Pentateuch, which confirm the Septuagint Greek version in one hundred and nine various readings; the Syriac, in ninety-eight; the Arabic, in eighty-two; the Vulgate or Latin version, in eighty-eight; and the Chaldee paraphrase, in forty-two; it also agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch against the printed Hebrew, in seven hundred instances. What renders this manuscript the more valuable is, that it preserves a word of great importance for understanding 2 Sam. xxiii. 3—7., which word is confirmed by the Greek version, and thus recovers to us a prophecy of the Messiah.[1]

2. The Codex Carlsruhensis 1. (No. 154. of Dr. Kennicott's list of manuscripts) formerly belonged to the celebrated and learned Reuchlin, whose efforts contributed so much towards the revival of literature in the fifteenth century. This manuscript is now preserved in the public library at Carlsruhe, and is the oldest that has a *certain* date. It is in square folio, and was written in the year of the world 4866, corresponding with 1106 of our era. It contains the Prophets with the Targum.

3. The Codex Viennæ (No. 590. of Kennicott) contains the Prophets and Hagiographa. It is written on vellum in folio, and, if the date in its subscription be correct (A.D. 1018 or 1019), it is more ancient than the preceding. Bruns collected two hundred important various readings from

[1] Kennicott, Diss. i. pp. 315—319., Diss. ii. pp. 533, 534., Diss. Gen. pp. 70, 71.; De Rossi, Var. Lect., tom. i. Proleg. p. *lix*.

this manuscript. The points have been added by a later hand. According to Adler's enumeration, it consists of four hundred and seventy-one leaves, and two columns, each column containing twenty-one lines.

4. The Codex Cæsenæ, in the Malatesta Library at Bologna (No. 536. of Kennicott), is a folio manuscript written on vellum, in the German character, towards the end of the eleventh century. It contains the Pentateuch, the Haphtaroth or sections of the prophetical books, and the Megilloth, or five books of Canticles, or the Song of Solomon, Ruth, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. De Rossi pronounces it to be a most ancient and valuable manuscript, and states that in its margin are inserted some various readings of still more ancient manuscripts.[1]

5. The Codex Florentinus 2. (No. 162. of Kennicott), in the Laurentian Library at Florence, is written on vellum, in quarto, in a square Spanish character, with points, towards the end of the eleventh, or, at the latest, in the beginning of the twelfth century. It contains, with some deficiencies, the books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. Very many of the letters, which were obliterated by time, have been renewed by a later hand.

6. The Codex Mediolanensis 9. (193. of Kennicott), in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, is written on vellum, in octavo, in the German character, towards the close of the twelfth century. It has neither the points nor the Masorah. This manuscript comprises the Pentateuch: the beginning of the book of Genesis, and the end of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, have been written by a later hand. Both erasures and alterations occur in this manuscript; and sometimes a worse reading is substituted in place of one that is preferable. Nevertheless it contains many good various readings.

7. The Codex Norimbergensis 4. (201. of Kennicott), in the Ebnerian Library, Nuremberg, is a folio manuscript, written on thin vellum, in the German character, and containing the Prophets and Hagiographa. It is mutilated in various parts. It is of great antiquity; and, from the similarity of its character to that of the Codex Carlsruhensis, both Dr. Kennicott and De Rossi assign it to the beginning of the twelfth century.

8. The Codex Parisiensis 27. (Regius 29., 210. of Kennicott), in the Imperial Library, Paris, is a quarto manuscript of the entire bible, written on vellum, in an elegant Italic character. The initial words are, with few exceptions, of the same size as the rest. The Masorah and Keri are both wanting; and the Megilloth precede the books of Chronicles. It is highly valued by Kennicott and De Rossi, who refer it also to the beginning of the twelfth century.

9. Coeval with the preceding is the Codex Regiomontanus 2. (224. of Kennicott), in the Royal Library at Königsberg, written in the Italic character, in small folio. This manuscript contains the Prophets and the Hagiographa, but it is mutilated in various places. The initial letters are larger than the others; and three of the poetical books are written in hemistichs.

10. To the beginning of the twelfth century likewise is to be referred the Codex Parisiensis 24. (San-Germanensis 2., No. 366. of Kennicott), in the Library of St. Germains, Paris: it is written on vellum, in large quarto. It is imperfect from Jer. xxix. 19. to xxxviii. 2.; and from Hosea iv. 4. to Amos vi. 12. Isaiah follows Ezekiel, according to the Talmudical canon.[2]

The following are among the most ancient of the manuscripts in the possession of the late M. De Rossi, and collated by him, viz.

[1] De Rossi, tom. i. Proleg. p. *lxxxvii.*

[2] Kennicott, Diss. Gen. pp. 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 98, 104, 106.

1. The Codex, by him numbered 634., which is in quarto. It was separated from the MS. next mentioned as being supposed an older fragment, and contains a portion of the books of Leviticus and Numbers — from Levit. xxi. 19. to Numb. i. 50.: it exhibits every mark of the remotest antiquity. The vellum on which it is written is decayed by age; the character is intermediate, or Italic, approaching to that of the German manuscripts. The letters are all of an uniform size; there is no trace of the Masorah, or of any Masoretic notes, nor is any space left before the larger sections; though sometimes, as in other very ancient manuscripts, a few points are inserted between the words. De Rossi assigns this manuscript to the *eighth* century.

2. A manuscript of the Pentateuch (No. 503.), in quarto, and on vellum, containing from Gen. xlii. 14. to Deut. xv. 12. It is composed of leaves of various ages; the most ancient of which are of the *ninth* or tenth century. The character is semi-rabbinical, rude, and confessedly very ancient. Points occur, in some of the more ancient leaves, in the writing of the original copyist, but sometimes they are wanting. There are no traces of the Masorah or of the Masoretic notes, and sometimes no space at all before the larger sections. It frequently agrees with the Samaritan text and ancient versions.

3. A manuscript of the Pentateuch (No. 10.), beginning Gen. xix. 35., with the Targum and Megilloth. It is written in the German character, on vellum, and in quarto, towards the end of the eleventh or in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Masorah is absent. The character, which is defaced by time, is rudely formed; and the initial letters are larger than the rest. Coeval with this manuscript is,

4. A manuscript of the book of Job (No. 349.), in quarto, also on vellum, and in the German character. It is one of the most valuable manuscripts of that book. The pages are divided into two columns, the lines being of unequal length.

5. A manuscript of the Hagiographa (No. 379.), the size, character, and date of which correspond with the preceding. It begins with Psal. xlix. 15., and ends with Neh. xi. 4. The Masorah and Keri are absent; and the poetical books are divided into hemistichs.

6. A manuscript of the Pentateuch (No. 611.), on vellum, in octavo, and written in the German character, approaching somewhat to the Spanish, towards the close of the eleventh, or in the commencement of the twelfth century. The ink is frequently faded by age: there are no traces of the Masorah: the Keri are very rarely to be seen; and the initial letters are larger than the others. There are frequent omissions in the text, which are supplied in the margin.[1] All these MSS. were in De Rossi's own library.

[Since the collations made by Kennicott and De Rossi, there has been another by Dr. Pinner at Odessa. Most of the MSS. he has examined are of great antiquity and importance. A few of these shall be described.

1. A Pentateuch roll on leather (marked No. 1. by Pinner), containing the five books of Moses complete. It has neither vowels, nor accents, nor Masorah. The form of the letters differs much from that at present in use. The rules of the Masorah are complied with, and the words of the MS. are separated; which separation is commonly supposed to have begun not earlier than the ninth century. Still, it has a subscription, stating that it

[1] De Rossi, Var. Lect. tom. i. Proleg. pp. *cxvi. cxii. xcviii. cvii. cviii. cxv.*

was corrected in the year 580; and Pinner expresses his belief that this statement is accurate If so, it is the most ancient MS. known to exist. There are but few various readings in it. This roll was brought from Derbend in Daghestan.

2. A Pentateuch roll (Pinner No. 5.), beginning Numb. xiii. 19. The form of the letters is different from the present. The transcriber was careless, and has made many mistakes. The date of the subscription is 843.

3. A small folio (Pinner No. 3.), on parchment, containing the later prophets. There are two columns in each page, between which, and below, and in the outer margin, is found the Masorah. The vowels and accents are quite different from those now in use, not only in shape, but also in position, being placed above the letters. The first page has a two-fold pointing, above and below; and this again occurs, occasionally, in some verses and words. From Zech. xiv. 6. to Mal. i. 13. there is no punctuation, except in the first three verses of Malachi, where a much later hand has added points, according to the system we use. The form of the letters differs from the present form. The MS. is correctly written, and the various readings numerous and important. The inscription, affixed in 956, states that the MS. was written in 916.

4. An incomplete folio codex, on parchment (Pinner No. 13.), containing from 2 Sam. vi. 10. to the end of 2 Kings. Each page has three columns, between which, and at the sides of the text, is the Masorah, of special interest. The vowels and accents differ a good deal from those now used. The various readings are many and important. According to the inscription, it was purchased in 938.

5. A small folio, containing the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa. Each page has three columns, except in the Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, where there are but two. The letters and accents are similar to those in No. 3., mentioned above. This MS. is not very accurately written. According to the inscription, it was transcribed in Egypt, in 1010. All these MSS. are at Odessa.[1]]

Dr. Kennicott states that almost all the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament, at present known to be extant, were written between the years 1000 and 1457, whence he infers that all the manuscripts written before the years 700 or 800 were destroyed by some decree of the Jewish senate, on account of their many differences from the copies then declared genuine. This circumstance is also alleged by Bishop Walton, as the reason why we have so few exemplars of the age of 600 years, and why even the copies of 700 or 800 years are very rare.

VIII. It was long a desideratum with biblical scholars to procure the Hebrew Scriptures from the Jews who are settled in India and other parts of the East. It was reasonably supposed that, as these Jews had been for so many ages separated from their brethren in the West, their manuscripts might contain a text derived from the autographs of the sacred writers, by a channel independent of that through which the text of our printed bibles has been transmitted to us. Dr. Kennicott was very anxious to obtain a copy, or at least a collation of a manuscript from India or China, for his edition

[1] For fuller particulars see Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxiv. pp. 357—362.; who gives in the same chapter a detailed description of various Hebrew MSS.

of the Hebrew Bible, in the expectation that it would exhibit important variations from the Masoretic editions; but he was unsuccessful in his endeavours[1]; and the honour of first bringing an Indian manuscript of the Hebrew Scriptures into Europe was reserved for the learned and Rev. Dr. Buchanan.

Among the biblical manuscripts brought from India by this learned and pious divine, which are now deposited in the public library at Cambridge, there is a roll of the Pentateuch, which he procured from the black Jews in Malabar[2], who (there is strong reason to believe) are a part of the remains of the first dispersion of that nation by Nebuchadnezzar. These Jews, on being interrogated, could give no precise account of it: some replied, that it came originally from Senna in Arabia; others of them said, it was brought from Cashmir.[3] The Cambridge roll, or Indian copy of the Pentateuch, which may also be denominated *Malabaric*, is written on a roll of goat-skins dyed *red*, and was discovered by Dr. Buchanan in the record-chest of a synagogue of the black Jews, in the interior of Malayala, in the year 1806. It measures forty-eight feet in length, and in breadth about twenty-two inches, or a Jewish cubit. The book of Leviticus and the greater part of the book of Deuteronomy are wanting. It appears, from calculation, that the original length of the roll was not less than ninety English feet. In its present condition it consists of thirty-seven skins, and contains one hundred and seventeen columns of writing perfectly clear and legible. [Bishop Marsh and others are inclined to claim a high antiquity for this MS., which was minutely examined and described by Mr. Yeates; but Professor Lee] states that Bishop Marsh is mistaken in his judgment of this manuscript, which the professor pronounces to be an European Masoretic roll, the errors in which show that it was written by an ignorant scribe; so that its text is of little value.[4]

[1] According to the information collected from various sources, by Professor Bauer, it does not appear that the manuscripts of the Chinese Jews are of any remote antiquity, or are calculated to afford any assistance to biblical critics. Although Jews have resided in China for many centuries, yet they have no ancient manuscripts, those now in use being subsequent to the fifteenth century. Critica Sacra, pp. 404—407. See an account of the Hebræo-Chinese manuscripts in Koegler's Notit. SS. Bibliorum Judæorum in Imperio Sinensi. Edit. 2. 8vo. Halæ ad Salam, 1805. Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus (vol. iii. p. 567. et seq.), has given the best account that is extant of the Jews in China, a colony of whom settled in that country in the first century of the Christian era. The reader will find an abridgement of it in Dr. Townley's Illustrations of Biblical Literature, vol. i. pp. 83—89.

[2] See an account of these Jews in Dr. Buchanan's Christian Researches, pp. 224. et seq. 4th edit.

[3] Dr. Kennicott quotes from Wolfius, that a certain Jew, named Moses Pereyra, affirmed he had found MS. copies of the Hebrew text in Malabar; for that the Jews, having escaped from Titus, betook themselves through Persia to the Malabar coast, and arrived there safe in number about eighty persons. Whence Wolfius concludes that great fidelity is to be attached to the Malabar MSS. The Buchanan MS. may fairly be denominated a Malabar copy, as having been brought from those parts. "Refert Moses Pereyra, se invenisse Manuscripta Exemplaria (Hebræi Textus) Malabarica. Tradit Judæos, a Tito fugientes, per Persiam se ad oras Malabaricas contulisse, ibique cum octoginta animabus salvos advenisse. Unde constat, MStis Malabaricis multum fidei tribuendum esse." Wolf. iv. 97. See Dr. Kennicott's Diss. ii. p. 532. Oxford, 1759.

[4] Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Londinensia Minora, Prol. I. sect. xiv. p. 16.

[In 1850, the Jewish settlement at K'ae-fung-foo in China was visited on behalf of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. An interesting account of this visit is found in a small work entitled, "The Jews at K'ae-fung-foo; being a Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jewish Synagogue at K'ae-fung-foo, &c.; with an Introduction by the Right Rev. G. Smith, D.D., Lord Bishop of Victoria, Shanghae, 1851." We learn from this that the synagogue was in a dilapidated condition, and the Jews themselves sunk in ignorance and poverty. Many of their MSS. have been purchased and brought to England. The text is the Masoretic. A description of one of these MSS. is given by Davidson.[1]]

IX. Seventeen manuscripts of the SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH are known to be extant, which Dr. Kennicott has minutely described. Six of these manuscripts are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and one in the Cotton Library in the British Museum: concerning a few of the most valuable of these, the following particulars may be not unacceptable. They are numbered according to Dr. Kennicott's notation.

1. Cod. 127. is preserved in the British Museum (Bibl. Cotton. Claudius, B. 8.). It is one of the six MSS. procured by Archbishop Ussher, by whom it was presented to Sir Robert Cotton. This very valuable manuscript is complete, and was transcribed entirely by one hand, on two hundred and fifty-four pages of vellum. It is in an excellent state of preservation, a leaf of fine paper having been carefully placed between every two leaves of the vellum. This MS. was written A.D. 1362.

2. Cod. 62. is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and was also purchased by Archbishop Ussher; from whose heirs the curators of that library bought it, with many other MSS. This manuscript is in large quarto, and contains an Arabic version in Samaritan letters, placed in a column parallel to the Samaritan text. Unhappily there are many chasms in it. Dr. Kennicott attributes a high value to this manuscript, which was written about the middle of the thirteenth century. [There is, however, a subscription with the date 1524. Probably some later part was written in that year.]

3. Cod. 197. is a most valuable manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, which was collated for Dr. Kennicott by Dr. Branca, who is of opinion that it is certainly not later than the tenth century. It is imperfect in many places, and is very beautifully written on extremely thin vellum, in red characters.

4. Cod. 363. (No. 1. of the MSS. in the Library of the Oratoire in Paris) is the celebrated manuscript bought by Pietro della Valle of the Samaritans, in 1616, and printed by Morinus in 1631—33. It is written throughout by one hand; and, though no date is assigned to it, Dr. Kennicott thinks it was written towards the close

[1] Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxv. p. 369.

of the eleventh century. It was collated for Dr. Kennicott by Dr Bruns, in some select passages.[1]

SECT. II.

ON THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

NEXT to manuscripts, VERSIONS afford the greatest assistance in ascertaining critically the sacred text, as well as in the interpretation of the Scriptures. "It is only by means of versions that they, who are ignorant of the original languages, can at all learn what the Scripture contains; and every version, so far as it is just, conveys the sense of Scripture to those who understand the language in which it is written."

Versions may be divided into two classes, *ancient* and *modern:* many of the former were made immediately from the original languages by persons to whom they were familiar; and who, it may be reasonably supposed, had better opportunities for ascertaining the force and meaning of words, than more recent translators can possibly have. Modern versions are those made in later times, and chiefly since the Reformation: they are useful for explaining the sense of the inspired writers; while ancient versions are of the utmost importance both for the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures. The present section will therefore be appropriated to giving an account of those which are most esteemed for their antiquity and excellence.

The principal ANCIENT VERSIONS, which illustrate the Scriptures, are the Chaldee paraphrases, generally called Targums, the Septuagint, or Alexandrine Greek version, the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and what are called the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions (of which latter translations fragments only are extant), together with the Syriac, and Latin or Vulgate versions. All the ancient versions are of great importance both in the criticism, as well as in the interpretation, of the sacred writings, but they are not all witnesses of equal value; for the *authority* of the different versions depends partly on the age and country of their respective authors, partly on the text whence their translations were made, and partly on the ability and fidelity with which they were executed. It will therefore be not irrelevant to offer a short historical notice of the principal versions above mentioned, as well as of some other ancient versions of less celebrity perhaps, but which have been beneficially consulted by biblical critics.

[1] Kennicott, Diss. ii. pp. 538—540. Diss. Gen. pp. 81, 76, 88, 98. In the seventh and following volumes of the Classical Journal there is a catalogue of the biblical, biblico-oriental, and classical manuscripts at present existing in the various public libraries in Great Britain.

§ 1. *On the Targums, or Chaldee Paraphrases of the Old Testament.*

I. *Targum of Onkelos;*—II. *Of the Pseudo-Jonathan;*—III. *The Jerusalem Targum;*—IV. *The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel;*—V. *The Targum on the Hagiographa;*—VI. *The Targum on the Megilloth;*—VII. VIII. IX. *Three Targums on the book of Esther;*—X. *A Targum on the books of Chronicles;*—XI. *Real value of the different Targums.*

THE Chaldee word תרגום, TARGUM, signifies, in general, any version or explanation; but this appellation is more particularly restricted to the versions or paraphrases of the Old Testament, executed in the East-Aramæan or Chaldee dialect, as it is usually called. These Targums are termed paraphrases or expositions, because they are rather comments and explications, than literal translations of the text: they are written in the Chaldee tongue, which became familiar to the Jews after the time of their captivity in Babylon, and was more known to them than the Hebrew itself: so that, when the law was "read in the synagogue every sabbath-day," in pure biblical Hebrew, an explanation was subjoined to it in Chaldee; in order to render it intelligible to the people, who had but an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language. This practice, as already observed, originated with Ezra[1]: as there are no traces of any written Targums prior to those of Onkelos and Jonathan, who are *supposed* to have lived about the time of our Saviour, it is highly probable that these paraphrases were at first merely oral; that, subsequently, the ordinary glosses on the more difficult passages were committed to writing; and that, as the Jews were bound by an ordinance of their elders to possess a copy of the law, these glosses were either afterwards collected together and deficiencies in them supplied, or new and connected paraphrases were formed.

There are at present extant ten paraphrases on different parts of the Old Testament, three of which comprise the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses:—1. The Targum of Onkelos; 2. That falsely ascribed to Jonathan, and usually cited as the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan; and, 3. The Jerusalem Targum; 4. The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel (*i. e.* the son of Uzziel), on the Prophets; 5. The Targum of Rabbi Joseph the blind, or one-eyed, on the Hagiographa; 6. An anonymous Targum on the five Megilloth, or books of Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah; 7, 8, 9. Three Targums on the book of Esther; and, 10. A Targum or paraphrase on the two books of Chronicles. These Targums, taken together, form a continued paraphrase on the Old

[1] See p. 8. *supra.* Our account of the Chaldee paraphrases is drawn up from a careful consideration of what has been written on them, by Carpzov, in his Critica Sacra, pars ii. cap. i. pp. 430—481.; Bishop Walton, Proleg. xii. sect. ii. pp. 568—592.; Leusden, Philolog. Hebræo-Mixt. Diss. v. vi. and vii. pp. 36—59.; Dr. Prideaux, Connection, Part ii. book viii. sub anno 37. B. C. vol. iii. pp. 531—555. (edit. 1718.); Kortholt, De variis Scripturæ Editionibus, cap. iii. pp. 34—40.; Pfeiffer, Critica Sacra, cap. viii. sect. ii. Op. tom. ii. pp. 753—771. and in his Treatise de Theologia Judaicâ, &c. Exercit. ii. Ibid. tom. ii. pp. 862—889.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, Tract. iii. §§ 59—81., pp. 288—308.; Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacræ, lib. iii. cap. viii. § 3., pp. 605—611.; Pictet, Théologie Chrétienne, tom. i. pp. 145. *et seq.*; Jahn, Introductio ad Libros Veteris Fœderis, §§ 46—50.; and Waehner's Antiquitates Ebræorum, sect. i. cap. xxxix.—xlii. tom. i. pp. 156—171.

Testament, with the exception of the books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah (anciently reputed to be part of Ezra); which being for the most part written in Chaldee, it has been conjectured that no paraphrases were written on them, as being unnecessary; though Dr. Prideaux is of opinion that Targums were composed on these books also, which have perished in the lapse of ages.

The language, in which these paraphrases are composed, varies in purity according to the time when they were respectively written. Thus, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan are much purer than the others, approximating very nearly to the Aramæan dialect in which some parts of Daniel and Ezra are written, except, indeed, that the orthography does not always correspond; while the language of the later Targums whence the rabbinical dialect derives its source is far more impure, and is intermixed with barbarous and foreign words. Originally, all the Chaldee paraphrases were written without vowel-points, like all other Oriental manuscripts; but at length some persons ventured to add points to them, though very erroneously; and this irregular punctuation was retained in the Venice and other early editions of the Hebrew Bible. Some further imperfect attempts towards regular pointing were made both in the Complutensian and in the Antwerp Polyglotts, until at length the elder Buxtorf, in his edition of the Hebrew Bible published at Basil, undertook the thankless task[1] of improving the punctuation of the Targums, according to such rules as he had formed from the pointing which he had found in the Chaldee parts of the books of Daniel and Ezra; and his method of punctuation is followed in Bishop Walton's Polyglott.

I. The Targum of Onkelos.—It is not known, with certainty, at what time Onkelos flourished, nor of what nation he was: [some have imagined him the same with Aquila, the Greek translator: the version, however, ascribed to this last does not in many passages agree with Onkelos.] Professor Eichhorn conjectures that he was a native of Babylon, first, because he is mentioned in the Babylonish Talmud; secondly, because his dialect is not the Chaldee spoken in Palestine, but much purer, and more closely resembling the style of Daniel and Ezra; and, lastly, because he has not interwoven any of those fabulous narratives to which the Jews of Palestine were so much attached, and from which they could with difficulty refrain. The generally-received opinion is, that he was a proselyte to Judaism, and a disciple of the celebrated Rabbi Hillel, who flourished about fifty years before the Christian era; and consequently that Onkelos was contemporary with our Saviour: Bauer and Jahn, however, place him in the second century. [According to the oldest accounts he was a disciple of Gamaliel, St. Paul's master. Anger has collected all the notices of him[2].] The Targum of Onkelos comprises the Pentateuch or five books of Moses, and is justly pre-

[1] Père Simon, Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. liv. ii. c. xviii., has censured Buxtorf's mode of pointing the Chaldee paraphrases with great severity; observing, that he would have done much better if he had more diligently examined manuscripts that were more correctly pointed.

[2] De Onkelo Chaldaico quem ferunt Pentateuchi Paraphraste, &c. Partic. ii. Lips. 1846.

ferred to all the others both by Jews and Christians, on account of the purity of its style, and its general freedom from idle legends. It is rather a version than a paraphrase, and renders the Hebrew text word for word, with so much accuracy and exactness, that, being set to the same musical notes, with the original Hebrew, it could be read or cantillated in the same tone as the latter in the public assemblies of the Jews. And this we find was the practice of the Jews up to the time of Rabbi Elias Levita; who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, and expressly states that the Jews read the law in their synagogues, first in Hebrew and then in the Targum of Onkelos. [Onkelos refers only two places, Gen. xlix. 10. Numb. xxiv. 17. to the Messiah; while the later Targums make seventeen Messianic passages in the Pentateuch[1]]. This Targum has been translated into Latin by Alfonso de Zamora, Paulus Fagius, Bernardinus Baldus, and Andrea de Leon of Zamora.[2]

II. The second Targum, which is a more liberal paraphrase of the Pentateuch than the preceding, is usually called the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan, being ascribed by many to Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who wrote the much-esteemed paraphrase on the Prophets. But the difference in the style and diction of this Targum, which is very impure, as well as in the method of paraphrasing adopted in it, clearly proves that it could not have been written by Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who indeed sometimes indulges in allegories, and has introduced a few barbarisms; but this Targum on the law abounds with the most idle Jewish legends that can well be conceived: which, together with the barbarous and foreign words it contains, render it of very little utility. From its mentioning the six parts of the *Talmud* (on Exod. xxvi. 9.), which compilation was not made till more than two centuries after the birth of Christ; *Constantinople* (on Numb. xxiv. 19.), which city was always called Byzantium until it received its name from Constantine the Great, in the beginning of the fourth century; the *Lombards* (on Numb. xxiv. 24.), whose first irruption into Italy did not take place until the year 570; and the *Turks* (on Gen. x. 2.), who did not become conspicuous till the middle of the sixth century, learned men are unanimously of opinion that this Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan could not have been written before the seventh, or even the eighth century. It was probably compiled from older interpretations. This Chaldee paraphrase was translated into Latin by Anthony Ralph de Chevalier, an eminent French Protestant divine, in the sixteenth century.

III. The Jerusalem Targum, which also paraphrases the five books of Moses, derives its name from the dialect in which it is composed. It is by no means a connected paraphrase, sometimes omitting whole verses, or even chapters; at other times explaining only a single word of a verse, of which it sometimes gives a twofold

[1] Buxtorf. Lex. Talm. pp. 1268., &c.

[2] The fullest information, concerning the Targum of Onkelos, is to be found in the disquisition of G. B. Winer, entitled De Onkeloso ejusque Paraphrasi Chaldaica Dissertatio, 4to. Lipsiæ, 1820. See also Luzzatus, Philoxenus, s. De Onkelosi Chald. Pent. Vers. &c. Vienn. 1830.

interpretation; and, at others, Hebrew words are inserted without any explanation whatever. In many respects it corresponds with the paraphrase of the Pseudo-Jonathan, whose legendary tales are here frequently repeated, abridged, or expanded. From the impurity of its style and the number of Greek, Latin, and Persian words which it contains, Bishop Walton, Carpzov, Wolff, and many other eminent philologers, are of opinion that it is a compilation by several authors, and consists of extracts and collections. From these internal evidences, the commencement of the seventh century has been assigned as its probable date; but it is more likely not to have been written before the eighth or perhaps the ninth century. This Targum was also translated into Latin by Chevalier and by Francis Taylor.

IV. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel.—According to the talmudical traditions, the author of this paraphrase was chief of the eighty distinguished scholars of Rabbi Hillel the elder, and a fellow-disciple of Simeon the Just, who bore the infant Messiah in his arms: consequently he would be nearly contemporary with Onkelos. Wolff[1], however, adopts the opinion of Dr. Prideaux, that he flourished a short time before the birth of Christ, and compiled the work which bears his name, from more ancient Targums, that had been preserved to his time by oral tradition. From the silence of Origen and Jerome concerning this Targum, of which they could not but have availed themselves if it had really existed in their time, and also from its being cited only in the Babylonian Talmud, both Bauer and Jahn date it much later than is generally admitted: the former, indeed, is of opinion, that its true date cannot be ascertained: and the latter, from the inequalities of style and method observable in it, considers it as a compilation from the interpretations of several learned men, made about the close of the third or fourth century. [These reasons, however, are not sufficient. Perhaps there have been later interpolations.[2]] This paraphrase treats on the Prophets, that is (according to the Jewish classification of the sacred writings), on the books of Joshua, Judges, 1 & 2 Sam. 1, & 2 Kings, who are termed the *former* prophets; and on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, who are designated as the *latter* prophets. Though the style of this Targum is not so pure and elegant as that of Onkelos, yet it is not disfigured by those legendary tales and numerous foreign and barbarous words which abound in the later Targums. Both the language and method of interpretation, however, are irregular: in the exposition of the former prophets, the text is more closely rendered than in that of the latter, which is less accurate, as well as more paraphrastical, and interspersed with some traditions and fabulous legends. In order to attach the greater authority to the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Jews, not satisfied with making him contemporary with the prophets Malachi, Zachariah, and Haggai, and asserting that he received it from their lips, have related that, while Jonathan was composing his paraphrase, there was an earthquake for forty leagues around him; and that, if any bird happened

[1] Bibliotheca Hebraica, tom. ii. p. 1160.
[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 191. p. 630.

to pass over him, or a fly alighted on his paper while writing, they were immediately consumed by fire from heaven, without any injury being sustained either by his person or his paper!! The whole of this Targum was translated into Latin by Alfonso de Zamora, Andrea de Leon, and Conrad Pellican: and the paraphrase on the twelve minor prophets, by Immanuel Tremellius.

V. The Targum on the Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, is ascribed by some Jewish writers to *Raf Jose*, or Rabbi Joseph, surnamed the one-eyed or blind, who is said to have been at the head of the academy at Sora, in the third century; but the real author is unknown. The style is barbarous, impure, and very unequal, interspersed with numerous digressions and legendary narratives: on which account the younger Buxtorf, and after him Bauer and Jahn, are of opinion that the whole is a compilation of later times; and this sentiment appears to be the most correct. Dr. Prideaux characterizes its language as the most corrupt Chaldee of the Jerusalem dialect. The translators of the preceding Targum, together with Arias Montanus, have given a Latin version of this Targum.

VI. The Targum on the Megilloth, or five books of Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ruth, and Esther, is evidently a compilation by several persons: the barbarism of its style, numerous digressions, and idle legends which are inserted, all concur to prove it to be of late date, and certainly not earlier than the sixth century. The paraphrase on the book of Ruth and the Lamentations of Jeremiah is the best executed portion: Ecclesiastes is more freely paraphrased; but the text of the Song of Solomon is absolutely lost amidst the diffuse *circumscription* of its author, and his dull glosses and fabulous additions.

VII. VIII. IX. The Three Targums on the book of Esther. — This book has always been held in the highest estimation by the Jews; which circumstance induced them to translate it repeatedly into the Chaldee dialect. Three paraphrases on it have been printed: one in the Antwerp Polyglott, which is much shorter and contains fewer digressions than the others; another in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, which is more diffuse, and comprises more numerous Jewish fables and traditions; and a third, of which a Latin version was published by Francis Taylor; and which, according to Carpzov, is more stupid and diffuse than either of the preceding. They are all three of very late date.

X. A Targum on the Books of Chronicles, which for a long time was unknown both to Jews and Christians, was discovered in the library at Erfurt, belonging to the ministers of the Augsburg confession, by Matthias Frederick Beck; who published it in 1680, 3, 4, in two quarto volumes. Another edition was published at Amsterdam by the learned David Wilkins (1715, 4to.), from a manuscript in the university library at Cambridge. It is more complete than Beck's edition, and supplies many of its deficiencies. This Targum, however, is of very little value: like the other Chaldee paraphrases, it blends legendary tales with the narrative, and introduces numerous Greek words, such as ὄχλος, σοφιςαὶ, &c.

XI. Of all the Chaldee paraphrases above noticed, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel are most highly valued by the Jews, who implicitly receive their expositions of doubtful passages. Schickhard, Mayer, Helvicus, Leusden, Hottinger, and Dr. Prideaux, have conjectured that some Chaldee Targum was in use in the synagogue where our Lord read Isai. lxi. 1, 2. (Luke iv. 17 — 19.); and that he quoted Psal. xxii. 1. when on the cross (Matt. xxvii. 46.) not out of the Hebrew text, but out of a Chaldee paraphrase. But there does not appear to be sufficient ground for this hypothesis. The Targum on the Psalms, in which the words cited by our Lord are to be found, is so long *posterior* to the time of his crucifixion, that it cannot be received as evidence. Dr. Kennicott supposes the Chaldee paraphrases to have been designedly altered in compliment to the previously-corrupted copies of the Hebrew text; or, in other words, that "alterations have been made wilfully in the Chaldee paraphrase to render that paraphrase, in some places, more conformable to the words of the Hebrew text, where those Hebrew words are supposed to be right, but had themselves been corrupted."[1] But, notwithstanding all their deficiencies and interpolations, the Targums, especially those of Onkelos and Jonathan, are of considerable importance in the interpretation of the Scriptures, not only as they supply the meanings of words or phrases occurring but once in the Old Testament, but also because they reflect considerable light on the Jewish rites, ceremonies, laws, customs, usages, &c. mentioned or alluded to in both Testaments. But it is in establishing the genuine meaning of particular prophecies relative to the Messiah, in opposition to the false explications of the Jews and Anti-trinitarians, that these Targums are pre-eminently useful. Bishop Walton, Dr. Prideaux, Pfeiffer, Carpzov, and Rambach, have illustrated this remark by numerous examples. Bishop Patrick, and Drs. Gill and Clarke, in their respective Commentaries on the Bible, have inserted many valuable elucidations from the Chaldee paraphrasts. Leusden recommends that no one should attempt to read their writings, or indeed to learn the Chaldee dialect, who is not previously well-grounded in Hebrew: he advises the Chaldee text of Daniel and Ezra to be first read either with his own Chaldee Manual, or with Buxtorf's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon; after which the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan may be perused, with the help of Buxtorf's Chaldee and Talmudic Lexicon, and of De Lara's work, *De Convenientia Vocabulorum Rabbinicorum cum Græcis et quibusdam aliis linguis Europæis.* Amstelodami, 1648, 4to. Those who may be able to procure it may more advantageously study Mr. Riggs' *Manual of the Chaldee Language.* Boston (Massachusetts), 1832. 8vo.

[It may be observed that the Jerusalem Targum is merely another recension of that of the Pseudo-Jonathan, as Zunz has proved[2]; that there are several instances of close agreement of Onkelos with Jonathan (comp. Targ. Deut. xxii. 5., with Judg. v. 26.; Deut. xxiv. 16. with 2 Kings xiv. 6.; Numb. xxi. 28, 29., with Jer. xlviii. 45, 46.); so

[1] Dr. Kennicott, Second Dissertation, pp. 167—193.
[2] Die Gottesdienstl. Vörtrage der Juden, pp. 66—72.

that one must have followed the other—though whether Onkelos was in the hands of Jonathan, as Zunz thinks[1], or whether Jonathan was used by Onkelos, as Hävernick maintains, on the ground that the tradition of the Talmud makes Jonathan the eldest, and that an interpretation of the prophets would be likely to precede the more delicate task of interpreting the law, is matter of doubt—and that the Targum on Esther, printed in the Antwerp Polyglott, is another recension of that published by Bishop Walton. Traces, moreover, have been found of a Jerusalem Targum on the Prophets.[2]]

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§ 2. *On the Ancient Greek Versions of the Old Testament.*

I. *The* SEPTUAGINT;—1. *History of it;*—2 *A critical account of its execution;*—3. *What manuscripts were used by its authors;*—4. *Account of the biblical labours of Origen;*—5. *Notice of the recensions or editions of Eusebius and Pamphilus, of Lucian, and of Hesychius;*—6. *Peculiar importance of the Septuagint version in the criticism and interpretation of the New Testament.*—II. *Account of other Greek versions of the Old Testament;*—1. *Version of* AQUILA;—2. *Of* THEODOTION;—3. *Of* SYMMACHUS;—4, 5, 6. *Anonymous versions.*—III. 1. *References in ancient manuscripts to other versions;*—2. *The Venetian Greek version.*

I. AMONG the Greek versions of the Old Testament, the ALEXANDRIAN or SEPTUAGINT, as it is generally termed, is the most ancient and valuable, and was held in so much esteem, both by the Jews and by the first Christians, as to be constantly read in the synagogues and churches. Hence it is uniformly cited by the early fathers, whether Greek or Latin, and from this version all the translations into other languages, which were anciently approved by the Christian church, were executed (with the exception of the Peshito-Syriac), as the Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Gothic, and Old Italic or Latin version in use before the time of Jerome; and to this day the Septuagint is exclusively read in the Greek and most other Oriental churches.[3] This version has derived its name either from the Jewish account of seventy-two persons having been employed to make it, or from its having received the approbation of the Sanhedrim, or great council of the Jews, which consisted of seventy, or,

[1] Die Gottesdienstl. Vörtrage der Juden, p. 63.

[2] See Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. §§ 79—82.; Keil, Einleitung, §§ 189—193.; Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xiv.

[3] Walton, Proleg. ix. pp. 333—469.; from which, and from the following authorities, our account of the Septuagint is derived, viz. Bauer, Critica Sacra, Tract. II. §§ 41—52., pp. 239—273., who has chiefly followed Hody's book, hereafter noticed, in the history of the Septuagint version; Dr. Prideaux, Connection, part ii. book i. sub anno 277. vol. ii. pp. 27—49.; Masch, Preface to part ii. vol. ii. of his edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, in which the history of the Septuagint version is minutely examined; Morus, in Ernesti, vol. ii. pp. 50—81. 101—119.; Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pars ii. cap. ii. pp. 481—551.; Masch and Boerner's edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. ii. pp. 216—220. 256—304.; Thomas, Introductio in Hermeneuticam Sacr. utriusque Testamenti, pp. 228—253.; Harles, Brevior Notitia Litteraturæ Græcæ, pp. 638—643.; and Renouard, Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes, tom. i. p. 140. See also Origenis Hexapla, a Montfaucon, tom. i. Prælim. Diss. pp. 27—36. A *full* account of the manuscripts and editions of the Greek Scriptures is given in the preface to vol. i. of the edition of the Septuagint commenced by the late Rev. Dr. Holmes, for a notice of which see Bibl. List, vol. iv.

more correctly, of seventy-two persons. Much uncertainty, however, has prevailed concerning the *real* history of this ancient version; and, while some have strenuously advocated its miraculous and divine origin, other eminent philologists have laboured to prove that it must have been executed by several persons and at different times.

1. According to one account, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, caused this translation to be made for the use of the library which he had founded at Alexandria, at the request and with the advice of the celebrated Demetrius Phalereus, his principal librarian. For this purpose it is reported that he sent Aristeas and Andreas, two distinguished officers of his court, to Jerusalem, on an embassy to Eleazar, then high priest of the Jews, to request of the latter a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, and that there might also be sent to him seventy-two persons (six chosen out of each of the twelve tribes), who were well skilled equally in the Hebrew and Greek languages. These learned men were accordingly shut up in the island of Pharos; where, having agreed in the translation of each period after a mutual conference, Demetrius wrote down their version as they dictated it to him; and thus, in the space of seventy-two days, the whole was accomplished. This relation is derived from a letter ascribed to Aristeas himself, the authenticity of which has been greatly disputed. If, as there is every reason to believe is the case, this piece is a forgery, it was made at a very early period; for it was in existence in the time of Josephus, who has made use of it in his Jewish Antiquities. The veracity of Aristeas's narrative was not questioned until the seventeenth or eighteenth century; at which time, indeed, biblical criticism was, comparatively, in its infancy. Vives[1], Scaliger[2] Van Dale[3], Dr. Prideaux, and, above all, Dr. Hody[4], were the prin, cipal writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who attacked the genuineness of the pretended narrative of Aristeas; and, though it was ably vindicated by Bishop Walton[5], Isaac Vossius[6], Whiston[7], Brett[8], and other modern writers, the learned in our own time are fully agreed in considering it as fictitious.

Philo, the Jew, who also notices the Septuagint version, was ignorant of most of the circumstances narrated by Aristeas; but he relates others which appear not less extraordinary. According to him, Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Palestine for some learned Jews, whose number he does not specify; and these, going over to the island of Pharos, there executed so many distinct versions, all of which so *exactly and uniformly* agreed in sense, phrases, and words, as proved them to have been not common interpreters, but

[1] In a note on Augustine de Civitate Dei, lib. xviii. c. 42.

[2] In a note on Eusebius's Chronicle, no. MDCCXXXIV.

[3] Dissertatio super Aristea, de LXX. interpretibus, &c. Amst. 1705. 4to.

[4] De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, Versionibus Græcis, et Latinâ Vulgatâ, libri iv. quibus præmittitur Aristeæ Historia, folio, Oxon. 1705.

[5] Proleg. ix. §§ 3—10. pp. 338—359.

[6] De LXX. Interpretibus, &c. Hag. Com. 1661, 4to.

[7] In the Appendix to his work on The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, London, 1724, 8vo.

[8] Dissertation on the Septuagint, in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. iii. p. 18. *et seq.*

men prophetically inspired and divinely directed, who had every word dictated to them by the Spirit of God throughout the entire translation. He adds that an annual festival was celebrated by the Alexandrian Jews in the Isle of Pharos, where the version was made, until his time, to preserve the memory of it, and to thank God for so great a benefit.[1]

Justin Martyr, who flourished in the middle of the second century, about one hundred years after Philo, relates a similar story, with the addition of the seventy interpreters being shut up each in his own separate cell (which had been erected for that purpose by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus); and that here they composed so many distinct versions, word for word, in the very same expressions, to the great admiration of the king; who, not doubting that this version was divinely inspired, loaded the interpreters with honours, and dismissed them to their own country, with magnificent presents. The good father adds that the ruins of these cells were visible in his time.[2] But this narrative of Justin's is directly at variance with several circumstances recorded by Aristeas; such, for instance, as the previous conference or deliberation of the translators, and, above all, the very important point of the version being dictated to Demetrius Phalereus. Epiphanius, a writer of the fourth century, attempts to harmonize all these accounts by shutting up the translators two and two, in thirty-six cells, where they might consider or deliberate, and by stationing a copyist in each cell, to whom the translators dictated their labours: the result of all which was the production of thirty-six inspired versions, agreeing most uniformly together.

It is not a little remarkable that the Samaritans have traditions in favour of their version of the Pentateuch equally extravagant with those preserved by the Jews. In the Samaritan Chronicle of Abul Phatach, which was compiled in the fourteenth century from ancient and modern authors, both Hebrew and Arabic, there is a story to the following effect: that Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the tenth year of his reign, directed his attention to the difference subsisting between the Samaritans and the Jews concerning the law; the former receiving only the Pentateuch, and rejecting every other work ascribed to the prophets by the Jews. In order to determine this difference, he commanded the two nations to send deputies to Alexandria. The Jews intrusted this mission to Osar, the Samaritans to Aaron, to whom several other associates were added. Separate apartments, in a particular quarter of Alexandria, were assigned to each of these strangers; who were prohibited from having any personal intercourse, and each of them had a Greek scribe to write his version. Thus were the law and other Scriptures translated by the Samaritans; whose version being most carefully examined, the king was convinced that their text was more complete than that of the Jews. Such is the narrative of Abul Phatach, divested however of numerous marvellous circumstances,

[1] De Vita Mosis, lib. ii.

[2] Cohort. ad Gentes.

with which it has been decorated by the Samaritans; who are not surpassed even by the Jews in their partiality for idle legends.

A fact, buried under such a mass of fables as the translation of the Septuagint has been by the historians who have pretended to record it, necessarily loses its historical character. Although there is no doubt but that some truth is concealed under this load of fables, yet it is by no means an easy task to discern the truth from what is false: the following, however, is the result of our researches concerning this celebrated version:—

It is probable that the seventy interpreters, as they are called, executed their version of the Pentateuch during the joint reigns of Ptolemy Lagus, and his son Philadelphus. The Pseudo-Aristeas, Josephus, Philo, and many other writers, whom it were tedious to enumerate, relate that this version was made during the reign of Ptolemy II. or Philadelphus: Joseph Ben Gorion, however, among the rabbins, Theodoret, and many other Christian writers, refer its date to the time of Ptolemy Lagus. Now these two traditions can be reconciled only by supposing the version to have been performed during the two years when Ptolemy Philadelphus shared the throne with his father; which date coincides with the third and fourth years of the hundred and twenty-third olympiad, that is, about the years 286 and 285 before the vulgar Christian era. Further, this version was made neither by the command of Ptolemy, nor at the request nor under the superintendence of Demetrius Phalereus; but was voluntarily undertaken by the Jews for the use of their countrymen. It is well known that, at the period above noticed, there was a great multitude of Jews settled in Egypt, particularly at Alexandria: these, being most strictly observant of the religious institutions and usages of their forefathers, had their Sanhedrim, or grand council, composed of seventy or seventy-two members, and very numerous synagogues, in which the law was read to them on every sabbath; and, as the bulk of the common people were no longer acquainted with biblical Hebrew (the Greek language alone being used in their ordinary intercourse), it became necessary to translate the Pentateuch into Greek for their use. This is a far more probable account of the origin of the Alexandrian version than the traditions above stated. If this translation were made by public authority, it would unquestionably have been performed under the direction of the Sanhedrim; who would have examined, and perhaps corrected it, if it were the work of a single individual, previously to giving it the stamp of their approbation, and introducing it into the synagogues. In either case the translation would, probably, be denominated the Septuagint, because the Sanhedrim was composed of seventy or seventy-two members. It is even possible that the Sanhedrim, in order to ascertain the fidelity of the work, might have sent to Palestine for some learned men, of whose assistance and advice they would have availed themselves in examining the version. This fact, if it could be proved (for it is offered as a mere conjecture), would account for the story of the king of Egypt's sending an embassy to Jerusalem. There is, how-

ever, one circumstance which proves that, in executing this translation, the synagogues were originally in contemplation, viz. that all the ancient writers unanimously concur in saying that the Pentateuch was first translated. The five books of Moses, indeed, were the only books read in the synagogues until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; who having forbidden that practice in Palestine, the Jews evaded his commands by substituting for the Pentateuch the reading of the prophetic books.[1] When, afterwards, the Jews were delivered from the tyranny of the kings of Syria, they read the law and the prophets alternately in their synagogues; and the same custom was adopted by the Hellenistic or Græcizing Jews.

2. But, whatever was the real number of the authors of the version, their introduction of Coptic words (such as *οἰφί*, *ἄχι*, *ῥεμφὰν*, &c.), as well as their rendering of ideas purely Hebrew altogether in the Egyptian manner, clearly prove that they were natives of Egypt. Thus they express the creation of the world, not by the proper Greek word *κτίσις*, but by *γένεσις*, a term employed by the philosophers of Alexandria to denote the origin of the universe. The Hebrew word Thummim (Exod. xxviii. 30.), which signifies perfections, they render *ἀλήθεια*, *truth*.[2] The difference of style also indicates the version to have been the work not of one but of several translators, and to have been executed at different times. The best qualified and most able among them was the translator of the Pentateuch, who was evidently master of both Greek and Hebrew: he has for the most part religiously followed the Hebrew text, and has in various instances introduced the most suitable and best chosen expressions. From the very close resemblance subsisting between the text of the Greek version and the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, Louis de Dieu, Selden, Whiston, Hassencamp, and Bauer, are of opinion that the author of the Alexandrian version made it from the Samaritan Pentateuch. And, in proportion as these two correspond, the Greek differs from the Hebrew. This opinion is further supported by the declarations of Origen and Jerome, that the translator found the venerable name of Jehovah not in the letters in common use, but in very ancient characters; and also by the fact that those consonants in the Septuagint are frequently confounded together, the shapes of which are similar in the Samaritan, but not in the Hebrew alphabet.[3] This hypothesis, however ingenious and plausible, is by no means determinate; and what militates most against it is the inveterate enmity subsisting between the Jews and Samaritans, added to the constant and unvarying testimony of antiquity, that the Greek version of the Pentateuch was executed by Jews.

[1] [This statement, resting only on the authority of Elias Levita, has been refuted by Carpzov and others, and is now justly discredited. See Carpzov, Crit. Sac. pars i. cap. iv. § 4. pp. 147—149.]

[2] The reason of this appears from Diodorus Siculus, who informs us that the president of the Egyptian courts of justice wore round his neck a golden chain, at which was suspended an image set round with precious stones, which was called TRUTH, ὃ προσηγόρευον Ἀλήθειαν, lib. i. c. 75. tom. i. p. 225. (edit. Bipont.). Bauer (Crit. Sacr. pp. 244, 245.) has given several examples, proving from internal evidence that the authors of the Septuagint version were Egyptian.

[3] See before, pp. 10, 11.

There is no other way by which to reconcile these conflicting opinions, than by supposing either that the manuscripts used by the Egyptian Jews approximated towards the letters and text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, or that the translators of the Septuagint made use of manuscripts written in ancient characters.[1]

Next to the Pentateuch, for ability and fidelity of execution, ranks the translation of the book of Proverbs, the author of which was well skilled in the two languages: Michaelis is of opinion that, of all the books of the Septuagint, the style of the Proverbs is the best, the translators having clothed the most ingenious thoughts in as neat and elegant language as was ever used by a Pythagorean sage, to express his philosophic maxims.[2] The translator of the book of Job being acquainted with the Greek poets, his style is more elegant and studied; but he was not sufficiently master of the Hebrew language, and literature, and consequently his version is very often erroneous. Many of the historical passages are interpolated; and in the poetical parts there are several portions wanting: Jerome, in his preface to the book of Job, specifies as many as seventy or eighty verses. These omissions were supplied by Origen from Theodotion's translation. The book of Joshua could not have been translated till upwards of twenty years after the death of Ptolemy the son of Lagus: for, in chapter viii. verse 18., the translator has introduced the word γαισὸς, a word of Gallic origin, denoting a short dart or javelin peculiar to the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece in the third year of the 125th olympiad, or B.C. 278; and it was not till some time after that event that the Egyptian kings took Gallic mercenaries into their pay and service.

During the reign of Ptolemy Philometer, the book of Esther, together with the Psalms and Prophets, was translated. The subscription annexed to the version of Esther expressly states it to have been finished in the fourth year of that sovereign's reign, or about the year 177 before the Christian era[3]: the Psalms and Prophets, in all probability, were translated still later, because the Jews did not begin to read them in their synagogues till about the year 170 before Christ.[4] The Psalms and Prophets were translated by men every way unequal to the task: Jeremiah is the best executed among the Prophets; and next to this the books of Amos and Ezekiel are placed: the important prophecies of Isaiah were translated, according to Bishop Lowth, upwards of one hundred years after the Pentateuch, and by a person by no means adequate to the undertaking; there being hardly any book of the Old Testament so ill rendered in the Septuagint as this of Isaiah, which (together with other parts of the Greek version) has come down to us in a bad condition, incorrect, and with frequent omissions and interpolations; and so very erro-

[1] The value of the Greek version of the Pentateuch, for criticism and interpretation, is minutely investigated by Dr. Toepler, in his Dissertatio De Pentateuchi Interpretationis Alexandrinæ Indole, Halis Saxonum, 1830, 8vo.

[2] Michaelis, Introd. to New Test. vol. i. p. 113.

[3] [According to Hävernick this subscription refers only to the apocryphal additions to the book of Esther. Einleitung, I. i. § 70. p. 357.]

[4] See before, p. 63.

neous was the version of Daniel, that it was totally rejected by the ancient church; and Theodotion's translation was substituted for it. The Septuagint version of Daniel, which for a long time was supposed to be lost, was discovered and published at Rome in 1772; from which it appears that its author had but an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language.

No date has been assigned for the translation of the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings, which possibly may have been executed by one and the same author; who, though he does not make use of so many Hebraisms as the translators of the other books, is yet not without his peculiarities. The translator of the book of Ecclesiastes makes no allowance for the difference of the genius of the Hebrew and Greek languages, but renders word for word; and even translates a Hebrew word, which bears different senses in different places, invariably by the same Greek word, which does not admit of the same modifications of meaning.[1]

[Aristobulus is the earliest writer who mentions a Greek translation of the Scriptures. His account, as we find it preserved by Eusebius, is the following:—*Διηρμήνευται γὰρ πρὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως, δι' ἑτέρων, πρὸ τῆς 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν 'Εβραίων, ἡμετέρων δὲ πολιτῶν, καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἁπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις, ... 'Η δ' ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων, ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως, σοῦ δὲ προγόνου, προσενεγκάμενου μείζονα φιλοτιμίαν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων.*[2] This testimony has been supposed spurious; but it would seem without sufficient reason. It has been differently interpreted, some imagining that the earlier translation he mentions was but a compendium or fragment of the law; but it is hard to extract any other meaning from the words than that the Pentateuch at least was translated in very early times, since he supposes Plato to have drawn from it, and that Demetrius under Ptolemy was the means of promoting the translation of the rest of the Scriptures. Whether he was right in this, and whether he has named Philadelphus instead of the son of Lagus, are other questions. The grandson of Jesus, the son of Sirach, is the next witness. In his prologue he says, *Οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ αὐτὰ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς 'Εβραϊστὶ λεγόμενα, καὶ ὅταν μεταχθῇ εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν· οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος, καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα.* This testimony is taken to prove that in the time of the writer (possibly about 130 B.C.) a complete translation of the Scriptures into Greek was in existence. Justin is scarce deserving of a reference, since in different places he gives perfectly different accounts.[3] Nor

[1] Mr. Preston has given several examples of these mis-translations in his edition and version of the book of Ecclesiastes, pp. 36, 37. London, 1845, 8vo.

[2] Ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. xiii. cap. xii.

[3] Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Ad Græc. Cohort. 13. pp 16, 17.; Apol. i. 31. p. 62. Conjectural explanations of the latter passage, which asserts that Ptolemy sent his messengers to Herod, may be found in the Benedictine editor's not. in loc.

do the other fathers who merely repeat the same story throw much light upon it.[1]

It is not easy to draw any certain conclusions from a history which has been handed down so dressed out with legends. That the translation was of Alexandrine origin is proved by itself, though perhaps some of the words which Hody relies on as Egyptian may not on examination be thought to give decisive evidence. That one of the Ptolemies, whether Soter or Philadelphus, commanded the version to be made is also more likely than that it originated, for a literary or ecclesiastical purpose, with the Jews; while the object of Aristeas in his story was probably to raise its credit. This object was attained: the version acquired general authority and respect. The Pentateuch must have been first translated; and even in its various books some critics imagine they detect a variety of hands. If this be so, there is additional reason to believe that the five-fold division of the Pentateuch was already recognized. Other portions of the Scripture followed, it is quite uncertain at what intervals; but the different modes in which the same word is rendered in different parts, and the general diversity of style apparent, would seem to prove that different translators were employed. The Greek text often departs widely from the Hebrew. Thus, for instance, though Jeremiah is best rendered of the prophets, yet the version differs remarkably from the original. Of the agreement of the Septuagint with the Samaritan Pentateuch no satisfactory explanation has yet been given.[2]]

3. Before we conclude the history of the Septuagint version, it may not be irrelevant briefly to notice a question which has greatly exercised the ingenuity of biblical philologers, viz. from what manu scripts did the seventy interpreters execute their translation? Professor Tychsen supposed that they did not translate the Hebrew Old Testament into Greek, but that it was transcribed in Hebræo-Greek characters, and that from this transcript their version was made[3]: this hypothesis has been examined by several German critics, and especially by Dathe[4]; but, as the arguments are not of a nature to admit of abridgement [and the hypothesis is untenable], this notice may perhaps suffice. Bishop Horsley doubted whether the MSS. from which the Septuagint version was made would (if now extant) be entitled to the same degree of credit as our modern Hebrew text, notwithstanding their comparatively high antiquity.[5]

The Septuagint version, though originally made for the use of the Egyptian Jews, gradually acquired the highest authority among the Jews of Palestine, who were acquainted with the Greek language, and subsequently also among Christians: it appears, indeed, that the legend above confuted, of the translators having been divinely

[1] Porter, Principles of Textual Crit., book iii. chap. iii. pp. 87, 88.

[2] See Keil, Einleitung, § 178.; Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. §§ 68—71.; Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chaps. xi. xii. Comp. Bp. (Fitzgerald) of Cork on the supposed Samaritan Text of the LXX. in Journal of Sac. Lit. for Oct. 1848, vol. ii. pp. 324—332.

[3] Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. Generibus, Rostock, 1772, 8vo. pp. 48—64. 81—124.

[4] In Ernesti Bibl. Theol. tom. ii. p. 357. See Bauer, Crit. Sacr. p. 255.

[5] Translation of Hosea (2nd edit.), Pref. pp. xxxvi. xxxvii.

inspired, was invented in order that the LXX. might be held in the greater estimation. Philo the Jew, a native of Egypt, has evidently followed it in his allegorical expositions of the Mosaic law; and, though Dr. Hody was of opinion that Josephus, who was a native of Palestine, corroborated his work on Jewish Antiquities from the Hebrew text, yet Salmasius, Bochart, Bauer, and others, have shown that he has adhered to the Septuagint throughout that work.[1] How extensively this version was in use among the Jews appears from the solemn sanction given to it by the inspired writers of the New Testament, who have in very many passages quoted the Greek version of the Old Testament.[2] Their example was followed by the earlier fathers and doctors of the church, who, with the exception of Origen and Jerome, were unacquainted with Hebrew: notwithstanding their zeal for the word of God, they did not exert themselves to learn the original language of the sacred writings, but acquiesced in the Greek representation of them; judging it, no doubt, to be fully sufficient for all the purposes of their pious labours.

The Septuagint version retained its authority, even with the rulers of the Jewish synagogue, until the commencement of the first century after Christ; when the Jews, being unable to resist the arguments from prophecy which were urged against them by the Christians, in order to deprive them of the benefit of that authority, began to deny that it agreed with the Hebrew text. Further to discredit the character of the Septuagint, the Jews instituted a solemn fast, on the 8th day of the month Thebet (December), to execrate the memory of its having been made. Not satisfied with this measure, we are assured by Justin Martyr, who lived in the former part of the second century, that they proceeded to expunge several passages out of the Septuagint[3]; and, abandoning this, adopted the version of Aquila, a proselyte Jew of Sinope, a city of Pontus.[4]

4. The great use, however, which had been made by the Jews previously to their rejection of the Septuagint, and the constant use of it by the Christians, would naturally cause a multiplication of copies; in which numerous errors became introduced, in the course of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of transcribers, and from glosses or marginal notes, which had been added for the explanation of difficult words, being suffered to creep into the text. In order to remedy this growing evil, ORIGEN, in the early part of the third century, undertook the laborious task of collating the Greek text then in use with the original Hebrew and with other Greek translations then extant, and from the whole to produce a new *recension* or

[1] [Philo believed in the inspiration of this version; and Josephus at least most generally used it. In the Talmud its alleged miraculous origin is mentioned; and there is reason to suppose that it was read not only in the Egyptian synagogues, but in those of Palestine and elsewhere. See Tertull. Apologet. 18.; Just. Mart. Cohort. ad Gent. 13.; Dial. cum Tryph. 72.; Novell. Const. Auth. Coll. ix. tit. xxix. cap. 1.]

[2] On the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, see chapter iv. *infra*.

[3] Dial. cum Tryph. 71. &c.

[4] On this subject the reader is referred to Dr. Owen's Inquiry into the present State of the Septuagint Version, pp. 29—87 (8vo. London, 1769.). In pp. 126—138. he has endeavoured to prove the falsification of the Septuagint, from the versions of Aquila and Symmachus.

revisal. Twenty-eight years were devoted to the preparation of this arduous work, in the course of which he collected manuscripts from every possible quarter, aided (it is said) by the pecuniary liberality of Ambrose, an opulent man, whom he had converted from the Valentinian heresy, and with the assistance of seven copyists and several persons skilled in caligraphy, or the art of beautiful writing. Origen commenced his labour at Cæsarea, A.D. 231; and, it appears, finished his Polyglott at Tyre, but in what year is not precisely known.[1]

This noble critical work is designated by various names among ancient writers; as *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, *Octapla*, and *Enneapla*.

The *Tetrapla* contained the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, disposed in four columns: to these Origen added two columns more, containing the Hebrew text in its original characters, and also in Greek letters; these six columns, according to Epiphanius, formed the *Hexapla*. Having subsequently discovered two other Greek versions of *some parts* of the Scriptures, usually called the fifth and sixth, he added them to the preceding, inserting them in their respective places, and thus composed the *Octapla;* and, a separate translation of the Psalms [and minor prophets], usually called the seventh version, being afterwards added, the entire work has by some been termed the *Enneapla*. This appellation, however, was never generally adopted. But, as the two editions made by Origen generally bore the name of the Tetrapla and Hexapla, Dr. Grabe thinks that they were thus called, not from the number of the columns, but of the versions, which were six, the seventh containing the Psalms only.[2] Bauer, after Montfaucon, is of opinion that Origen edited only the Tetrapla and Hexapla; and this appears to be the real fact. [It has been disputed whether the *Tetrapla* preceded the *Hexapla* or not. It is the opinion of the best modern critics that the last-named work was the earlier.] The following specimens from Montfaucon will convey an idea of the construction of these two laborious works[3]: —

TETRAPLA.

Gen. i. 1.

ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	ΟΙ Ο.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.
Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν.	*Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.*	*Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.*	*Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.*

In this specimen the version of Aquila holds the first place, as being most literal; the second is occupied by that of Symmachus, as rendering *ad sensum* rather than *ad literam;* the third by the Septuagint; and the fourth by Theodotion's translation.

[1] [The times and places at which Origen began and ended his work are very uncertain. See De Wette, Einleitung, § 45. p. 69.; Keil, Einleitung, § 180. p. 611.]

[2] The late Rev. Dr. Holmes, who commenced the splendid edition of the Septuagint noticed in the Bibliographical List, vol. iv., was of opinion that the text of the Septuagint in the Hexapla was not the Κοινή as then in use, but as corrected in the Tetrapla, and perhaps improved by further collations. Præfat. tom. i. cap. i. sect. v.

[3] Origenis Hexapla, Præl. Diss. tom. i. p. 16

HEXAPLA.

Hos. xi. 1.

Το ΕΒΡΑΙΚΟΝ.	Το ΕΒΡ. ʼΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡ.	ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ Ο.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.
כי נער ישראל ואהבהו וממצרים קראתי לבני	χι νερ Ισραηλ ουεαβηου ουμεμμεσραιμ καραθι λεβανι.	ὅτι παῖς ʼΙσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.	ὅτι παῖς ʼΙσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγαπημένος, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κέκληται υἱός μου.	ὅτι νήπιος ʼΙσραὴλ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κέκληται υἱός μου.	ὅτι νήπιος ʼΙσραὴλ, καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα υἱόν μου ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.

In the preceding specimen the first column contains the Hebrew in its proper characters; in the second column it is given in Greek characters: this column is valuable as exhibiting the mode of pronouncing Hebrew in the latter part of the second and the former part of the third century. The versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, follow in the same order as in the specimen of the Tetrapla. When the fifth and sixth versions were added, the page consisted of eight columns, the fifth being denoted by E, and the sixth by ϛ; and, when the seventh version was added (which was designated by Z), it comprised nine columns.

The original Hebrew being considered as the basis of the whole work, the proximity of each translation to the text, in point of closeness and fidelity, determined its rank in the order of the columns: thus Aquila's version, being the most faithful, is placed next to the sacred text; that of Symmachus occupies the fourth column; the Septuagint, the fifth; and Theodotion's, the sixth. The other three anonymous translations, not containing the entire books of the Old

Testament, were placed, in the last three columns of the Enneapla, according to the order of time in which they were discovered by Origen. Where the same words occurred in all the other Greek versions, without being particularly specified, Origen designated them by Λ or ΛΟ, *Λοιποὶ*, the rest: Οἱ Γ, or the three, denoted Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion: Οἱ Δ, or the four, signified Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; and Π, *Πάντες*, all the interpreters.

The object of Origen being to correct the differences found in the then existing copies of the Old Testament, he carefully noted the alterations made by him; and, for the information of those who might consult his works, he made use of the following marks:—

(1.) Where any passages appeared in the Septuagint, that were not found in the Hebrew, he designated them by an *obelus*, ÷, with two bold points, :, also annexed, to show how far the passage extended. This mark was also used to denote words not extant in the Hebrew, but added by the Septuagint translators, either for the sake of elegance, or for the purpose of illustrating the sense.

(2.) To passages wanting in the copies of the Septuagint, and supplied by himself from the other Greek versions, he prefixed an asterisk, ·※·, with two bold points, :, also annexed, in order that his additions might be immediately perceived. These supplementary passages, we are informed by Jerome, were for the most part taken from Theodotion's translation; not unfrequently from that of Aquila; sometimes, though rarely, from the version of Symmachus; and sometimes from two or three together. But, in every case, the initial letter of each translator's name was placed immediately after the asterisk, to indicate the source whence such supplementary passage was taken. And, in lieu of the very erroneous Septuagint version of Daniel, Theodotion's translation of that book was inserted entire.

(3.) Further, not only the passages wanting in the Septuagint were supplied by Origen with the asterisks, as above noticed, but also, where that version does not appear accurately to express the Hebrew original, having noted the former reading with an obelus, ÷, he added the correct rendering from one of the other translators, with an asterisk subjoined. Concerning the shape and uses of the *lemniscus* and *hypolemniscus*, two other marks used by Origen, there is so great a difference of opinion among learned men, that it is difficult to determine what they were.[1] Dr. Owen, after Montfaucon, supposes them to have been marks of better and more accurate renderings.

In the Pentateuch, Origen compared the Samaritan text with the Hebrew as received by the Jews, and noted their differences. To each of the translations inserted in his Hexapla was prefixed an account of the author: each had its separate prolegomena; and the ample margins were filled with notes. A few fragments of these

[1] Origenis Hexapla, Præl. Diss., tom. i. pp. 36—42.; Holmes, Vetus Testamentum Græcum, tom. i. Præfat. cap. i. sects. i.—vii. The first book of Dr. Holmes's erudite preface is translated into English in the Christian Observer for 1821, vol. xx. pp. 544—548, 610—615, 676—683, 746 -750.

prolegomena and marginal annotations have been preserved; but nothing remains of his history of the Greek versions.[1]

Since Origen's time, biblical critics have distinguished two editions or exemplars of the Septuagint—the Κοινή or common text, with all its errors and imperfections, as it existed previously to his collation; and the Hexaplar text, or that corrected by Origen himself. For nearly fifty years was this great man's stupendous work buried in a corner of the city of Tyre, probably on account of the very great expense of transcribing forty or fifty volumes, which far exceeded the means of private individuals; and here, perhaps, it might have perished in oblivion, if Eusebius and Pamphilus had not discovered it, and deposited it in the library of Pamphilus the martyr at Cæsarea; where Jerome saw it after the middle of the fourth century. As we have no account whatever of Origen's autograph, after this time, it is most probable that it perished in the year 653, on the capture of that city by the Arabs; and a few imperfect fragments, collected from manuscripts of the Septuagint and the Catenæ of the Greek fathers, are all that now remain of a work, which in the present improved state of sacred literature would most eminently have assisted in the interpretation and criticism of the Old Testament.

5. As the Septuagint version had been read in the church from the commencement of Christianity, so it continued to be used in most of the *Greek* churches; and the text, as corrected by Origen, was transcribed for their use, together with his critical marks. Hence, in the progress of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of copyists, numerous errors were introduced into this version, which rendered a new revisal necessary; and, as *all* the Greek churches did not receive Origen's biblical labours with equal deference, three principal recensions were undertaken nearly at the same time, of which we are now to offer a brief notice.

The first was the edition, undertaken by Eusebius and Pamphilus about the year 300, of the Hexaplar text, with the whole of Origen's critical marks; it not only was adopted by the churches of Palestine, but was also deposited in almost every library. By frequent transcriptions, however, Origen's marks or notes became, in the course of a few years, so much changed, as to be of little use, and were finally omitted: this omission only augmented the evil, since even in the time of Jerome it was no longer possible to know what belonged to the translators, or what were Origen's own corrections; and now it may be considered as almost a hopeless task to distinguish between them. Contemporary with the edition of Eusebius and Pamphilus was the recension of the Κοινή, or vulgate text, of the Septuagint, conducted by Lucian, a presbyter of the church at Antioch, who suffered martyrdom A.D. 311. He took the Hexaplar text, amended after the Hebrew, for the basis of his edition, which was received in

[1] The best edition of the remains of Origen's Hexapla is that of Montfaucon, in two volumes, folio, Paris, 1713-4 [reprinted by Bahrdt, 1769—70. See a notice of the collections of other critics in Keil, Einleitung, § 180. not. 7.]. On the character and value of this great work, some excellent observations may be found in a dissertation, by Ernesti, intituled, Origen the Father of Grammatical Interpretation, translated in Hodge's Biblical Repertory, vol. iii. pp. 245—260. New York, 1827.

all the eastern churches from Constantinople to Antioch. While Lucian was prosecuting his biblical labours, Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, undertook a similar work, which was generally received in the churches of Egypt. He is supposed to have introduced fewer alterations than Lucian; and his edition is cited by Jerome as the *Exemplar Alexandrinum.* Syncellus[1] mentions another revisal of the Septuagint text by Basil bishop of Cæsarea; but his object seems to have been merely the correct copying of the existing text. All the manuscripts of the Septuagint now extant, as well as the printed editions, are derived from the three recensions above mentioned, although biblical critics are by no means agreed what particular recension each manuscript has followed.[2] [In the two great MSS. of the Seventy, the Vatican and Alexandrine, the basis of the former is the *common* or earlier text, while the latter exhibits more of the readings and interpolations of the Hexaplaric text. Both have not been always kept distinct.[3] The four leading editions of the Septuagint are noticed in the Bibliographical List, vol. iv.]

6. The importance of the Septuagint version for the right understanding of the sacred text has been variously estimated by different learned men: while some have elevated it to an equality with the original Hebrew, others have rated it far below its real value. The great authority which it formerly enjoyed certainly gives it a claim to a high degree of consideration. It was executed long before the Jews were prejudiced against Jesus Christ as the Messiah; and it was the means of preparing the world at large for his appearance, by making known the types and prophecies concerning him. With all its faults and imperfections, therefore, this version is of more use in correcting the Hebrew text than any other that is extant; because its authors had better opportunities of knowing the propriety and extent of the Hebrew language than we can possibly have at this distance of time. The Septuagint, likewise, being written in the same dialect as the New Testament (the formation of whose style was influenced by it), it becomes a very important source of interpretation; for it frequently serves not only to determine the genuine reading, but also to ascertain the meaning of particular idiomatic expressions and passages in the New Testament, the true import of which could not be known but from their use in the Septuagint.[4] Grotius, Keuchenius, Biel, and Schleusner, are critics who have most successfully applied this version to the interpretation of the New Testament.

II. The importance of the Septuagint, in the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, will justify the length of the preceding account of that celebrated version:

[1] Chronographia ab Adamo usque ad Dioclesianum, p. 203.

[2] Dr. Holmes has given a copious and interesting account of the editions of Lucian and Hesychius, and of the sources of the Septuagint text in the manuscripts of the Pentateuch, which are now extant. Tom. i. Præf. cap. i. sect. viii. *et seq.*

[3] Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit., art. Septuagint.

[4] In the Eclectic Review for 1806 (vol. ii. part i. pp. 337—347.) the reader will find many examples adduced, confirming the remarks above offered, concerning the value and importance of the Septuagint version.

it now remains that we briefly notice the other ancient Greek translations, which have already been incidentally mentioned, viz. those of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and the three anonymous versions, usually cited as the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions, from which Origen compiled his Tetrapla and Hexapla.

1. *The version of* AQUILA.—The author of this translation was a native of Sinope in Pontus, who flourished in the second century of the Christian era: he was of Jewish descent; and, having renounced Christianity, he undertook his version, with the intention of exhibiting to the Hellenistic Jews an accurate representation of the Hebrew text, for their assistance in their disputes with the Christians.[1] Yet he did not on this account pervert passages which relate to Christ by unfaithful translations, as some of the ancient Christian writers thought; for the examples of designed want of fidelity, which they produce, are nothing more than etymological renderings, or expressions of the same things in other words, or various readings, or else his own mistakes. Professor Jahn fixes the date of this version to the interval between the years 90 and 130: it is certain that Aquila lived during the reign of the emperor Adrian, and that his translation was executed before the year 160; as it is cited both by Justin Martyr[2], who wrote about that time, and by Irenæus between the years 177 and 192. In conformity with the spirit of the Jews, Aquila renders every Hebrew word by the nearest corresponding Greek word, without any regard to the genius of the Greek language [thus את is represented by *συν*, Gen i. 1.]: it is therefore extremely literal, but it is on that very account of considerable importance in the criticism of the Old Testament, as it serves to show the readings contained in the Hebrew manuscripts of his time. His version has been most highly approved by the Jews, by whom it has been called the *Hebrew Verity*, as if, in reading it, they were reading the Hebrew text itself. Nearly the same judgment was formed of it by the early Christian writers, or fathers; who must be understood as referring to this version when they speak of the Hebrew. Professor Dathe has collated several passages from this translation, and has applied them to the illustration of the prophet Hosea.[3] As the result of his comparison of the fragments of Aquila with the Hebrew text, he states that Aquila had nearly the same readings of the Hebrew text which we have. Which almost constant agreement cannot be observed without much satisfaction; because it supplies an argument of no mean importance for refuting the charges of those who assert that the modern Hebrew text is very greatly corrupted. The fragments of Aquila and of the other Greek versions were collected and

[1] [Epiphanius, Op. Par. 1622, De Mens. et Pond. xiv. xv. tom. ii. pp. 170, 171. Epiphanius's account is not to be relied on.]

[2] [The passages in which it has been supposed that Justin cited Aquila's version may be seen, Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742, Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. 43, 71. pp. 139, 169. But it would seem that the supposition is erroneous. See Credner, Beitr. zur Einleitung, ii. p. 198.]

[3] Dissertatio Philologico-Critica in Aquilæ Reliquias Interpretationis Hoseæ (Lipsiæ, 1757, 4to); which is reprinted in p. 1. *et seq.* of Rosenmüller's Collection of his Opuscula ad Crisin et Interpretationem Veteris Testamenti, Lipsiæ, 1796, 8vo.

published, first by Flaminio Nobili, in his notes to the Roman edition of the Septuagint, and after him by Drusius, in his *Veterum Interpretum Græcorum Fragmenta* (Arnheim, 1622, 4to.)[1]; and also by Montfaucon in his edition of Origen's Hexapla above noticed. According to Jerome, Aquila published two editions of his version, the second of which was the most literal; it was allowed to be read publicly in the Jews' synagogues, by the hundred and forty-sixth Novel of the emperor Justinian.[2]

2. THEODOTION was a native of Ephesus, and is termed by Jerome and Eusebius an Ebionite or semi-Christian. He was nearly contemporary with Aquila, and his translation is [said to be] cited by Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew, which was composed about the year 160. The version of Theodotion holds a middle rank between the servile closeness of Aquila and the freedom of Symmachus: it is a kind of revision of the Septuagint made after the original Hebrew, and supplies some deficiencies in the Septuagint; but, where he translates without help, he evidently shows himself to have been but indifferently skilled in Hebrew. Theodotion's translation of the book of Daniel was introduced into the Christian churches, in or soon after the second century, as being deemed more accurate than that of the Septuagint. It is not unworthy of remark, that he has retained several Hebrew words, which seem to have been used among the Ebionites; such as *φεγγυλ*, Lev. vii. 18.; *μασφαα*, Lev. xiii. 6.; *κωλυμα*, Deut. xxii. 9.; and *εδδιμ*, Isa. lxiv. 6.

3. SYMMACHUS, we are informed by Eusebius and Jerome, was a semi-Christian, or Ebionite, for the account given of him by Epiphanius (that he was first a Samaritan, then a Jew, next a Christian, and last of all an Ebionite) is generally disregarded as unworthy of credit. Concerning the precise time when he flourished, learned men are of different opinions. Epiphanius places him under the reign of Severus; Jerome, however, expressly states that his translation appeared after that of Theodotion; and, as Symmachus was evidently unknown to Irenæus, who cites the versions of Aquila and Theodotion, it is probable that the date assigned by Jerome is the true one. Montfaucon accordingly places Symmachus a short time after Theodotion, that is, about the year 200. The version of Symmachus, who appears to have published a second edition of it revised, is by no means so literal as that of Aquila; he was certainly much better acquainted with the laws of interpretation than the latter, and has endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, to render the Hebrew idioms with Greek precision. Bauer[3] and Morus[4] have given specimens of the utility of this version for illustrating both the Old and New Testaments. Dr. Owen has printed the whole of the first chapter of the book of Genesis according to the Septuagint version, together with

[1] This work of Drusius's is also to be found in the sixth volume of Bishop Walton's Polyglott.
[2] Auth. Coll. Tit. xxix. cap. 1.
[3] Crit. Sacr. Tract. iii. § 54. pp. 277, 278.
[4] Acroases Hermen. tom. ii. pp. 127, 128.

the Greek translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, in columns, in order to show their respective agreement or discrepancy. He remarks,

"1. With respect to *Aquila*, (1.) That his translation is close and servile, abounding in Hebraisms, and scrupulously conformable to the letter of the text; (2.) That the author, notwithstanding he meant to disgrace and overturn the Septuagint version, yet did not scruple to make use of it, and frequently to borrow his expressions from it.

"2. With respect to *Theodotion*, (1.) That he made great use of the two former versions, following sometimes the diction of the one, and sometimes that of the other, nay, often commixing them both together in the compass of one and the same verse; and, (2.) That he did not keep so strict and close to the version of the Seventy as some have unwarily represented.[1] He borrowed largely from that of Aquila, but adapted it to his own style. And, as his style was similar to that of the LXX., Origen, perhaps for the sake of uniformity, supplied the additions inserted in the Hexapla chiefly from this version.

"3. With respect to *Symmachus*, (1.) That his version, though concise, is free and paraphrastic, regarding the sense rather than the words of the original; (2.) That he often borrowed from the three other versions, but much oftener from those of his immediate predecessors than from the Septuagint; and, (3.) It is remarked by Montfaucon [2], that he kept close to the Hebrew original, and never introduced any thing from the Septuagint that was not to be found in his Hebrew copy; but it evidently appears from verse 20., where we read, *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*, that either the observation is false, or that the copy he used was different from the present Hebrew copies. The 30th verse has also a reading—it may perhaps be an interpolation—to which there is nothing answerable in the Hebrew, or in any other of the Greek versions."[3]

4, 5, 6.—The three anonymous translations, usually called the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh* versions, derive their names from the order in which Origen disposed them in his columns.[4] The author of the *sixth* version was evidently a Christian; for he renders Habakkuk iii. 13. *Thou wentest forth for the deliverance of thy people*, even *for the deliverance of thine anointed ones*[5], in the following manner: Ἐξῆλθες τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν λαόν σου διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου: i. e. *Thou wentest*

[1] Theodotion, qui in cæteris cum LXX translatoribus facit. Hieron. Ep. ad Marcell. [De aliquot locis Psalmi cxxvi. Jerome seems merely to have meant that Theodotion for the most part agreed with the LXX in the translation of this psalm.] Licet autem Theodotio LXX interpretum vestigio fere semper hæreat, &c. Montf. Præl. in Hexapl. p. 57.

[2] Ea tamen cautela, ut Hebraicum exemplar unicum sequendum sibi proponeret, nec quidpiam ex editione τῶν O. ubi cum Hebraico non quadrabat, in interpretationem suam refunderet. Præl. in Hexapl. p. 54.

[3] Owen, Inquiry into the present State of the Septuagint, pp. 124—126.

[4] See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. xvi.

[5] Archbishop Newcome's version. The authorized English translation runs thus:—"Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, *even* for salvation with thine anointed."

forth to save thy people through Jesus thy Christ.[1] The dates of these three versions are evidently subsequent to those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus: from the fragments collected by Montfaucon, it appears that they all contained the Psalms and Song of Solomon; the *fifth* and *sixth* further comprised the Pentateuch and Minor Prophets; and, from some fragments of the *fifth* and *seventh* versions found by Bruns in a Syriac Hexaplar manuscript at Paris, it would seem that they also contained the books of Kings. Bauer doubts whether the author of the seventh version was not a Jew.

III. 1. Besides the fragments of the preceding ancient versions, taken from Origen's Hexapla, there are found in the margins of the manuscripts of the Septuagint some *additional* marks or notes, containing various renderings in Greek of some passages in the Old Testament: these are cited as the Hebrew, Syrian, Samaritan, and Hellenistic versions, and as the version of some anonymous author. The probable meaning of these references it may not be improper briefly to notice.

[Ὁ Ἑβραῖος means remarks on the text of the Septuagint made by a comparison with the original Hebrew, chiefly out of Jerome.

Ὁ Σύρος is not the Greek version by Sophronius of Jerome's new translation of the Bible, but the old Syriac version.

Τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν is, according to some, fragments of a translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch; according to others, extracts translated from the Samaritan version. There are also other opinions.

Ὁ Ἑλληνικός is an unknown Greek translation.[2]]

The mark ὁ Ἄλλος, or ὁ Ἀνεπίγραφος, denotes some unknown author.

2. Before we conclude the present account of the ancient Greek versions of the Old Testament, it remains that we briefly notice the translation preserved in St. Mark's Library at Venice, containing the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations of Jeremiah, and Prophecy of Daniel. The existence of this version, which was for a long time buried among other literary treasures deposited in the above-mentioned library, was first announced by Zanetti and Bongiovanni in their catalogue of its manuscripts. The Pentateuch was published in three parts, by Ammon, at Erlangen, 1790, 1791, 8vo.; and the remaining books by Villoison at Strasburg, 1784, 8vo. The original manuscript, Morelli is of opinion, was executed in the 14th century; and the numerous errors discoverable in it prove that it cannot be the autograph of the translator. By whom this version was made is a question yet undetermined. Morelli thinks its author was a Jew: Ammon supposes him to have been a Christian monk, and perhaps a native of Syria of the eighth or ninth century; and Bauer, after Zeigler, conjectures him to have been a Christian grammarian of Constantinople, who had been taught Hebrew by a Western Jew. Whoever the translator was, his style evidently shows him to have been deeply

[1] Jerome calls the translators of the fifth and sixth, "Judaicos translatores." Apolog. contr. Ruffin. ii. 34.

[2] Keil, Einleitung, §§ 179, 198. pp. 606, 641.

skilled in the different dialects of the Greek language, and to have been conversant with the Greek poets. [His rendering of יְהוָה is singular. He has devised a word, ὀντώτης, equivalent to ὄντως ὤν. His style is a strange mixture of pure Attic and barbarisms.] Equally uncertain is the date when this version was composed: Eichhorn, Bauer, and several other eminent biblical writers, place it between the sixth and tenth centuries: the late Dr. Holmes supposed the author of it to have been some Hellenistic Jew, between the ninth and twelfth centuries. "Nothing can be more completely happy, or more judicious, than the idea adopted by this author, of rendering the Hebrew text in the pure Attic dialect, and the Chaldee in its corresponding Doric."[1]

[It may be well to add that an edition of the Septuagint has just been published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, very ably edited by the Rev. F. Field.][2]

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§ 3. *On the Ancient Oriental Versions of the Old and New Testaments.*

I. SYRIAC VERSIONS. 1. *Peshito or Literal version.*—2. *Karkaphensian version.*—3. *Other versions.*—II. EGYPTIAN VERSIONS. *Coptic, Sahidic, Ammonian or Bashmuric.*—III. ETHIOPIC VERSION.—IV. ARABIC VERSIONS.—V. ARMENIAN VERSION.—VI. GEORGIAN VERSION.—VII. PERSIC VERSIONS.

I. SYRIAC VERSIONS.—Syria being visited at a very early period by the preachers of the Christian faith, several translations of the sacred volume were made into the language of that country.

1. The most celebrated of these is the PESHITO or *Literal* (VERSIO SIMPLEX), as it is usually called, on account of its very close adherence to the Hebrew and Greek texts, from which it was immediately made. The most extravagant assertions have been advanced concerning its antiquity; some referring the translation of the Old Testament to the time of Solomon and Hiram; while others ascribe

[1] British Critic, O. S. vol. viii. p. 259.

[2] The preceding account of ancient Greek versions is drawn from Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pars ii. cap. iii. pp. 552—574.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, Tract. iii.; §§ 53—58. pp. 273—288.; Ernesti, Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, pp. 250—269.; Morus, Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. ii. pp. 120—147.; Bishop Walton, Proleg. ix. §§ 19, 20. pp. 385—389.; Jahn, Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis, §§ 34—44.; Masch, edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. ii. sect. i. pp. 220—229.; and Montfaucon, Præl. Diss. ad Origenis Hexapla, tom. i. pp. 46—73. In the fourth volume of the Commentationes Theologicæ, pp. 195—263., edited by Velthusen, Kuinöel, and Ruperti, there is a specimen of a *Clavis Reliquiarum Versionum Græcarum V. T.* by John Frederick Fischer: it contains only the letter A. A specimen of a new Lexicon to the ancient Greek interpreters, and also to the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, so constructed as to serve as a Lexicon to the New Testament, was also lately published by M. E. G. A. Bockel, at Leipsic, intitled *Novæ Clavis in Græcos Interpretes Veteris Testamenti. Scriptoresque Apocryphos, ita adornatæ ut etiam Lexici in Novi Fœderis Libros usum præbere possit, atque editionis lxx interpretum hexaplaris, specimina*, 4to. 1820. (This work has not been completed.) Cappel, in his Critica Sacra, has given a copious account, with very numerous examples, of the various lections that may be obtained by collating the Septuagint with the Hebrew, lib. iv. pp. 491—766., and by collating the Hebrew text with the Chaldee paraphrases and the ancient Greek versions, lib. v. capp. i.—vi. tom. ii. pp. 767—845, ed. Scharfenberg.

it to Asa, priest of the Samaritans; and a third class to the apostle Thaddeus. This last tradition is received by the Syrian churches; but a more recent date is ascribed to it by modern biblical philologers. Bishop Walton, Carpzov, Leusden, Bishop Lowth, and Dr. Kennicott, fix its date to the first century; Bauer and some other German critics to the second or third century; Jahn assigns it, at the latest, to the second century; De Rossi pronounces it to be very ancient, but does not specify any precise date. The most probable opinion is that of Michaelis, who ascribes the Syriac version of *both* Testaments to the close of the first, or to the earlier part of the second century; at which time the Syrian churches flourished most, and the Christians at Edessa had a temple for divine worship erected after the model of that at Jerusalem; and it is not to be supposed that they would be without a version of the Old Testament, the reading of which had been introduced by the apostles.[1]

The Old Testament was evidently translated from the original Hebrew, to which it most closely and literally adheres, with the exception of a few passages which appear to bear some affinity to the Septuagint: Jahn accounts for this by supposing, either that this version was consulted by the Syriac translator or translators, or that the Syrians *afterwards* corrected their translation by the Septuagint.[2] Dr. Credner, who has particularly investigated the minor prophets, according to this version, is of opinion that the translator of the Old Testament for the most part followed the Hebrew text, but at the same time consulted the Chaldee paraphrase and Septuagint version.[3] Leusden conjectures that the translator did not make use of the most correct Hebrew manuscripts, and has given some examples which appear to support his opinion. Dathe, however, speaks most positively in favour of its antiquity and fidelity, and refers to the Syriac version, as a certain standard by which we may judge of the state of the Hebrew text in the second century; and both Dr. Kennicott and De Rossi have derived many valuable readings from this version. De Rossi, indeed, prefers it to all the other ancient versions, and says that it closely follows the order of the sacred text, rendering word for word, and is more pure than any other. As it is therefore probable that the Syriac version was made about the end of the first

[1] Introd. to New Test. vol. ii. part i. pp. 29—38. Bishop Marsh, however, in his notes, has controverted the arguments of Michaelis, ibid. part ii. pp. 551—554.; which have been rendered highly probable by Archbishop Laurence, Dissertation upon the Logos, pp. 67—75., who has examined and refuted the Bishop of Peterborough's objections.

[2] Michaelis is of opinion that some of the more remarkable coincidences between the Syriac Bible and the Greek did not proceed from the original translator, but from a supposed improvement, which James of Edessa undertook, at the beginning of the eighth century, and of which important notices may be seen in the Journal des Sçavans, Vol. i. pp. 67—99., Amsterdam edition. As far as his observation extends, the Syriac accords with the Greek more frequently in Ezekiel than in the other books: he has also made the same observation in regard to the Proverbs of Solomon, yet with the particular and unexpected circumstance that the Chaldee version follows the Septuagint still more. Michaelis, Preface to his Syriac Chrestomathy, § v. translated in Essays and Dissertations on Biblical Literature, p. 506. New York, 1829.

[3] Credner, De Prophetarum Minorum Versionis Syriacæ Indole, Dissertatio i. pp. 1, 2, 63. Gottingæ, 1827, 8vo.

century, it might be made from Hebrew MSS. almost as old as those which were before translated into Greek, and from MSS. which might be in some places true where the others were corrupted. And it will be no wonder at all, if a version so very ancient should have preserved a great variety of true readings, where the Hebrew manuscripts were corrupted afterwards. Dr. Boothroyd considers this version to be as ancient, and in many respects as valuable, as the Chaldee paraphrase[1]; and in the notes to his edition of the Hebrew Bible he has shown that this version has retained numerous and important various readings. To its general fidelity almost every critic of note bears unqualified approbation, although it is not everywhere equal; and it is remarkably clear and strong in those passages which attribute characters of Deity to the Messiah. Michaelis and Jahn have observed that a different method of interpretation is adopted in the Pentateuch from that which is to be found in the book of Chronicles; and Jahn has remarked that there are some Chaldee words in the first chapter of Genesis, and also in the book of Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon: whence thay infer that this version was the work not of one, but of several authors. Further, Michaelis has discovered traces of the religion of the translator, which indicate a Christian and no Jew. A Jew by religion would not have employed the Syriac but the Hebrew letters, and he would have used the Chaldee Targums more copiously than is observed in most books of the Syriac Old Testament. This a Jew by birth would have done, if even he had been converted to Christianity; and, as most of the books of the Syriac Bible thus evince that the interpreter had no acquaintance with the Targums, Michaelis (whose opinion is adopted by Gesenius) is of opinion that the translator was a Christian; and their judgment is corroborated by the fact that the arguments prefixed to the Psalms were manifestly written by a Christian author.[2]

An important accession to biblical literature was made, a few years since, by the late Rev. Dr. Buchanan, who, in his progress among the Syrian churches and Jews of India, discovered and obtained numerous ancient manuscripts of the Scriptures, which are now deposited in the public library at Cambridge. One of these, which was discovered in a remote Syrian church near the mountains, is particularly valuable: it contains the Old and New Testaments, engrossed with beautiful accuracy in the *Estrangelo* (or old Syriac) character, on strong vellum, in large folio, and having three columns in a page. The words of every book are numbered; and the volume is illuminated, but not after the European manner, the initial letters

[1] Biblia Hebraica, vol. i. Præf. pp. xv. xvi.

[2] Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pars ii. cap. v. pp. 622—626.; Leusden, Philologus Hebræo-Mixtus, Diss. ix. pp. 67—71.; Bishop Lowth's Isaiah (edit. 1822), vol. i. p. xcii.; Dr. Kennicott, Diss. ii. pp. 355. &c.; Bauer, Critica Sacra, Tract. iii. §§ 82—86. pp. 308—321.; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. § 51.; De Rossi, Variæ Lectiones ad Vet. Test. tom. i. prol. p. *xxxii.*; Dathe, Opuscula ad Crisin et Interpretationem Vet. Test. p. 171.; Kortholt, De Versionibus Scripturæ, cap. iv. pp. 40—46.; Walton, Proleg. xiii. pp. 593. *et seq.*; Dr. Smith, Scripture Testimony of the Messiah, vol. i. pp. 396, 397. first edition; Gesenius, in the Introduction to his Commentary on Isaiah (in German), Theil ii. § 12. 3., or pp. 429, 430. of the Essays and Dissertations on Biblical Literature, published at New York.

having no ornament. Though somewhat injured by time or neglect, the ink being in certain places obliterated, still the letters can in general be distinctly traced from the impress of the pen, or from the partial corrosion of the ink. The Syrian church assigns a high date to this manuscript, which, in the opinion of Mr. Yeates, who has published a collation of the Pentateuch[1], was written about the seventh century. In looking over this manuscript, Dr. Buchanan found the very first emendation of the Hebrew text proposed by Dr. Kennicott[2]; which doubtless is the true reading.

The first edition of the Syriac version of the Old Testament appeared in the Paris Polyglott; but, being taken from an imperfect MS., its deficiencies were supplied by Gabriel Sionita, who translated the passages wanting from the Latin Vulgate, and has been unjustly charged with having translated the whole from the Vulgate. This text was reprinted in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, with the addition of some apocryphal books of a later version. There have been numerous editions of particular parts of the Syriac Old Testament, which are minutely described by Masch.[3] The principal editions of the Syriac Scriptures are noticed in the Bibliographical List, vol. iv.

[The Peshito version was made, most probably, at Edessa about the middle of the second century. Ephraim Syrus, who died A.D. 378, calls it "our translation," and speaks of it as generally received in the Syrian churches. It must, therefore, have been in existence a considerable time previous to this father; more especially as he asserts that many expressions in it were such as he could hardly understand. It has been questioned, whether there was more than one translator. Ephraim, on Josh. xv. 28., seems to imply a plurality[4], but little stress can be laid on this. As to the doubt whether the translator was a Christian, it would seem, by the rendering of such Messianic passages as Isai. vii. 14.; lii. 15.; liii. 8.; Zech. xii. 10., that at least a Christian must have translated the Prophets. This version adheres pretty closely to the Hebrew original: the Psalms present the most frequent instances of deviation. This has been ascribed to the liturgical use of the Psalter; and other reasons taken from its more frequent transcription, and from the notion that monks would trust more to their memory in copying the Psalms, than other books, have been alleged. These last are of no great weight. The Peshito included only the canonical books of the Old Testament. Various recensions of this standard translation were made in process of time: that called the *Nestorian* exhibits, according to Dr. Wiseman, little more than some variations in the pointing. The various

[1] In the Christian Observer, vol. xii. pp. 171—174. there is an account of Mr. Yeates's collation; and in vol. ix. of the same Journal, pp. 273—275, 348—350. there is given a very interesting description of the Syriac manuscript above noticed. A short account of it also occurs in Dr. Buchanan's Christian Researches, respecting the Syrians, pp. 229—231. (edit. 1811.)

[2] Gen. iv. 8. *And Cain said unto Abel his brother, Let us go down into the plain.* It may be satisfactory to the reader to know, that this disputed addition is to be found in the Samaritan, Syriac, Septuagint, and Vulgate versions, printed in Bishop Walton's Polyglott.

[3] Bibl. Sacr. part ii. vol. i. sect. iv. pp. 64—71.

[4] Op. (edit. Rom. 1732—1746.) tom. i. p. 305.

readings of the Peshito are weighty [1]; but perhaps, their value has been over-rated by Dathe and De Rossi.

For an account of the Peshito version of the New Testament, Dr. Tregelles's observations may be consulted.[2] It may be noted that of the various dedications of the Widmanstadt edition, mentioned by Dr. Tregelles, and enumerated in the table of contents of that edition, two are not, according to Brunet, to be found in any known copy.]

2. The *Karkaphensian* was executed towards the close of the tenth century, by David, a Jacobite monk, residing in the monastery of St. Aaron on *Mount* Sigara in Mesopotamia, whence is derived the appellation *Karkaphensian; Karkupho* signifying the "head," and also the "summit of a mountain."[3] We are informed by the learned Dr. Wiseman, who has most minutely investigated the history and literary character of this recension, that the basis of its text is the Peshito or Versio Simplex, to the printed copies of which it bears a close affinity; except that proper names and Græco-Syriac words are accommodated to the Greek orthography, or to that adopted by Thomas of Harkel in his revision of the Philoxenian version. Some eminent critics have thought that the Karkaphensian version was made for the use of the Nestorians; Dr. Wiseman, however, is decidedly of opinion, that it is of Monophysite or Jacobite origin [4]: but his opinion is doubted by Professor Lee.[5]

3. [Only the Peshito version of the Hebrew text was in use among the Syrians till the sixth century; when, in consequence of the formal separation of the Monophysites from the Nestorians, a new translation from the Septuagint was made. In 617, at the instance of Athanasius, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Paul, bishop of Tella in Mesopotamia, executed, during his residence at Alexandria, a Syriac version, which followed the Hexaplaric text (for the criticism of which it is most valuable) word for word, so far as to neglect Syriac usage and retain Greek expressions. It had also the Hexaplaric marks, and for the most part is found to agree with the Alexandrine, but frequently with the Vatican and Complutensian texts. There is a MS. of it in the Ambrosian library at Milan, containing the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, the twelve minor prophets, Jeremiah, Baruch, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. There is also the 4th book of Kings in a Paris MS. All these (with the exception of the apocryphal portion) have been printed.[6] Andrew Masius in the six-

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 194. There is an interesting paper On the Syriac Language and the Peshito Version, in the Journal of Sacred Literature, Jan. 1854, vol. v. pp. 455—464., which may be consulted with advantage. Examples are given of the variations it exhibits from the received text, and its value in sacred criticism is emphatically maintained.

[2] Vol. iv. chap. xxiv.

[3] Dr. Wiseman's Horæ Syriacæ, tom. i. pp. 236—242. compared with pp. 162, 163.

[4] Ibid. tom. i. pp. 234, 235. In this learned work Dr. Wiseman has described a valuable manuscript of the Karkaphensian recension, which is preserved in the Vatican library at Rome, and has given notices of some other MSS. of this recension.

[5] Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Londinensia Minora. Prol. III. sect. iii. p. 28.

[6] A specimen of the book of Kings, by Hasse, Jena, 1782; Jeremiah and Ezekiel, by Norberg, Lond. Goth. 1787; Daniel, by Bugati, Milan, 1788; the Psalms after Bugati's death, at Milan, 1820; and the 4th book of Kings, Isaiah, the minor prophets, Proverbs, Job, Solomon's Song, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, by Middeldorpf, Berlin, 1835. See Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 58—60.

teenth century possessed a volume of this translation, containing several books not in the Milan MS. His MS., however, is lost.

This is the translation which, according to Abulpharagius, was used with the Peshito by the western Syrians, and was called, by a mistake of Pococke (which he afterwards corrected), the *Versio Figurata.*[1]

At an earlier period Philoxenus, or Xenaias, bishop of Hierapolis or Mabug, in Syria, from 488 to 518, seems to have commissioned his *chorepiscopus* Polycarp to translate the Psalter besides the New Testament. But no version of the entire Old Testament exists, by either Philoxenus or Polycarp; the only ground for believing that there was such a version being a marginal note in the Ambrosian MS. on Isai. ix. 6.

A Syriac translation from the Greek was made by the Nestorian patriarch Mar-Abba (A.D. 552). It was never brought into ecclesiastical use, and is known only by name.

Thomas of Harkel did not make any translation of the Old Testament. The *Versio Heracleensis,* of the History of Susanna, mentioned by Pococke, is merely a free revision of Theodotion.

James of Edessa also made no new translation, but only prepared a new edition from the Syro-Hexaplaric text and the Peshito conjointly. But a few fragments of it are known.[2]]

II. EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.—From the proximity of Egypt to Judæa, it appears that the knowledge of the gospel was very early communicated to the inhabitants of that country, whose language was divided into three dialects—the *Coptic,* or dialect of Lower Egypt; the *Sahidic,* or dialect of Upper Egypt; and the *Bashmuric,* a dialect of the inhabitants of Bashmur, a province of the Delta.

The Coptic language is a compound of the old Egyptian and Greek; into which the *Old Testament* was translated from the Septuagint, perhaps in the second or third century, and certainly before the fifth century. Of this version, the Pentateuch was published by Wilkins in 1731; and a Psalter, with an Arabic translation, by the congregation *de Propagandâ Fide,* at Rome, in 1744 and 1749.[3]

In the Sahidic language the ninth chapter of Daniel was published by Münter at Rome in 1786; and Jeremiah, ch. ix. 17. to ch. xiii., by Mingarelli, in *Reliquiæ Egyptiorum Codicum in Bibliotheca Naniana asservatæ,* at Bologna, in 1785. The late Dr. Woide was of opinion that both the Coptic and Sahidic versions were made from the Greek. They express the phrases of the Septuagint version; and most of the additions, omissions, and transpositions, which distinguished the latter from the Hebrew, are discoverable in the Coptic and Sahidic versions.

[1] Abul. Pharaj. Hist. Dynast. Oxon. 1663, p. 100.; conf. not. in Vers. Lat.

[2] For fuller information see Keil, Einleitung, § 183., from which the summary in the text is taken; also Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. § 76.; compare further Dr. Tregelles in vol. iv. ch xxiv—xxvii.

[3] Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 182—190.; Jahn, § 56. The *only* perfect copy of the Coptic Bible now in Europe is said to be in the possession of Monsieur Marcel. See M. Quatremère's Recherches sur la Langue et la Litérature d'Egypte, p. 118. In pp. 114, 115, 134, 135, this learned writer has specified various portions of the Coptic version which are preserved in the great libraries on the continent.

[Of the Coptic or Memphitic version the Psalter has been published by Ideler in 1837, and by Schwartze in 1843; the greater prophets by Archdeacon Tattam in 1852, the lesser by the same in 1836; portions of Jeremiah by Mingarelli, of Daniel by Münter, and the whole of Daniel by Bardelli, 1849. Of the Sahidic or Thebaic, merely fragments (Dan. ix.; Jer. xiii. 14., xiv. 9.; Isai. i. 1—v. 18, 25.) have been printed by Münter, Mingarelli, and Zoega. Both translations appear to have been made from the Septuagint. Theodotion would seem to be the groundwork of the version of Daniel: Münter finds traces of the Hesychian recension.[1]]

Besides the versions in the Coptic and Sahidic dialects, Father Georgi discovered, in a manuscript belonging to Cardinal Borgia, some fragments of a version written in a still different Egyptian dialect, which he calls the Ammonian Dialect. It contains only 1 Cor. vii. 36.—ix. 16. and xiv. 33., xv. 33. Some fragments of a Bashmurico-Coptic Version of the Old and New Testaments, discovered in the Borgian Museum at Velitri, were published by Engelbreth at Copenhagen, in 1811. Dr. Frederick Münter has printed the Sahidic and Ammoniac texts of 1 Cor. ix 10—16. in his *Commentatio de Indole Versionis Novi Testamenti Sahidicæ* (4to. Hafniæ, 1789), in parallel columns, in order to present the reader with a distinct view of the similarity or difference between the two versions. On account, however, of the chief difference consisting in the orthography of single words, he is not disposed to assign to the Ammoniac the name of a separate dialect. On considering the region where this dialect seemed to be vernacular, he was inclined for several reasons to fix upon the Oases, particularly the Ammonian Oasis, whence he called it the Ammonian dialect; but Professor Hug, who has investigated the hypothesis of various learned men, is of opinion that the fragments in question may possibly exhibit the idiom of Middle Egypt. M. Quatremère, however, prefers the appellation of the Oasitic Dialect to that of Bashmuric.[2] This version was probably executed in the later part of the third century.[3]

III. The Ethiopic or Abyssinian Version of the Old Testament was made from the Septuagint; although its author [possibly Frumentius] and date are unknown, yet, from the marks of unquestionable antiquity which it bears, there is every reason to believe that it was executed in the fourth century. [Chrysostom speaks of the Scriptures—at least some portion—having been translated into the Ethiopic language.[4] The version appears to have been made from the Septuagint, though some have supposed that the original Hebrew text was consulted.[5]] In the Gospels it agrees for the most part with the Alexandrine recension. Some particular read-

[1] See De Wette, Einleitung, § 51.; Keil, Einleitung, § 185.; Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. § 77. Compare also Dr. Tregelles, in vol. iv. chapp. xxviii. xxix.

[2] Recherches sur la Langue et Litérature de l'Egypte, p. 228. The whole of his fifth section, which treats on the Basmuric dialect, is highly interesting and valuable.

[3] Hug's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 417—423. For a notice of the editions or published fragments of the several Egyptian versions, see the Bibliographical List, vol. iv.

[4] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718—38. In Joan. Hom. ii. tom. vii. p. 10.

[5] Keil, Einleitung, § 184. Compare De Wette, Einleitung, § 50.

ings occur in this translation; but, where it seems to be exact, it derives considerable authority from its antiquity. Only a few books and fragments of this version have been printed. [A complete edition was undertaken by Dillman: the first volume was published in 1853.] The first portions of the Ethiopic Scriptures that appeared in print were the Psalms and the Song of Solomon, edited at Rome, by John Potken, A.D. 1513.[1]

IV. Arabic Versions.—Although the Christian religion was preached in Arabia as well as in other countries of the East, at an early period, yet it never was the established religion of the country, as in Syria and Egypt; for even the temple at Mecca was a heathen temple till the time of Mohammed. Historical evidence, therefore, concerning the Arabic versions of the Old Testament does not extend beyond the tenth century, when

1. Rabbi Saadias Gaon, a celebrated Jewish teacher at Sora, in Babylonia, translated, or rather paraphrased, the Old Testament into Arabic: of this version the Pentateuch was printed at Constantinople, in folio, in the year 1546, in Hebrew characters; and in the Paris and London Polyglotts, in Arabic letters. The prophecy of Isaiah was published by Paulus in 8vo. at Jena, in 1790, 1791. Jahn, after Simon, observes, that its style is not pure. Saadias is also said to have translated the book of Job and the Psalms; [perhaps also the other books of Scripture: Kimchi quotes Hosea:] a manuscript containing Job is preserved in the Bodleian Library: Cod. Huntington. No. 511. [transcribed by Gesenius.] The remaining books of this translation have not hitherto been discovered. Besides this, there are several other Arabic versions extant, made immediately from the Hebrew, either by Jews, Samaritans, or Christians, of which the following are the principal; viz.

2. The Arabic version of the Pentateuch, published by Erpenius at Leyden, in 1622, 4to., appears to have been executed in the thirteenth century by some African Jew, who has very closely adhered to the Hebrew.

3. The Arabic version of the book of Joshua, and of 1 Kings xii.—2 Kings xii. 16., printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, was made by a Jew of the eleventh century, and that of Neh. i.—ix. 27. by a Jewish author, interpolated by a Christian from the Peshito.

4. Genesis, the Psalms, and the prophecy of Daniel, were translated by Saadias Ben Levi Asnekot, who lived in the early part of the seventeenth century: they are extant only in MS. in the British Museum[2], and are of very little value. There are also other versions of parts of the Scripture still in MS.

[Several Arabic translations of various parts of the Old Testament are derived from the LXX.; as the Prophets, printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts, by an Alexandrine ecclesiastic, whose name and age are unknown, though probably he lived after the tenth century:

[1] Jahn, § 57.; Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 140—157.; Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 95—98. 609—613.; Hug, vol. i. pp. 423—428.; Walton, Proleg. xv. §§ 10—12. pp. 679—686.; Kortholt, cap. xviii. pp. 298—301. In Mr. Bruce's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 416—420 (8vo. edit.), there is an interesting account of the Ethiopic biblical books.

[2] Cat. Harl. MSS. vol. iii. no. 5505.

the basis of this version is the Hexaplaric text; the writings of Solomon in the same Polyglotts; Ezra in the same; the Psalms after an Egyptian recension in the same, after a Syriac recension in Justiniani's Octaglott Psalter (1546), and Gabriel Sionita's Psalter (1614); also the translation of the Psalter used by the Melchites[1], (Aleppo 1706), made before the twelfth century by Abdalla Ibn Alfadl. Some other unprinted Arabic versions also follow the LXX.

From the Peshito have been made the Arabic translations of Job and Chronicles in the Polyglotts, and of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings (1 Kings i.—xi.; 2 Kings xii. 17—xxv.), and Neh. ix. 28—xiii. in the same. According to Rödiger, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and 1 Kings, i.—xi. were translated by a Christian in the twelfth or thirteenth century. The versions of the other fragments were also made by Christians. There are, further, two Arabic versions of the Psalter from the Peshito, one in the editions of the Syriac Psalter printed in Mount Lebanon, 1585, 1610, the other unprinted in the British Museum. There are also some little-known versions of the Pentateuch.

Arabic translations have also been made from the Vulgate for the use of Romish Christians in the East. The whole Bible was printed by the Propaganda at Rome in 1671. There are other versions from the same source yet unprinted.[2]]

V. The ARMENIAN VERSION of the Old Testament was made from the Alexandrian Septuagint: its author was Miesrob, who invented letters fully expressive of the Armenian tongue, towards the close of the fourth or early in the fifth century. It is said to have been subsequently altered according to the Peshito, or old Syriac version, and according to the Latin Vulgate, by Uscan, an Armenian bishop, who was specially sent to Amsterdam to superintend the edition there printed in 1666.[3] [The Armenian version follows Theodotion in Daniel. Some eminent scholars deny that any alterations were made after the Peshito or the Vulgate. The text, where translated from the LXX., is of a mixed character, not agreeing with any of the chief recensions. Two scholars, Johannes Ecchelensis and Josephus Palnensis, assisted Miesrob.[4]]

[VI. A Georgian translation was made, by whom it is unknown, in the sixth century. It was from the LXX. in the ecclesiastical

[1] The *Melchites* were those Christians in Syria, Egypt, and the Levant, who, though not Greeks, followed the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church. They were called Melchites, that is, Royalists, by their adversaries, by way of reproach, on account of their implicit submission to the edict of the Emperor Marcian, in favour of the council of Chalcedon. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. part ii. cent. vii. chap. v. p. 188. note (*m*).

[2] Carpzov. Crit. Sacr. pars ii. cap. v. pp. 640, &c.; Bauer, Crit. Sacr. tract. iii. §§ 87—91. pp. 321—324.; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. §§ 53, 54.; Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 103—139.; Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. §§ 77, 84, 85, 89; Keil, Einleitung, §§ 186, 195, 196, 203. Compare De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 55, 65, 66, 74. See also Schnurrer, Bibliotheca Arabica, Halæ ad Salam, 1811, class v. p. 339, &c.

[3] Jahn, § 58; Masch, pp. 169—181.; Kortholt, cap. xx. pp. 304, 305. On the present state of the Armenian church in India, see Dr. Buchanan's Christian Researches, pp. 341—346.; Semler, Apparatus ad Liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem, p. 69.; Michaelis, vol. ii. chap. vii. pp. 98—105. 614, 615.; Hug, vol. i. pp. 394 400.

[4] De Wette, Einleitung, § 52.; Keil, Einleitung, § 187. Compare Dr. Tregelles, in vol. iv. chap. xxxi.

dialect of the country, and the Armenian character. The whole Bible, corrected from the Slavonic, was printed at Moscow in 1743.[1]]

VII. PERSIC VERSIONS.—Although we have no authentic account of the conversion of the whole Persian nation to Christianity, yet we are informed by Chrysostom and Theodoret, that the Scriptures were very anciently translated into the Persian language. It does not appear, however, that any fragments of this ancient version are extant. The Persic translation of the Pentateuch was executed by Jacob Ben. Joseph, surnamed Tawosi or Tusi, from Tus, a city of Persia, which anciently possessed a celebrated Jewish academy. The precise time when he lived is not known; but it is evident that he could not have lived earlier than the commencement of the ninth century, because in Gen. x. 10. for *Babel* he has substituted *Bagdad*, which city was not founded until A. D. 762 by the caliph Almansor. The Persian version of the Pentateuch, which is for the most part faithfully rendered, was first printed by the Jews at Constantinople in 1546, in Hebrew characters, together with the Hebrew text, the Targum of Onkelos, and the Arabic version of Saadias Gaon. From this Constantinopolitan edition the Persian version of the Pentateuch was transcribed into the Persian characters by the eminent orientalist Hyde, who added a very close Latin translation, and supplied between brackets the words necessary to fill up the chasms which had been caused by the negligence either of the original copyist or of the printer at Constantinople. [According to Lorsbach, who places this translation in the sixteenth century, Tawus is a proper name signifying *Peacock*. This translation follows the Masoretic text, adopting Hebrew constructions and many Hebrew words. It explains difficult places after Onkelos, and here and there agrees with the version of Saadias. A Persian version of Proverbs was found by Hassler in a Paris MS.[2]]

Bishop Walton further mentions two Persic versions of the Psalms —one by a Portuguese monk at Ispahan in the year 1618, and another by some Jesuits, both from the Vulgate Latin version. These are yet in manuscript.[3]

[The translations from the Samaritan Pentateuch have been noticed before, p. 33.]

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§ 4. *On the Ancient Western Versions of the Scriptures.*

I. *Ancient Latin versions of the Scriptures.*—1. *Of the* OLD ITALIC *or* ANTE-HIERONYMIAN VERSION.—2. *Account of the biblical labours and Latin version of* JEROME.—3. *Of the* VULGATE VERSION *and its revisions.*—4. *Critical value of the Latin Vulgate version* —II. GOTHIC VERSION.—III. SLAVONIC VERSION.—IV. ANGLO-SAXON VERSION.

I. ANCIENT LATIN VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

1. At the commencement of the Christian era, the Latin was gradually supplanting the Greek as a *general* language, and after

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 187.
[2] Id. ibid. § 199.
[3] Walton, Proleg. xvi. §§ 6—8. pp. 692—695.; Kortholt, cap. xix. pp. 301—303.; Jahn, § 55.; Rosenmüller, de Versione Pentateuchi Persica Commentatio, pp. 4—10., Lipsiæ, 1813. For an account of editions consult Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 158—164.

some time it might be called the language of the western church. From the testimony of Augustine, it appears that the Latin church possessed a very great number of versions of the Scriptures, made at the first introduction of Christianity, of which the authors were unknown; and that, in the primitive times, as soon as any one found a Greek copy, and thought himself sufficiently versed in both languages, he attempted a translation of it.[1] In the course of time, this diversity of translation produced much confusion, parts of separate versions being put together to form an entire composition, and marginal notes being inserted into the text; but one of these Latin translations appears to have acquired a more extensive circulation than the others, and for several ages was preferably used, under the name of the *Vetus Itala* or old Italic, on account of its clearness and fidelity.[2]

[The passages of Augustine are the following: Et Latinæ quidem linguæ homines, quos nunc instruendos suscepimus, duabus aliis ad scripturarum divinarum cognitionem opus habent, Hebræa scilicet et Græca, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitationem adtulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas . . . Qui enim scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.[3]

In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris præferatur: nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ. Et Latinis quibuslibet emendandis, Græci adhibeantur, in quibus Septuaginta interpretum, quod ad vetus testamentum adtinet, excellit auctoritas.[4]

Some questions have arisen from these passages. One may, however, be considered settled; as *Itala* in the latter is now generally acknowledged to be the true reading. But critics are hardly yet agreed whether Augustine in the former means distinct translations, or merely variations introduced into the text of the one

[1] These various ancient Latin versions, which are frequently termed *Ante-Hieronymian*, and of the manuscripts of which some valuable fragments have been preserved to us in the writings of the fathers, were written in barbarous Latin, and frequently differed greatly. One single example, out of many that might be offered, will suffice. Col. ii. 15. as cited by Hilary (de Trin. lib. i. 13.) runs thus:—"Exutus carnem et potestates ostentui fecit, triumphatis iis cum fiduciâ in semetipso." The same passage, as cited by Augustine (contra Faustum, lib. xvi. cap. 29.), stands thus:—"Exuens se carnem principatus et potestates exemplavit, fiducialiter triumphans eos in semetipso." Other examples may be seen in Hug, vol. i. pp. 454—456.

[2] The passage of Augustine referred to is suspected to be incorrect; and Bishop Marsh, after Bentley, Ernesti, Lardner, and other critics, thinks that we ought to read *illa* for *Itala* (Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 621, 622. See also Dr. Lardner's Works, Cred. of Gosp. Hist. chap. cxvii., vol. v. pp. 115, 116.). But this conjecture is supported by no manuscript, and is also contradicted by the context of Augustine. M. Breyther, who has examined the various conjectures and arguments which have been alleged in support of the reading of *illa*, determines in favour of *Itala* as the genuine reading. Dissert. de vi quam antiquissimæ versiones, quæ extant, in crisin Evang. IV. habeant, pp. 13—24. Prof. Hug also determines in favour of *Itala* Introd. to New Test. vol. i. pp. 458—461.

[3] August. Op. Par. 1679—1700; De Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. 16. tom. iii. pars i. cols. 24, 25.

[4] Id. ibid. 22. cols. 27, 28.

version by different emendators and copyists. For the latest opinions on both sides, De Wette, Hävernick, Keil, Wiseman, Davidson, and Tregelles, may be consulted.[1] Sufficient grounds seem to have been produced for the belief that there was but one *acknowledged* Latin translation, in which almost innumerable alterations were made; though we can scarcely suppose that no man for several generations ever undertook to translate for himself any book of sacred scripture. And such a one would not be the less a translator, if he used during his work the prior well-known version; just as king James's translators paid a certain deference to the earlier English versions. It would hence follow that the phraseology employed by the later would bear a close resemblance to that of the earlier labourers. Still translations so made could not be deemed independent: they would be but subordinate varieties of the single standard. Flaminio Nobili was the first to print, in 1588, the remains he could collect of this version. Sabatier published the fragments more completely, under the title, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ; seu vetus Italica et ceteræ quæcunque in Codd. MSS. et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt: quæ cum Vulgata Latina et cum textu Græco comparantur, &c.* This work was issued at Rheims 1743, and at Paris 1749–51. A valuable supplement was put forth by Münter, *Fragmenta versionis antiquæ Latinæ ante-Hieronym. Prophetarum Jerem. Ezech. Dan. et Hoseæ,* Hafniæ 1819, in Miscell. Hafn. vol. i. Other fragments have been since published by Mai.]

The Old Italic was translated from the Greek in the Old Testament as well as in the New, there being comparatively few members of the Western church who were skilled in Hebrew. [The text it followed was the κοινή, and therefore it most nearly approaches that exhibited by the Vatican.] From the above cited expressions of Augustine, it has been inferred that the old Italic version was made in the *first* century of the Christian era; but the New Testament could not have been translated into Latin before the canon had been formed, which was certainly not made in the first century; and the great number of Hebraisms and Syriasms observable in it, particularly in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, have induced some eminent critics to conjecture that the authors of this translation were Jews converted to Christianity.[2] There is, however, every reason to believe, that it was executed in the early part of the second century: "at least it was quoted by Tertullian before the close of that century. But, before the end of the fourth century, the alterations, either designed or accidental, which were made by transcribers of the Latin

[1] De Wette, Einleitung, § 48.; Hävernick, Einleitung, I. i. § 75.; Keil, Einleitung, § 182.; Wiseman, Essays, vol. i. pp. 42. &c.; Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xviii.; Tregelles, vol. iv. chap. xxii. See also Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. Art. Vulgate.

[2] "The learned and ingenious Eichhorn, in his Introduction to the Old Testament, supposes that the first Latin version of the Bible was made in Africa; where, Latin alone being understood, a translation was more necessary; where the Latin version was held in the highest veneration; and where, the language being spoken with less purity, barbarisms might have more easily been introduced than in a provincial town in Italy." Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. p. 627. [Eichhorn is, doubtless, right.]

Bible, were become as numerous as the alterations in the Greek Bible, before it was corrected by Origen."[1]

2. To remedy this growing evil, Jerome, at the request, and under the patronage of Damasus, bishop of Rome, towards the close of the fourth century, undertook to revise this translation. and make it more conformable to the Septuagint. [He began with the New Testament about A.D. 382. After this he hastily revised the Psalter. producing what is called the *Roman Psalter*, because it was adopted at Rome. At a later period he corrected it again according to the Hexaplaric text, furnishing it with Origen's critical marks. This is called the *Gallican Psalter*, being received by the churches in France. In a similar way he revised the Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, Proverbs, and Job; and it may be presumed from what he says that his labours extended to the other books. But most of his work perished by some fraud.[2] The two Psalters and Job alone are extant.[3]] But, before Jerome had finished his revisal, he had commenced a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Latin, in order that the Western Christians, who used this last language only, might know the real meaning of the Hebrew text, and thus be the better qualified to engage in controversial discussions with the Jews.

3. This version, which surpasses all former ones, was executed at different times, Jerome having translated particular books in the order requested by his friends. [Jerome's translation was begun about A.D. 385, and finished in 405. He commenced with the books of Samuel and Kings, then rendered the Prophets. Afterwards he completed Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, and Proverbs in three days, and next translated Job, the Psalms, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. Some years intervened before he began the Pentateuch; and it was shortly followed by Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Esther. To make his work more complete, he translated Tobit and Judith out of Chaldee; the former in a single day, by the help of a Jewish teacher, who expressed the Chaldee words in Hebrew, while Jerome dictated a Latin version to an amanuensis: Judith he afterwards rendered himself, having then acquired some acquaintance with the language. Maccabees and Ecclesiasticus he found in Hebrew, but he did not translate either. He retained the apocryphal additions to Esther, Daniel, and Jeremiah, though he did not approve of them, and took care to mark his disapprobation.[4]] We learn from Augustine's writings that Jerome's version was introduced into the churches by degrees, for fear of offending weak persons[5]: at length it acquired such authority from the approbation of pope Gregory I., that since the seventh century, with some mixture of other ancient translations, it has been exclusively adopted by the Romish church, under the name of the VULGATE[6]; and a decree of the fourth session of the council of Trent,

[1] Bishop Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part i. p. 66.
[2] Jerome, Ep. lxxix. ad Augustin. (edit. Bened.)
[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 182. p. 616.
[4] Carpzov, Crit. Sacr. Vet. Test. pars ii. cap. vi. p. 667.
[5] See August. Op. Epist. ad Hieron. lxxi. lxxxii. tom. ii. cols. 160, 203.; De Doctr. Christ. lib. iv. 15. tom. iii. pars i. cols. 70, 71.
[6] With the exception of the Psalms; into which, being daily chanted to music in the church service, it was difficult to introduce alterations. The Old Italic Psalter, as corrected

in the sixteenth century, ordained that the Vulgate alone should be *esteemed authentic* (a very ambiguous term, which ought to have been more precisely defined than the members of that assembly chose to define it) *in the public reading of the Scriptures, in disputations, in preaching, and in expounding, and that no one should dare to reject it under any pretext whatever.* "Upon this ground many contended that the Vulgate version was dictated by the Holy Spirit, at least was providentially guarded against all error, was consequently of divine authority, and more to be regarded than even the original Hebrew and Greek texts. And, in effect, the decree of the council, however limited and moderated by the explanation of some of their more judicious divines, has given to the Vulgate such a high degree of authority, that, in this instance at least, the translation has taken place of the original; for the learned of the church of Rome, who have taken the liberty of giving translations of Scripture in the modern languages, instead of the Hebrew and Greek texts, profess to translate the Vulgate. When, indeed, they find the Vulgate very notoriously deficient in expressing the sense, they do the original Scriptures the honour of consulting them, and take the liberty, by following them, of departing from their authentic guide; but, in general, the Vulgate is their original text; and they give us a translation of a translation; by which second transfusion of the Holy Scriptures into another tongue, still more of the original sense must be lost, and more of the genuine spirit must evaporate."[1]

The universal adoption of Jerome's new version throughout the Western church rendered a multiplication of copies necessary; and with them new errors were introduced in the course of time, by the intermixture of the two versions (the Old Italic, and Jerome's or the Vulgate) with each other. Of this confusion, Cassiodorus was the principal cause, who ordered them to be written in parallel columns, that the old version might be corrected by the Vulgate[2]; and, though Alcuin towards the close of the eighth century, by the command of Charlemagne, provided more accurate copies[3], the text again fell into such confusion, and was so disfigured by innumerable mistakes of copyists (notwithstanding the efforts made to correct it by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, in the eleventh century, and by Cardinal Nicholas, and some other divines, about the middle of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries), that the manuscripts of the middle ages materially differ from the first printed editions.

Robert Stephen was the first who attempted to remedy this confusion, by publishing his critical editions of the Vulgate in 1528, 1532, 1534, 1540[4], and particularly in 1545 and 1546. These,

by Jerome, has therefore been used ever since the time of Gregory I. The apocryphal books of Baruch, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the two books of Maccabees, are also retained from the old Latin version.

[1] Bp. Lowth's Translation of Isaiah, vol. i. Prel. Diss. p. lxxiv.

[[2] For an account of the *correctoria* or notes, more exegetical than critical, by which various learned men—Abbot Stephen, about 1150, was the first — endeavoured to remedy the corruption of the text, see Carpzov, Crit. Sacr. pars ii. cap. vi. pp. 685, 686.]

[3] See vol. iv. pp. 246, 247.

[4] The edition of 1540 was Stephen's principal edition of the Latin Vulgate; as his edition of 1550 was his principal edition of the Greek. In *magnificence* it surpasses every edition

especially the last, having incurred the censures of the doctors of the Sorbonne, John Hentenius, a divine of Louvain, was employed to prepare a new edition of the Vulgate: this he accomplished in 1547 in folio, having availed himself of Stephen's previous labours with great advantage. A third corrected edition was published by Lucas Brugensis, with the assistance of several other divines of Louvain, in 1573, in three volumes, 8vo., which was also reprinted in 1580, in 4to. and 8vo., and in following years, with the critical notes of Lucas Brugensis. In the mean time Pius IV. commanded some divines of the Romish church to collect and to collate the most ancient manuscripts which they could procure. This collation was continued during the pontificate of Pius V., who further caused the original text to be consulted. Under Gregory XIII. the work ceased, but it was resumed and completed under the auspices of Sixtus V.; who devoted much time and attention to it, and corrected the proofs of the edition, which was published at Rome in 1590, in folio. The text thus revised Sixtus pronounced to be *the authentic Vulgate*, which had been the object of inquiry, in the council of Trent; and ordained that it should be adopted throughout the Romish church. But, notwithstanding the labours of the pope, this edition was discovered to be so exceedingly incorrect that his successor Gregory XIV. caused it to be suppressed; and Clement VIII., the successor of Gregory in the pontificate, published *another* authentic Vulgate, in 1592. This, however, differs more than any other edition from that of Sixtus V., and mostly resembles that of Louvain. These fatal variances between editions, alike promulgated by pontiffs claiming infallibility, have not passed unnoticed by protestant divines, who have taken advantage of them in a manner that sensibly affects the church of Rome; especially Kortholt, who has at great length refuted the pretensions of Bellarmine in favour of the Vulgate in a masterly manner[1], and our learned countryman Thomas James, in his *Bellum Papale, sive Concordia Discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII.* (London, 1600, 4to.), who has pointed out very numerous additions, omissions, contradictions, and other differences between the Sixtine and Clementine editions.[2]

Besides the preceding revisions by papal authority, there have been several others executed by private individuals; in which the Latin Vulgate has been so much corrected from the original Hebrew and Greek, that they have in some degree been considered (though

of the Vulgate that ever was printed; and it is likewise of great value to a critic, as it contains a copious collection of various readings from thirteen Latin manuscripts, and three of the early editions. Father Simon (Hist. Crit. des Versions du N. Test. ch. xi. p. 130.) calls it "*un chef-d'œuvre en fait de Bible;* and (p. 131.) he terms this edition "*la meilleure des toutes.*" Hentenius, in his preface to the Louvain edition, calls it "*accuratissima et castigatissima Biblia.*" (See also the praises bestowed on it in Masch's edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. iii. p. 187.) The title-page prefixed to the New Testament bears the date of 1539; though that which is prefixed to the Old Testament is dated 1540. (Marsh's Letters to Travis, p. 254. note.) It is by this latter date, that Stephen's best edition of the Vulgate is usually known and cited.

[1] Kortholt, de variis Scripturæ Editionibus, capp. x—xiv. pp. 110—251.

[2] Additional instances of the contradictions between the above-mentioned papal editions, together with a defence of the *Bellum Papale*, may be seen in James's Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, for the Maintenance of Popery, part iii. pp. 272—358. London, 1688. 8vo. See some specimens, vol. iv. pp. 256, 7.

erroneously) as new translations. Of this number are the Latin Bibles published by Clarius, Eber, and the Osianders.

[i.] Isidore Clarius's edition of the Vulgate first appeared at Venice in 1542, and is of extreme rarity; it was reprinted at the same place in 1557 and 1564. He has not only restored the ancient Latin text, but has also corrected it in a great number of places which he conceived to be erroneously translated, so as to make them comformable to the Hebrew original. Although he corrected more than *eight thousand* places, as he states in his preface, yet he omitted some, lest he should offend the Roman Catholics by making too many alterations in the Vulgate version.

[ii.] The method of Clarius was followed by Paul Eber, who corrected the Vulgate from Luther's German version. His edition was published at Wittemberg, in 1565, in ten volumes, quarto, with the addition of Luther's translation, under the authority of Augustus, Elector of Saxony; and was reprinted in 1574.

[iii.] The edition of *Luke* Osiander bears date 1574—1586, and has since been very often reprinted; as also has a German translation of it, which was first published at Stuttgard in 1600. *Andrew* Osiander's edition was also printed in 1600, and frequently since. They have both corrected the Vulgate, according to the Hebrew original, and have occasioned some confusion to their readers, by inserting their emendations in a character different from that in which the Vulgate text is printed. [Andrew Osiander the elder published his edition in 1522.]

4. The Vulgate is regarded by papists and protestants in very different points of view; by the former it has been extolled beyond measure, while by most of the latter it has been depreciated as much below its intrinsic merit. Our learned countryman, John Bois (canon of Ely), was the first who pointed out the real value of this version, in his *Collatio Veteris Interpretis cum Bezâ aliisque recentioribus* (8vo. 1655). Bois was followed by Father Simon, in his *Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions du Nouveau Testament*, who has proved that, the more ancient the Greek manuscripts and other versions are, the more closely do they agree with the Vulgate; and, in consequence of the arguments adduced by Simon, the Vulgate has been more justly appreciated by biblical critics of later times.

Although the Latin Vulgate is neither inspired nor infallible, as Morinus, Suarez, and other advocates of the Romish church have attempted to maintain, yet it is allowed to be in general a faithful translation, and sometimes exhibits the sense of Scripture with greater accuracy than the more modern versions; for all those which have been made in modern times, by divines in communion with the church of Rome, are derived from the Latin Vulgate, which, in consequence of the decree of the council of Trent above noticed, has been substituted for the original Hebrew and Greek texts. The Latin Vulgate, therefore, is by no means to be neglected by the biblical critic; and, since the Ante-Hieronymian Latin translations are unquestionably of great antiquity, both lead us to a discovery

of the readings in very ancient Greek manuscripts, which existed prior to the date of any now extant. Even in its present state, notwithstanding the variations between the Sixtine and Clementine editions, and that several passages are mistranslated, in order to support the peculiar dogmas of the church of Rome, the Latin Vulgate preserves some true readings[1], where the modern Hebrew copies are faulty.[2]

II. The GOTHIC VERSION of the Bible was made from the Greek, both in the Old and in the New Testament, by Ulphilas[3], a celebrated bishop of the Mæso-Goths, who was appointed to his see, A.D. 348, and was sent on an embassy to the emperor Valens about the year 376. He is said to have embraced Arianism, and to have propagated Arian tenets among his countrymen. Besides translating the *entire* Bible into the Gothic language, Ulphilas is said to have conferred on the Mæso-Goths the invention of the Gothic characters. The character, however, in which this version of the New Testament is written, is in fact the Latin character of that age; and the degree of perfection, which the Gothic language had obtained during the time of Ulphilas is a proof that it had then been written for some time.

[Mere fragments remain of the Gothic version of the Old Testament, made most probably from the Hexaplaric text: the following have been printed: Ezra ii. 28—42.; Neh. v. 13—18., vi. 14—19., vii. 1—3. For a fuller account of Ulphilas, and the Codex Argenteus containing his version of the Gospels, see Dr. Tregelles's notice of "the Gothic version."[4] It may be added thereto, on the authority of Mr. George Stephens, that, whereas ten leaves had disappeared from the MS. in 1834, these were lately restored by a Swedish collector, who on his death-bed acknowledged to Upström that they were in his possession. They had been, it would seem, surreptitiously obtained. They were from the gospel of St. Mark.[5]]

III. The SLAVONIC, or Old Russian Version, was also made from the Greek, both in the Old and New Testaments. It is ascribed to the two brothers, Cyril[6] (or Constantine, surnamed the Philosopher

[1] Cappel has given numerous examples in his Critica Sacra, lib. vi. capp. viii.—xi. tom. ii. pp. 858—899. (edit. Scharfenberg.)

[2] The preceding account of the Latin versions has been compiled from Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 106—129.; Semler, Apparatus ad Liberalem Vet. Test. Interpretationem, pp. 308—314.; Carpzov, Critica Sacra, pars ii. cap. vi. pp. 664—698.; Leusden, Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, Diss. i. pp. 1—10.; Bishop Walton, Proleg. xi. pp. 470—507.; and Viser, Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti, vol. ii. part iii. pp. 73—96. See also Muntinghe's Expositio Critices Veteris Fœderis, pp. 149—156.; and Hug's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 464—483.; [Hävernick, Einleitung, II. i. §§ 87, 88.; Keil, Einleitung, §§ 200—202.; De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 69—72.; Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xviii.; Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. Art. Vulgate; and Tregelles, vol. iv. chap. xxiii.] For the principal editions of the Latin versions of the Scriptures, see the Bibliographical List, vol. iv.

[3] "This," says Bishop Marsh, "is an original German name, and is the diminutive of the word Wolf: it is written in correct German, Wölfelein, but corruptly pronounced Wölfila or Wulfila, in the dialects of Switzerland, Bavaria, and Austria, to which that of the Mæso-Goths, who likewise inhabited the banks of the Danube, is nearly allied." Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. p. 629.

[4] Vol. iv. chap. xxx.

[5] Notes and Queries, Series 2. vol. iii. p. 87.

[6] To this Cyril is ascribed the invention of the Slavonic letters:—"But, it is manifest, this invention consisted in nothing more than the adaptation of the uncial characters of the

on account of his learning), and Methodius, sons of Leo, a Greek nobleman of Thessalonica, who, in the latter part of the ninth century, first preached the gospel among the Moravo-Slavonians; but it is questionable whether these missionaries translated the whole of the sacred code, or whether their labours comprised only the books of the New Testament and the Psalms of David. Dr. Dobrowsky is of opinion "that, with the exception of the Psalms, no part of the Old Testament was translated at so early a period. So much, however, is certain, that the book of Proverbs must have been translated before, or in the twelfth century; as the frequent quotations made from it by Nestor (author of the Russian Chronicle, who died in 1156), agree, on the whole, with the common text. The books of Job, on the other hand, the Prophets, and the apocryphal books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, appear to have been done in Servia, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century; and the Pentateuch and remaining books in the fifteenth; either in Russia or Poland, at which time the whole were collected into one volume, and arranged according to the order of the books in the Bohemian Bible, printed in 1488 or 1489." The extreme rarity and recent date of MSS. of the entire Slavonic Bible greatly corroborated this hypothesis of Dr. Dobrowsky, respecting the late execution of this version of the Old Testament.[1] Dr. Henderson has shown, by actual collation, that the Slavonic text of the Old Testament, in the edition of the Bible printed at Ostrog in 1581, was made with the assistance of the Vulgate or some ancient Latin MSS. found in the Bulgarian monasteries, or that it was at least revised and altered according to them; and he is of opinion that, if this edition were carefully collated, it would yield a rich harvest of various readings, some of which might prove of essential service to a future editor of the Septuagint.[2]

[According to Alter, this version was first made from the old *Italic*, in the glagolitic character, and was altered after Greek MSS. in the fourteenth century.[3] De Wette states that the Pentateuch was printed at Prague in 1519, the whole Bible at the same place in 1570, at Ostrog in 1581, Moscow 1663, and frequently afterwards[4].]

IV. Anglo-Saxon Version.—Although Christianity was planted in Britain in the first century, it does not appear that the Britons had any translation of the Scriptures in their language earlier than the eighth century. About the year 706, Adhelm, the first bishop of Sherborn, translated the Psalter into Saxon; and at his earnest persuasion, Egbert or Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, soon after executed a Saxon version of the four

Greek alphabet, so far as they went, to express the sounds of the new language, with the addition of certain other letters borrowed or changed from other alphabets, to make up the deficiency. He also substituted Slavonic for the Phœnician names of the letters; on which account the alphabet has been called the Cyrillic, after his name." Dr. Henderson, Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, p. 67. (Lond. 1826). In pp. 60—102. the learned traveller has given an extended and very interesting account of the Slavonic language and sacred literature, from which the present notice of the Slavonic version is abridged.

[1] Ibid. pp. 73, 74.
[2] Ibid. p. 88.
[3] Holmes, Vetus Test. Græc. præfat. tom. i. cap. iv.
[4] Einleitung, § 54. See also Tregelles, vol. iv. chap. xxxiii.

gospels.[1] Not many years after this, the learned and venerable Bede (who died A.D. 735) translated the entire Bible into that language. There were other Saxon versions, either of the whole or of detached portions of the Scriptures, of a later date. A translation of the Psalms was undertaken by the illustrious king Alfred, who died A.D. 900, when it was about half finished; and Elfric, possibly the same who was archbishop of Canterbury in 995, translated the Pentateuch, Joshua, Job, Judith, part of the book of Kings, Esther, and Maccabees. The *entire* Anglo-Saxon version of the Bible has never been printed: king Alfred's translation of the Psalms, with the interlineary Latin text, was edited by John Spelman, 4to. London, 1640; and there is another Latin and Anglo-Saxon translation of the Psalter (a manuscript of the ninth century) deposited in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.[2] An account of the printed editions of the Anglo-Saxon versions of the Scriptures will be found in the Bibliographical List, vol. iv.

The Anglo-Saxon version being evidently translated from the Old Latin [the Vulgate], Michaelis is of opinion that it may be of use in determining the readings of that version; and Semler has remarked, that it contains many readings which vary both from the Greek and Latin texts, of which he has given some examples. Dr. Mill selected various lections from this version; which, from the difference of style and inequalities observable in its execution, he ascribes to several authors: it is supposed to have been executed in the eighth century.[3]

[It may be convenient to classify the different versions which have been noticed according to their respective sources.

From the Hebrew original —

I. The Septuagint, p. 59; from which are derived —

1. The Syriac Hexaplar, with some other Syriac versions, pp. 81, 2.
2. Coptic or Memphitic, p. 82.
3. Sahidic or Thebaic, p. 82.
4. Bashmuric, p. 82.
5. Ethiopic, p. 83.
6. Arabic, p. 84.
7. Armenian, p. 85.
8. Georgian, p. 85.
9. Old Latin, p. 86.
10. Gothic, p. 93.
11. Slavonic, p. 93.

II. The version of Aquila, p. 73.

III. Of Theodotion, p. 74.

IV. Of Symmachus, p. 74.

[1] The manuscript of this translation is now deposited in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum (Nero, D. iv.): Mr. Astle has given a specimen of it in plate xiv. of his Origin and Progress of Writing, and has described it in pp. 100, 101.

[2] Todd's Catalogue of the manuscripts in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, p. 54.

[3] Johnson's Hist. Account of English Translations of the Bible, in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 61—63.; Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 158, 637.; Kortholt, cap. xxvii. pp. 351—353.; Semler, Apparatus ad Lib. Novi Test. Interp. pp. 72, 73.

V. Other Greek versions, p. 75.
VI. The Venetian Greek, p. 76.
VII. The Peshito, or old Syriac, p. 77., from which are derived—
1. The Karkaphensian, p. 81.
2. Arabic versions, p. 85.
VIII. Some Arabic translations, as that of Saadias Gaon, p. 84.; the Pentateuch, published by Erpenius, p. 84.; the version of Joshua, &c., in the Polyglotts, p. 84.; and the Genesis, &c., by Saadias Ben Levi Asnekot, p. 84.
IX. The Vulgate, p. 89., from which there are—
1. Some Arabic versions, p. 85.
2. Persian of the Psalms, p. 86.
3. Anglo-Saxon, p. 94.
X. Persian translations of the Pentateuch, and that of Proverbs, p. 86.
From the Samaritan Pentateuch there are—
1. The Samaritan version, p. 33.
2. Arabic, p. 33.
3. Greek, p. 76.]

On the application of ancient versions to the ascertaining of various readings, and on the benefit which may be derived from them in the interpretation of the Scriptures, remarks will be hereafter made.

SECTION III.

ON THE VARIOUS READINGS OCCURRING IN THE SCRIPTURES.

§ 1. *On the Causes of Various Readings.*

I. The Christian faith not affected by what are called various readings.—II. Nature of various readings—Difference between them and mere errata.—III. Notice of the principal collations and collections of various readings.—IV. Causes of various readings:—1. The negligence or mistakes of transcribers;—2. Errors or imperfections in the manuscript copied;—3. Critical conjecture;—4. Wilful corruptions of a manuscript from party-motives.

I. The Old and New Testaments, in common with all other ancient writings, being preserved and diffused by transcription, the admission of mistakes was unavoidable; which, increasing with the multitude of copies, necessarily produced a great variety of different readings. Hence the labours of learned men have been directed to the collation of manuscripts, with a view to ascertain the genuine reading; and the result of their researches has shown that these variations are not such as to affect our faith or practice in any thing material: they are mostly of a minute, and sometimes of a trifling nature. "The real text of the sacred writers does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any single manuscript or edition, but is dispersed in them all. It is competently exact indeed, even in the worst

manuscript now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them."[1] It is therefore a very ungrounded fear that the number of various readings, particularly in the New Testament, may diminish the certainty of the Christian religion. The probability, Michaelis remarks, of restoring the genuine text of *any* author, increases with the increase of the copies; and the most inaccurate and mutilated editions of ancient writers are precisely those of whose works the fewest manuscripts remain.[2] Above all, in the New Testament, the various readings show that there could have been no collusion; but that the manuscripts were written independently of each other, by persons separated by distance of time, remoteness of place, and diversity of opinions. This extensive independency of manuscripts on each other is the effectual check of wilful alteration; which must have ever been immediately corrected by the agreement of copies from various and distant regions out of the reach of the interpolator. By far the greatest number of various readings relate to trifles, many of which cannot be made apparent in a translation; and, of the rest, *very few produce any alteration in the meaning of a sentence, still less in the purport of a whole paragraph.*

II. However plain the meaning of the term "*Various Reading*" may be, considerable difference has existed among learned men concerning its nature. Some have allowed the name only to such readings as may *possibly* have proceeded from the author; but this restriction is improper. Michaelis's distinction between mere errata and various readings appears to be the true one. "Among two or more different readings, one only can be the true reading; and the rest must be either wilful corruptions or mistakes of the copyist." It is often difficult to distinguish the genuine from the spurious; and, whenever the smallest doubt can be entertained, they all receive the name of various readings; but, in cases where the transcriber has evidently written falsely, they receive the name of *errata.*

III. Human life is too short to allow of a thorough examination of all those monuments which are indispensably necessary to sacred criticism, in addition to the many other subjects which are equally worthy of attention. But, as many learned men have from time to time investigated different documents, extensive collections of various

[1] Dr. Bentley's Remarks on Free-thinking, Rem. xxxii. (Bp. Randolph's Enchiridion Theologicum, edit. 1812, vol. ii. p. 408.) The various readings that affect doctrines, and require caution, are extremely few, and easily distinguished by critical rules; and, where they do affect a doctrine, other passages confirm and establish it. See examples of this observation in Michaelis, vol. i. p. 266., and Dr. Nares's Strictures on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, pp. 219—221.

[2] Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. chap. vi. pp. 263—268. "In profane authors," says Dr. Bentley, "(as they are called) whereof one manuscript only had the luck to be preserved — as Velleius Paterculus among the Latins, and Hesychius among the Greeks — the faults of the scribes are found so numerous, and the defects so beyond all redress, that, notwithstanding the pains of the learnedest and acutest critics for two whole centuries, those books still are, and are likely to continue, a mere heap of errors. On the contrary, where the copies of any author are numerous, though the various readings always increase in proportion, there the text, by an accurate collation of them made by skilful and judicious hands, is ever the more correct, and comes nearer to the true words of the author." Remarks on Free-thinking, in Enchirid. Theol. vol. ii. p. 406.

readings have gradually been formed, of which the critic should avail himself.

With regard to the Old Testament, some beginnings were made by those ancient Jews to whom we owe the rejections and corrections of the scribes, and other observations, already noticed in pp. 22, 23, 26, and 27. of this volume. More recently the rabbis Todrosi, Menahem, and Norzi, collected a larger apparatus.[1] Sebastian Munster was the first Christian editor, who in 1536 added some various readings. Not many more are found in Vander Hooght's edition, printed 1705; but in the subsequent editions of John Henry Michaelis, in 1720, and of Houbigant in 1753, the critical collation of various readings was very considerably enlarged. At length, after many years of unremitting toil, Dr. Kennicott produced his edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed at Oxford in 1776—80, which contained various readings collected throughout Europe, from six hundred and thirty-four manuscripts, from forty-three editions, and from both the Talmuds. From this apparatus De Rossi selected the more important readings; and, after collating eight hundred and twenty-five manuscripts and three hundred and seventy-five editions, and examining fully the ancient versions and book of the rabbins, even in manuscript, he published all the various readings he had observed, in four volumes, quarto, in 1784—88, at Parma, to which he added a supplement or scholia, in 1798. As the price of their publications necessarily places them out of the reach of very many biblical students, the reader, who is desirous of availing himself of the results of their laborious and learned researches, will find a compendious abstract of them in Mr. Hamilton's *Codex Criticus.* (London, 1821, 8vo.)

For the Septuagint Version, the principal collation of various readings will be found in the edition commenced by Dr. Holmes, and completed by the Rev. Dr. Parsons, at Oxford, in 1798—1827, in five volumes, folio. [Tischendorf, in his edition of 1850, has collected readings from other MSS.]

IV. As all manuscripts were either dictated to copyists or transscribed by them, and as these persons were not supernaturally guarded against the possibility of error, different readings would naturally be produced, 1. By the negligence or mistakes of the transcribers; to which we may add, 2. The existence of errors or imperfections in the manuscripts copied; 3. Critical emendations of the text; and 4. Wilful corruptions made to serve the purposes of a party. Mistakes thus produced in one copy would of course be propagated through all succeeding copies made from it, each of which might likewise have peculiar faults of its own; so that various readings would thus be increased, in proportion to the number of transcripts that were made.

[Various readings have arisen both from negligence and from design—not always in the latter case with an intention of depraving the text, but much more frequently with the well-meaning purpose of improving it.

[1] An account of their labours is given by Dr. Kennicott in his Dissertatio Generalis, pp. 111—131., and by De Rossi in his Variæ Lect. Proleg. pp. *xxxix*—*xliii*.

Mistakes have sometimes been caused, when the copyist has had the MS. before him, by visual imperfection. Many of the Hebrew letters nearly resemble each other: ב and כ, ג and נ, ד and ר, ה and ח, ו and י, ז and ן, ט and מ, ס and ם; and hence they have been interchanged; as for example, שְׁבַנְיָה, Neh. xii. 3., שְׁכַנְיָה, xii. 14.; זִכְרִי, 1 Chron. ix. 15.; זַבְדִּי, Neh. xi. 17. Similar changes are found in Greek MSS. Thus, the Codex Cottonianus of the book of Genesis furnishes, among many others, the following examples: Β and Μ have been interchanged in Gen. xliii. 11., *τερεμινθον* for *τερέβινθον*; Γ and Κ, *γυνηγος* for *κυνηγὸς*, x. 9.: consonants have been added, *γυναικαν* for *γυναῖκα*, xi. 31.; or doubled, as Σενναρ for Σεναάρ, x. 10.: vowels are interchanged, *πηχην* for *πῆχυν*, vi. 16.; or used for diphthongs, as *ουδις* for *οὐδεὶς*, xxxi. 44.[1] Then, since letters were employed as numerals, by the confounding of ג and ז we find, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13., 7 years; while 1 Chron. xxi. 12., followed by the Septuagint, has 3 years. From the like cause proceeded a transposition of letters; thus, שַׁמְלַי, Ezr. ii. 46., שַׁלְמַי, Neh. vii. 48.; of words, compare 2 Sam. vi. 2. with 1 Chron. xiii. 6.; of clauses, compare Psal. xcvi. 9—11. with 1 Chron. xiii. 6.; also the omission of letters, words, or clauses, *e.g.* מַעֲשֵׂיָה, Neh. xi. 5., עֲשָׂיָה, 1 Chron. ix. 15. This was especially likely to happen if two clauses had a similar ending. An example appears in 2 Kings vii. 13.; where the transcriber's eye caught the first אֲשֶׁר, and he in consequence repeated some words which encumber the sense, and do not occur in several MSS., or in the ancient versions, Greek, Latin, and Syriac.

When the MS. was dictated to a copyist, mistakes might arise from imperfect hearing, as דּוֹיֵג, 1 Sam. xxii. 18., where Keri, דֹּאֵג; עָשַׂר for עָשָׂה, 1 Kings xxii. 49. A curious example of this occurs in 1 Sam. xvii. 34. In the Bomberg second edition, זֶה was substituted for שֶׂה; and the error ran through very many editions.

If the copyist did not carefully keep his eye upon his exemplar, mistakes might occur through defect of memory; and thus words or clauses might be transposed, or omitted; or synonymes might be substituted; or the expressions of parallel passages be introduced. Thus, אֶל and עַל are interchanged, Lev. xxv. 36.; וַיְדַבֵּר and וַיֹּאמֶר, 2 Kings i. 10.; and often יְהוָה with אֲדֹנָי or אֱלֹהִים.

Then there were errors of judgment as to the proper division of words, *e.g.* עַל־מוּת, Psal. xlviii. 15. for עַלְמוּת; the misapprehension of abbreviations, *e.g.* אַף י׳, Psal. xxv. 37.; where the Septuagint has *θυμόν μου*, equivalent to אַפִּי. In Psal. xlii. 6, 7., the אֱלֹהַי of v. 7. should be transferred to v. 6., and united with ו, to be taken from פָּנָיו. The symmetry of the composition is thus readily restored. Further, the letters termed *custodes linearum*[2] were occasionally taken for a part of a word, as יְשֻׂשׂוּם for יְשֻׂשׂוּ, Isai. xxxv. 1., the מ of the following word מִדְבָּר having been written as such a *custos*. Marginal glosses, also, were sometimes introduced into the text: thus, accord-

[1] Dr. Holmes's Edition of the Septuagint, vol. i. præf. cap. ii. § 1.

[2] Words are never divided in Hebrew MSS. When the space at the end of a line is insufficient to contain the next word, one or more letters of it are added, that a blank may not be left; but the whole word is written in the following line. The letters so put in to fill a blank are called *custodes linearum*.

ing, to some, אֵת מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר, Isai. vii. 17., and liturgical notes, as הַלְלוּיָהּ.[1]

Alterations are said to have been made designedly; and the Jews have been specially accused of wilful corruption. The charge, however, can hardly be substantiated. Had they corrupted the Scriptures before our Lord's time, he would surely have noticed and condemned so great a sin; and after the Christian era corruption was well-nigh impracticable. Accusations of this nature by the early fathers may be accounted for by the fact that they used the Septuagint, and regarded deviation from that a falsifying of the divine word. Jerome, it is true, who was acquainted with the Hebrew original, seems in one place to imagine a Jewish corruption; but his deliberate opinion was utterly opposed to a general charge of the kind.[2] Occasional alterations, no doubt, have been made with the ill-judged design of improving the text; but there is little cause for suspecting any great departure from the original. And, if some critics have gone too far in maintaining the perfect accuracy of the Masoretic text, others have more unwarrantably and more dangerously run to an extreme of opposite error.]

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§ 2. *Sources whence the True Readings are to be determined.*

I. *Manuscripts.*—II. *The most ancient and the best editions.*—III. *Ancient versions.*—IV. *The writings of Josephus (for the Old Testament).*—V. *Parallel passages.*—VI. *Quotations from the Old and New Testaments in the works of the fathers.*—VII. *Critical conjecture.*

THE causes of various readings being thus ascertained, the next step is to consider the SOURCES WHENCE THE TRUE READING IS TO BE DETERMINED.

The legitimate sources of emendation are, 1. Manuscripts; 2. The most ancient and best editions; 3. Ancient versions; 4. The writings of Josephus, together with the Masorah and the Talmud (for the Old Testament); 5. Parallel passages; 6. Quotations from the Old and New Testaments in the works of the fathers, or in fragments of heretical writings; and, 7. Critical conjecture. But these

[1] See Cappel, Crit. Sacr. (edit. Vogel) tom. i. lib. i. capp. v. *et seq.*: many of the examples, however, there adduced, will not bear examination; De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 81. &c.; Keil, Einleitung, § 204. For an account of the variations of readings in the New Testament see Dr. Tregelles, vol. iv. chap. vi.

[2] ". . . . incertum habemus, utrum Septuaginta interpretes addiderint, *omnis homo*, et, *in omnibus*, an in veteri Hebraico ita fuerit, et postea a Judæis deletum sit. In hanc me autem suspicionem illa res stimulat, quod verbum . . . . . apostolus . . . . numquam protulisset nisi in Hebræis voluminibus haberetur." Hieron. Comm. in Epist. ad Galat. lib. ii. cap. iii. v. 10.

"Quod si aliquis dixerit, Hebræos libros postea a Judæis esse falsatos, audiat Origenem quid in octavo volumine Explanationum Isaiæ huic respondeat quæstiunculæ, quod numquam Dominus, et apostoli, qui cætera crimina arguunt in Scribis et Pharisæis, de hoc crimine, quod erat maximum, reticuissent. Sin autem dixerint post adventum Domini Salvatoris, et prædicationem apostolorum libros Hebræos fuisse falsatos, cachinnum tenere non potero, ut Salvator, et evangelistæ, et apostoli ita testimonia protulerint, ut Judæi postea falsaturi erant." Id. Comm. in Isai. Proph. lib. iii. cap. vi. vv. 9. *et seqq.*

various sources are all to be used with great judgment and caution, as being fallible criteria; nor is the common reading ever to be rejected but upon the most rational grounds.

I. Manuscripts. — Having already given some observations on the age of manuscripts, together with an account of some of the most ancient[1], it will only be necessary that we should in this place offer a few hints concerning their relative value, and the application of them to the determination of various readings.

1. *In general, then, we may affirm that the present copies of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, under the guardianship of the Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian churches, agreeing in every thing essential, are of the same authenticity and authority with the original autographs; notwithstanding the errors that have crept into them, from whatever cause.*

2. *The number of manuscripts, however, is not so much to be considered, as their quality, antiquity, and agreement with the most ancient interpreters; for the true reading may be preserved in a single manuscript.*

3. *Those manuscripts are to be accounted the best, which are most consonant with those used by the ancient interpreters; and, with regard to the Old Testament, in particular, De Rossi states that those manuscripts are in every case preferable which have not been tampered with by the Masoretes, and which have the Chaldee paraphrase interjected, in alternate verses.*

[The *textus receptus* of the Old Testament is the fruit of Masoretic labour; and existing MSS. are later than the Masoretic revision. There are, indeed, some few, whose writers seem to have given readings copied from codices, then extant, earlier than Masoretic ones. These readings, without depreciating the labours and learning of the Masoretes, are of great value.]

4. *Although, other things being equal, the more anciently and accurately written manuscripts are to be preferred, yet a recent and incorrect copy may often have the better reading, because it may have been transcribed from an excellent and ancient copy.*

5. *An accurate manuscript is preferable to one that is negligently written.*

Various readings, therefore, particularly in the Hebrew Scriptures, which are found in manuscripts transcribed by a learned person, or for a learned person, from some celebrated or corrected copy, are to be preferred to those written for private use; and the readings found in ancient and unpointed manuscripts, written for the use of the synagogue, are better than those found in Masoretic exemplars.

6. *The first erased reading of a manuscript is not always an error of the copyist; nor is the second substituted one always the better reading. Both are to be tried by the touchstone of the ancient versions, and in the Pentateuch by the Samaritan text also.*

7. *Other things being equal, Michaelis states that a Lectionarium is not of equal value with a manuscript of the same antiquity that contains the books of the New Testament complete, because in the former the text was frequently altered, according to the readings which were most approved at the time when it was written; though Lectionaria sometimes have readings of great importance.*[2]

8. *In reckoning up the number of manuscripts for or against any particular reading, it will be necessary,*

First, *To distinguish properly between one manuscript and another, that the same MS. be not counted twice over, and consequently* one *pass for* two.

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[1] See an account of the principal Hebrew MSS. in pp. 46—49. of this volume.

[2] Introduction, vol. ii. chap. viii. § 2. p. 161. See Dr. Tregelles, vol. iv. chap. xx.

This (it is now ascertained) was the case with the Codex Bezæ, which has been proved to be the same with the second of Stephen's MSS. marked β, so that these were not two distinct manuscripts. Wherever, therefore, a number of manuscripts bear evident marks of having been transcribed in succession, that is, each of them being first a copy taken from another, and then an original having a copy taken from it, or where all are taken from one common original, they are not to be considered as furnishing so many different instances of various reading, but should be estimated only as one, whose authority resolves itself into that of the first manuscript. Inattention to this circumstance has contributed to increase the number of various readings beyond what they really are. But, though two manuscripts, one of which is copied from the other, can be admitted only as a single evidence, yet, if a word is faded in the more ancient one, it may be supplied from that which is more modern. Manuscripts, which, though not immediately copied one from the other, exhibit a great uniformity in their readings, seem to be the produce of the same country, and to have, as it were, the usual readings of that country. A set of manuscripts of this kind is to be considered as the same edition, in which it is of no importance to the authenticity of a reading whether five hundred or five thousand copies be taken. Numbers alone, therefore, decide nothing in the present instance.

Secondly, *We must carefully observe what part of the Scriptures the several manuscripts actually contain, and in what respects they are defective.*

There are few MSS. extant, which contain either the Old or the New Testament entire, and have been transmitted to us without loss and damage. Now it is absolutely necessary that we observe the state and condition of MSS., in order that we may avoid false conclusions and inferences from the non-production of a manuscript for a various reading by any editor of the New Testament, who professedly gives an account of the various readings of MSS., as if it therefore did not vary, when in reality the text itself was wanting therein; and also in order that we may not cite a MS. in favour of any reading, where in truth such MS. has no reading at all. From inattention to this obvious rule, Amelotte [1] cited the first Codex of Stephen, the Complutensian, cardinal Ximenes's, Cisneros's, and that of Alcala, as so many different manuscripts, when, in fact, there was but one and the same printed edition.

Thirdly, *We must also observe whether the MSS. have been entirely and exactly collated.*

Sometimes, perhaps, only the more noted and important texts have been consulted. This was the case with the Codex Claromontanus, as collated by Beza, and also with the MSS. of the Apostolic Epistles in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, which have been collated only for the controverted clause in 1 John v. 7. Sometimes also it happens that MSS. have come late into the hands of editors of the New Testament, after the printing was begun; and consequently only part of the various lections have been exhibited. This was the case both with Dr. Mill and with Griesbach in their critical editions. Again, it sometimes happens that a manuscript has been collated in the beginning; but, from some accident or other, the collation of it has not been completed. This was the case with the Codex Cyprius, of which we had no entire collation until Dr. Scholz printed one at the end of his dissertation on that manuscript [2], and also with the Codex Montfortianus, which was collated in the Gospels and most parts of the Acts of the Apostles, and in part of the Epistle to the Romans. Nor had we any complete collation of it, until the Rev. Dr. Barrett printed one at the end of his fac-simile of the Codex Rescriptus of Matthew's Gospel, now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. [3] It is therefore absolutely necessary that we should inquire into these particulars, that we may not be deceived ourselves, or deceive others, by alleging an authority that has never been examined.

[Reference may be made to some useful rules in regard to MSS. given by Dr. Davidson. [4]]

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[1] Amelotte, the bitter enemy of the learned and pious Port-Royalists, published a French translation of the New Testament in four volumes, 8vo., in the years 1666—1668. In his notes he boasted of having consulted all the manuscripts in Europe, *which he afterwards confessed he had not seen!* Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. ii. pp. 95—97.

[2] Scholz, Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus Evangeliorum, pp. 80—90. The collation of the Codex Cyprius, in this publication, is very incorrectly given; as Dr. Scholz, being absent from the press on his biblico-critical travels, could not correct the proof-sheets. He has, however, given the various readings of this manuscript with the utmost fidelity and accuracy practicable, in the first volume of his critical edition of the New Testament.

[3] Barrett, Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii SS. Trinitatis juxta Dublin. Appendix, pp. 5—35. [See accounts of the MSS. mentioned in this note and above, and of the collation of them, in vol. iv. chap. xv. pp. 190, &c., chap. xvii. pp. 201, &c., chap. xix. pp. 213, &c.]

[4] Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxv. pp. 370—372.

II. The best and most ancient PRINTED EDITIONS, are so far only to be admitted in evidence, as they are *immediately* taken from manuscripts. The various readings, however, which they contain, are not to be neglected, particularly those of the Hebrew Bible printed in Rabbi Ben Chayim's Masoretical edition. In the New Testament, as the readings found in all the early printed editions rest on the authority of a few manuscripts which are not always the most ancient, the concurrence of all these editions cannot confer great authority on the readings adopted by them, in opposition to others which appear to be well supported.

III. The ANCIENT VERSIONS (of which an account has already been given), though not free from error, nevertheless afford important assistance towards determining the true readings of passages, as they show what readings their authors considered to be genuine; but it is necessary that we consult only correct texts of such versions.

1. *Ancient versions are a legitimate source of emendation, unless upon collation we have reason to conclude that the translators of them were clearly mistaken.*

2. *Ancient manuscripts, supported by some of the ancient versions and by the sense, render a reading certainly right, though it be not found in the more modern.*

In Isai. lviii. 10. we read, *If thou draw out thy soul to the hungry.* This, Bishop Lowth remarks, is a correct rendering of the present Hebrew text, but it is an obscure phrase, and without example in any other place. Instead, however, of נַפְשְׁךָ *thy soul*, eight manuscripts (three of which are ancient) read לַחְמְךָ *thy bread;* and so it is rendered in the Syriac version. The proper reading thereof is, *draw out* (or *bring forth*) *thy bread.* The Septuagint version expresses both words τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς σου, *thy bread from thy soul.*[1]

3. *The concurrence of the ancient versions is sufficient to establish a reading as certainly right, when the sense or parallel place shows both the propriety of that reading, and the corruption of what is found in the copies of the original.*

Thus in Prov. xviii. 22. (22. of English version) we read, "Whoso findeth *a wife findeth a good* thing." This is not true in *every* instance; it contradicts other maxims of the inspired writer; as Dr. Kennicott asserts. He therefore conjectured that Solomon originally expressed himself thus: *He that findeth a* GOOD *wife findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour from the* LORD. This reading derives a strong confirmation from the fact that the epithet for *good* is found in the Septuagint Greek, the Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate versions. It is likewise found in two ancient manuscript Chaldee paraphrases of the book of Proverbs; one of which is at Cambridge, and the other in the king of Prussia's library at Berlin. All these testimonies, together with the sense of the text itself, prove that the Hebrew originally read, *He that findeth a good wife findeth a good thing.*[2]

4. *Such ancient versions as were immediately made from the original are proper sources of emendation, when our present Hebrew and Greek manuscripts disagree; and their respective value is in proportion to their priority of date,*

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[1] Gerard, Institutes, p. 271. Lowth, Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 343. Another eminent commentator, however, defends the common reading and rendering. He is of opinion that the emendation above proposed is a gloss, and should not be adopted. "*To draw out the soul* in relieving the poor is to do it not of constraint or necessity, but cheerfully, and is both nervous and elegant. His *soul pities*; and his *hand* gives." (Dr. A. Clarke, on Isai. lviii. 10.) [Clarke is right: there is no sufficient reason for altering the text: the sense, as it stands, is better than that proposed.]

[2] Kennicott, Second Dissertation on the Hebrew Text, pp. 189—192. Dr. Gerard has given four additional instances of the above rule. Institutes, pp. 272, 273. [Here, too, the text should not be altered. The versions add a word to bring out the meaning more clearly.]

their being made from accurate exemplars, their being literal translations, and their being confirmed by one another, and, as far as respects the Pentateuch, by the Samaritan text[1]; *for the sole dissent of versions, unsupported by other authorities, constitutes only a dubious lection.*

Before, however, we admit any various reading into the text on the authority of an ancient version, we must be certain that the text of such version has not been corrupted. And no various reading can be derived from the modern *Latin versions* of the Greek or Oriental versions, which are given in the Polyglotts; because the Latin translators have in some instances mistaken the sense of such Oriental versions.

5. *The Greek version of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint, being the most ancient and illustrious, is preferable to the Old Syriac version of the same portion of Scripture; but the Old Syriac version of the New Testament, being executed at the close of the apostolic age, and consequently the most ancient of all the translations of the New Testament, is preferable to every other version of it.*

The readings pointed out by the Greek version are sometimes the genuine lections, even when they are not found in any Hebrew manuscripts now extant. For instance, in Gen. iv. 8. we read, *And Cain said to Abel his brother: And it came to pass, when they were in the field, &c.* Here there is a manifest deficiency in all the Hebrew MSS. and printed editions. The translators of the authorized English version, not being able to find that anything was said on this occasion, ventured to intimate that there was a conversation, indefinitely, and therefore rendered the first clause of the verse, *And Cain talked with Abel his brother.* The deficiency, which exists in all the MSS. and editions, is supplied in the Septuagint version, which is supported by the Samaritan text, the Syriac and Vulgate Latin versions, the two Chaldee Targums, the Greek translation of Aquila, and by the passage as cited by Philo: all of which supply the deficient words, *Let us go out into the field.* There is no doubt, therefore, that they form part of the original text, and that the verse ought to be translated thus: *And Cain said unto Abel his brother,* Let us go out into the field. *And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.*

6. *The oldest Latin versions of the New Testament, being of very high antiquity, notwithstanding they contain some false readings, are nevertheless of great value, because they lead to a discovery of the readings in very ancient Greek manuscripts, that existed prior to the date of any that are now extant. The Vulgate, for instance, in its present state, being (as we have already seen) a mixture of the Old Italic version, and that of Jerome, points out the state of the original text, partly in the first and partly in the fourth century, and it gives great authority to those readings which it clearly indicates: it also contains several which are preferable to the present readings, and are supported by some of the best and oldest manuscripts.*

Thus the literal rendering of Jer. li. 19. is, *He is the former of all things and the rod of his inheritance;* which is unintelligible. The venerable translators of our authorized version have supplied, *Israel* is the rod, &c., most probably from the parallel sentence in Jer. x. 16. and that this is the true reading is evident from the Vulgate version, which reads, *et Israel sceptrum hæreditatis ejus,* and also from the Chaldee paraphrase, which is further supported by twenty-three manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott.[2]

7. *The Syriac version, being very literal, ascertains clearly the readings which it followed, to which, on account of its antiquity, it gives great authority; and it has preserved some that appear to be genuine.*

Thus in 2 Sam. xv. 7. we read, *It came to pass after forty years;* which is manifestly erroneous, though supported by the commonly-printed Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the Chaldee. David reigned only forty years; and, if we follow the text, the rebellion of Absalom would follow long *after* the death of David. In order to obviate this difficulty, some commentators have proposed to date from the time when David was first anointed by the

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[1] See before, pp. 31, 32.
[2] Gerard, Institutes, pp. 87, 88.; Kennicott, Second Dissertation, pp. 439, 440., and his Dissertatio Generalis, § 47., in his Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible.

prophet Samuel. But the Syriac version (which is confirmed by the Arabic version, by Josephus, by the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate, by several manuscripts of the same version, and by Theodoret,) reads *four*. Most learned men are of opinion that אַ עִים, *forty*, is an error for אַרְבַּע, *four*. Accordingly Dr. Boothroyd has adopted the reading of the Syriac version, and translates, *at the end of four years*, in his version of the Old Testament.

8. ***Every deviation in the ancient versions, of both the Old and New Testaments, is not to be considered as a proof of a various reading in the original manuscript whence it was taken; for the translator may have mistaken the original word, or he may have given it a signification different from what it bears at present; and this is the case particularly with the Septuagint.***

9. ***One or a few ancient versions may render a reading probable, when it is strongly supported by the sense, connection, or parallel places, in opposition to one that does not agree with these, though found in other versions and in manuscripts.***

Thus, in Gen. xiv. 20. we read, *And he gave tithes of all.* This leaves it uncertain whether Melchizedek or Abram gave tithes. It rather seems to be the former; but it was the latter. In Heb. vii. 4. as well as the Samaritan text, and the Septuagint version, we have, *Abram gave to him a tithe of all*, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Ἄβραμ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων, which is probably the genuine reading.

Again, in Isai. xl. 5. we read, *All flesh shall see together*, which is an imperfect sentence. The translators of our authorized version have supplied *it*, referring to the glory of God mentioned in the preceding part of the verse. This omission is ancient, being prior to the Chaldee, Syriac, and Vulgate versions; but all the copies of the Septuagint version and the parallel passage in Isai. lii. 10. read, *shall see the salvation of our God*, which lection is acknowledged by Luke (iii. 6.). Bishop Lowth therefore considers it as genuine, and has admitted it into the text of his translation of Isaiah. [There is not, however, sufficient reason for altering the received text.]

10. ***The concurrence of all or most of the ancient versions, in a reading not found in manuscripts now extant, renders such reading probable, if it be agreeable to the sense, though not absolutely necessary to it.***[1]

Thus, in 1 Sam. ix. 7. we read, *What shall we bring the man*, לָאִישׁ? In *one* of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott (No. 182. a manuscript of the fourteenth century), we read לְאִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים, *to the man of God?* which is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrase, and by the Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic versions, and is probably the genuine reading.

11. ***Of the Chaldee paraphrases***[2]***, when manuscripts vary, those are to be preferred which are the most ancient, and which have not been corrected according to the present Masoretic text.***

IV. As JOSEPHUS derived his representations of sacred history principally from the text Scripture, the collation of his writings will be found a valuable aid in the determination of various readings in the Old Testament.

1. Thus, in 2 Sam. viii. 17., according to the Hebrew text, we read that *Zadok the son of Ahitub and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar* were *the priests*; which statement is directly contrary to 1 Sam. xxii. 20. and xxiii. 6., where Abiathar is expressly termed the *son of Ahimelech*. But Josephus[3], when he says that David appointed Zadok to be priest, together with Abiathar, appears to have read the Hebrew words, much more correctly, thus transposed: *And Zadok the son of Ahitub and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech were the priests*. Dr. Boothroyd has properly adopted this rendering.[4]

2. In 1 Sam. vi. 19., we read that the Lord smote fifty thousand and seventy of the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh for looking into the ark; which number, in the Arabic and Syriac ersions, is five thousand and seventy. Three of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott

[1] Gerard, Institutes, pp 280, 281., where several additional examples are given, for which we have not room.

[2] See an account of the Chaldee paraphrases, pp. 53—59. of this volume.

[3] Ant. Jud. lib. vii. cap. v. § 4. tom i. p. 376.

[4] Dr. Boothroyd's New Version of the Bible, on 2 Sam. viii. 17.

(of the twelfth century), and Josephus[1], read *seventy* men only, and omit fifty thousand. Seventy is evidently the true number; for, as Beth-shemesh was but a "small village," it is improbable that it could contain so many as fifty thousand inhabitants.[2]

The Masorah, Talmud[3], and Talmudical writers are also sources of emendation, but of no great authority in readings of any moment.

With regard to the Masorah, the Jews prefer the Keris, while others have always retained the Khethibs: these extremes should be avoided; and that reading only is to be admitted from it which is supported by ancient versions, and is in perfect harmony with the context, the analogy of language, and parallel passages.

In Isai. ix. 2. (Heb.; 3 of English version), we read, *Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not the joy.* The Khethib has לֹא, *not*, with which the Vulgate version and that of Symmachus agree; but the Keri reads לוֹ, *to him*, or *it*, that is, *the nation;* and with this agree the Chaldee paraphrase, the Septuagint, the Vulgate version, the readings in the text of fifteen manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott, and six of those collated by De Rossi. The latter reading is not only best supported, but it is also excellently in unison with the preceding verse. Bishop Lowth has therefore adopted it, and translates thus, *Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased their joy.* [The late Prof. Lee read the clause interrogatively: *Hast thou not increased the joy?* So also in Psal. c. 3., וְלֹא אֲנַחְנוּ, the Keri has לוֹ for לֹא. Thus the sense will be, *And his we are*, which is preferable.]

Readings derived from the Talmud and Talmudical writers are to be admitted only when they expressly cite the Hebrew text, and when their readings are confirmed by manuscripts. In judging of the various lections obtained from the Jewish writers, those which are collected from the Talmud (though few in number[4]) are of great value, and equal to those furnished by Aquila, Symmachus, the Syriac version, and the Chaldee paraphrase. But such as are derived from the commentaries and lexicons of the rabbins, who lived between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, are (according to Bauer) to be accounted equal with the readings of manuscripts.[5]

[For valuable remarks on the use of ancient versions in criticism, Dr. Davidson[6] and Dr. Tregelles[7] may be consulted.]

V. Parallel Passages afford a very material help in determining various readings, where all other assistance fails. Cappel[8] and Dr. Kennicott[9] have shown at great length what use may be made of parallel passages, in order to ascertain the genuine reading where it may be dubious, or to restore it where it may be lost. Bauer has given an abstract of Cappel's collection of parallel passages in pp. 235—238. of his *Critica Sacra.*

1. *Where parallel passages, together with the sense, support the reading of ancient manuscripts, they show that such reading is perfectly right.*

Thus in Isai. lxi. 4. we read, *They shall build the old wastes;* but the sentence is incomplete, as we know not who are the builders. After *they shall build*, four MSS. (two of which are

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[1] Ant. Jud. lib. vi. cap. i. § 4. tom. i. p. 313.

[2] Kennicott, Diss. i. p. 532. Diss. ii. p. 208.; Dr. A. Clarke and Dr. Boothroyd on 1 Sam. vi. 19. [Comp. Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxviii. pp. 401—4.; Porter, Principles of Textual Crit., Lond. 1848, book ii. chap. vii. sect. ix. pp. 199—203.]

[3] See an account of the Masorah in pp. 23—26. *supra*, and of the Talmud in a later part of this volume.

[4] See the account of Gill's and Frommann's Collations in Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxii.

[5] Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 444, 445.

[6] Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xix.

[7] Vol. iv. chap. xxi.

[8] See his Critica Sacra, lib. i. capp. ii.—xiv. vol. i. pp. 14—135., 8vo. edition, with Vogel's notes.

[9] In his first Dissertation on the Hebrew Text, pp. 13, 79, 198, 444, 457, 461, 481, 484, 502, 510.

ancient) add מִמְּךָ, *they that spring from thee*; and this reading is confirmed by lviii. 12.; where the sentence is the very same, this word being added. Bishop Lowth therefore receives it into the text, and translates the sentence thus: —

"And they that spring from thee shall build up the ruins of old times."

[It must, however, be said that the proposed reading is possible, rather than probable.]

2. *In a text evidently corrupted, a parallel place may suggest a reading perfectly genuine.*[1]

Thus in the common printed editions of Judg. vii. 18. we read, *Say, of the Lord and of Gideon.* This is defective. The venerable English translators have, with great propriety, supplied *the sword*, חֶרֶב, from the successful exploit of Gideon, related in v. 20. The word which those learned men thus supplied from a parallel place proves to be right; for it is found in ten manuscripts, besides the Chaldee paraphrase, and the Syriac and Arabic versions. In like manner they have supplied the word *fourth* in 2 Kings xxv. 3 from Jer. lii. 6. to complete the sense; and this addition is also confirmed by the different versions.

3. *To determine with accuracy the authority of parallel passages in the Old Testament, they should be divided into four classes; viz.*

(1.) Passages containing the historical narration of an event which occurred *but once*, or the record of a prayer or speech *but once* uttered. *Ex. gr.* Josh. xix. 50., xxiv. 30. comp. with Judg. ii. 9.; 2 Sam. xxii. with Psal. xviii.; the books of Kings with those of Chronicles; 2 Kings xxv. with Jer. lii. 9.; 2 Kings xviii. to xx. with Isai. xxxvi. to xxxix.

(2.) Passages containing a command, and either a repetition of it, or a record of its being obeyed: Exod. xx. 2—17. with Deut. v. 6—21.; Exod. xxv. to xxx. with xxxvi. to xxxix.; Lev. xi. 13—19. with Deut. xiv. 12—18.; Ezek. xii. 6. with 7.

(3.) Proverbial sayings, or expressions frequently repeated: Numb. xxi. 28, 29. and xxiv. 17. with Jer. xlviii. 45, 46.; Ezek. v. 7. with xi. 12.; Jer. v. 9. and 29. with ix. 9; Psal. xlii. 5, 11. with xliii. 5.; Jer. x. 25. with Psal. lxxix. 6, 7.; Jer. x. 16. with li. 19.; Isai. xxiv. 17, 18. with Jer. xlviii. 43, 44.

(4.) Records of the same genealogies: 1 Chron. with several chapters of Genesis, and Ezra with Nehemiah.

In any such passages as these, where there is a difference in numbers or names; where there is more than a verbal difference in records of the same transaction; or where there is even a verbal difference in copies of the same prayer or speech, in the printed text, but not in manuscripts and versions, there it is erroneous, and ought to be corrected.[2]

VI. Quotations from the Old and New Testaments in the writings of the fathers or heretics are an emendatory source which is by no means to be neglected. [As, however, these are almost exclusively available for the New Testament, it is sufficient here to refer to the observations of Dr. Tregelles, vol. iv. chap. xxxiv.]

VII. Critical Conjecture is not *alone* a legitimate source of emendation, nor is it at all to be applied, unless the text is manifestly corrupted, and in the most urgent necessity; for the conjectural criticism of an interested party, in his own cause, and in defiance of positive evidence, is little better than subornation of testimony in a court of law.

1. *Conjectural readings, strongly supported by the sense, connection, the nature of the language, or similar texts, may sometimes be* probable, *especially when it can be shown that occasion might easily have been given for the present reading; and readings first suggested by conjecture have sometimes been afterwards found to be actually in manuscripts, or in some version.*

[1] Gerard, Institutes, p. 273.; where the reader will find several additional illustrations of this canon.

[2] Hamilton, Codex Criticus of the Hebrew Bible, p. 18. [There is an useful list of parallels in Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xx.; and his remarks on some of the rules given by various critics may be consulted with advantage, pp. 294—307.]

Thus, in Gen. i. 8. the clause, *And God saw that it was good*, is wanting to complete the account of the second day's work of creation, but it is found in the tenth verse in the middle of the narrative of the third day's work. Hence, many learned men have conjectured, either, 1. That the sentence, *And the evening and the morning were the second day*, has been transposed from verse 10. to verse 8.; or, 2. That the clause, *And God saw that it was good*, has been transposed from verse 8. to verse 10. The latter conjecture is confirmed by the Septuagint version [but neither can be considered probable]

2. *A conjectural reading, unsupported by any manuscripts, and unauthorized by similarity of letters, by the connection and context of the passage itself, and by the analogy of faith, is manifestly to be rejected.*

No one should attempt this kind of emendation who is not most deeply skilled in the sacred languages; nor should critical conjectures ever be admitted into the text, for we never can be certain of the truth of merely conjectural readings. Were these indeed to be admitted into the text, the utmost confusion and uncertainty would necessarily be created. The diligence and modesty of the Masoretes are in this respect worthy of our imitation: they invariably inserted their conjectures in the margin of their manuscripts, but most religiously abstained from altering the text according to their hypotheses; and it is to be regretted that their example has not been followed by some modern translators of the Old and New Testaments (and especially of the latter); who, in order to support doctrines which have no foundation whatever in the sacred writings, have not hesitated to obtrude their conjectures into the text. This is particularly the case with the Greek and English New Testament edited by Dr. Mace in 1729, whose bold and unhallowed emendations were exposed by Dr. Twells, and also with the editors of the (modern Socinian) improved version of the New Testament, whose conjectures and erroneous criticisms and interpretations have been most ably exposed by the Rev. Drs. Nares and Laurence, the Quarterly and Eclectic Reviewers, and other eminent critics.[1]

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§ 3. *General Rules for judging of Various Readings in the Old and New Testaments.*

Having thus stated the causes of various readings, and offered a few cautions with regard to the sources whence the true lection is to be determined, it only remains that we submit to the reader's attention a few general rules, by which an accurate judgment may be formed concerning various readings.

1. *We must take care that we do not attempt to correct that which does not require emendation. The* earlier *manuscript,* cæteris paribus, *is more likely to be right than the later; because every subsequent copy is liable to new errors.*

This rule will prevent us from being misled by an immoderate desire of correcting what we may not understand, or what may at a first glance *appear* to be unsuitable to

[[1] In Cappel, Crit. Sacr. lib. vi. capp. viii. ix. tom. ii. pp. 1000, &c., the necessity of sometimes resorting to critical conjecture is argued, and certain rules are laid down; Vogel, however, in his notes, properly objects to several of the examples given. Compare Davidson, Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxvi. pp. 374, &c.]

the genius of the Hebrew or Greek language, or to the design of an author. Wherever, therefore, any difficulty presents itself, it will be necessary previously to consider whether it may not be obviated in some other manner, before we have recourse to emendation; and even ingenuously to acknowledge our ignorance, rather than indulge a petulant licentiousness of making corrections. Examples are not wanting of critics on the sacred writings, who have violated this obvious rule, particularly Houbigant, in the notes to his edition of the Hebrew Bible.

2. *That reading in which all the recensions of the best copies agree, and which is supported by all the ancient versions, is to be accounted genuine.*

3. *Readings are certainly right, and that in the very highest sense at all consistent with the existence of any various reading, which are supported by* several *of the most ancient manuscripts, or by the majority of them, by all or most of the ancient versions, by quotations, by parallel places (if there be any), and by the sense; even though such readings should not be found in the common printed editions, or perhaps in any printed edition.*[1]

Thus, in the common printed editions of 1 Kings i. 20. we read, *And thou, my lord O king, the eyes of all Israel are upon thee,* which is no sense. Instead of וְאַתָּה, *And thou,* we have עתה, *And now,* in ninety-one of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott, in the Chaldee paraphrase, and in the Arabic and Vulgate versions. This is the genuine reading, and is required by the sense.

4. *Greater is the authority of a reading, found in only a few manuscripts of* different *characters, dates, and countries, than in many manuscripts of a similar complexion. But, of manuscripts of the* same *family or recension, the reading of the greater number is of most weight. The evidence of manuscripts is to be weighed, not enumerated; for the agreement of several manuscripts is of no authority, unless their* genealogy *(if we may be allowed the term) is known; because it is possible that a hundred manuscripts that now agree together may have descended from one and the same source.*

5. *Readings are certainly right, which are supported by a few ancient manuscripts, in conjunction with the ancient versions, quotations, parallel places (if any), and the sense; though they should not be found in most manuscripts or printed editions, especially when the rejection of them in the latter can be easily accounted for.*

The common reading of Psalm xxviii. 8. is, *The* Lord is *their strength,* לָמוֹ; but there is no antecedent. In six manuscripts and all the versions, however, we read לְעַמּוֹ, *of his people,* which completes the sense. This emendation is pronounced by Bp Horsley, to be "unquestionable:" he has therefore incorporated it in the text of his new version of the Psalms, and has translated the sentence thus:—

"Jehovah is the strength of his people."

6. *Of two readings, both of which are supported by manuscripts, the best is to be preferred; but, if both of them exhibit good senses, then that reading which gives the best sense is to be adopted. But, in order to determine the nature of the whole passage, the genius of the writer, and not the mere opinions and sentiments of particular interpreters, must be consulted.*

In Psal. ii. 6., there are two readings, one of which is found in the Masoretic copies; and the other in the Septuagint version. The former may be literally translated thus: *Yet will I anoint my King upon my holy hill of Sion.* This reading is supported by weighty evidence, viz. the Masorah, the reference to it in Acts iv. 27., the Greek versions of Aquila and Symmachus, the Chaldee paraphrase, and Jerome. The other reading, which is found in the Septuagint, may be thus rendered: *But as for me, by him I am appointed King on Sion, his holy mountain.* Now here the authority for the two readings is nearly equal; but, if we examine their goodness, we shall see that the Masoretic lection is to be preferred, as being more grammatically correct, and more suited to the context.

7. *A good various reading, though supported by only one or two witnesses of approved character, is to be preferred.*

[1] Gerard, Institutes, pp, 266—268.

8. *In the prophetical and poetical books of the Old Testament, as well as in the New Testament, that reading is best which accords with the poetical parallelism.*

9. *Of two readings of equal or nearly equal authority, that is to be preferred which is most agreeable to the style of the sacred writer.*

10. *That reading is to be preferred which is most agreeable to the context, and to the author's design in writing.*

11. *A reading, whose source is clearly proved to be erroneous, must be rejected.*

12. *Of two readings, neither of which is unsuitable to the sense, either of which may have naturally arisen from the other, and both of which are supported by manuscripts, versions, and quotations in the writings of the fathers, the one will be more probable than the other, in proportion to the preponderance of the evidence that supports it; and that preponderance admits a great variety of degrees.*[1]

13. *Whenever two different readings occur, one of which seems difficult and obscure, but which may be explained by the help of antiquity, and a more accurate knowledge of the language, whereas the other is so easy as to be obvious to the meanest capacity, the latter reading is to be suspected; because the former is more in unison with the style of the sacred writers, which, abounding with Hebraisms, is repugnant to the genius of the pure or strictly classical Greek language.*

No transcriber would designedly change a clear into an obscure reading, nor is it possible that an inadvertency should make so happy a mistake as to produce a reading that perplexes indeed the ignorant, but is understood and approved by the learned. This canon is the touchstone which distinguishes the true critics from the false. Bengel, Wetstein, and Griesbach, critics of the first rank, have admitted its authority; but those of inferior order generally prefer the easy reading, for no other reason than because its meaning is most obvious.

14. *If for a passage, that is not absolutely necessary to the construction, various readings are found, that differ* materially *from each other, we have reason to suspect its authenticity; and likewise that all the readings are interpolations of transcribers who have attempted by different methods to supply the seeming deficiency of the original.*

This rule, however, must not be carried to the extreme, nor is a *single* variation sufficient to justify our suspicion of a word or phrase, though its omission affects not the sense, or even though the construction would be improved by its absence; for, in a book that has been so frequently transcribed as the New Testament, mistakes were unavoidable, and therefore a *single* deviation alone can lead us to no immediate conclusion.

15. *A reading is to be rejected, in respect to which plain evidence is found that it has undergone a* designed *alteration.*

Such alteration may have taken place (1.) From doctrinal reasons; (2.) From moral and practical reasons; (3) From historical and geographical doubts (Matt. viii. 28. compared with Mark v. 1.); (4.) From the desire of reconciling passages apparently contradictory with each other; (5.) From the desire of making the discourse more intensive; hence many emphatic readings have originated; (6.) From the comparison of many manuscripts, the readings of which have been amalgamated; (7.) From a comparison of parallel passages.[2]

16. *Readings, which are evidently* glosses *or* interpolations, *are invariably to be rejected.*

(1.) *Glosses* are betrayed, 1. When the words do not agree with the scope and context of the passage; 2. When they are evidently foreign to the style of the sacred writer; 3. When there is evident tautology; 4. When words, which are best absent, are most unaccountably introduced; 5. When certain words are more correctly disposed in a different

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[1] Gerard, Institutes, p. 275.

[2] Stuart, Elements of Interpr. p. 113.

place; and, lastly, when phrases are joined together, the latter of which is much clearer than the former.

(2.) "An *interpolation* is sometimes betrayed by the circumstance of its being delivered in the language of a later church. In the time of the apostles the word Christ was never used as the proper name of a person, but as an epithet expressive of the ministry of Jesus, and was frequently applied as synonymous to 'Son of God.' The expression, therefore, 'Christ is the Son of God,' Acts viii. 37. is a kind of tautology, and is almost as absurd as to say, Christ is the Messiah, that is, the anointed is the anointed. But, the word being used in later ages as a proper name, this impropriety was not perceived by the person who obtruded the passage on the text."

(3.) "If one or more words that may be considered as an addition to a passage are found only in manuscripts, but in none of the *most ancient versions*, nor in the quotations of the early fathers, we have reason to suspect an interpolation."

17. *Expressions that are less emphatic, unless the scope and context of the sacred writer require emphasis, are more likely to be the genuine reading, than readings different from them, but which have, or seem to have, greater force or emphasis. For copyists, like commentators, who have but a smattering of learning, are mightily pleased with emphases.*

18. *That reading is to be preferred, which gives a sense apparently false, but which, on thorough investigation, proves to be a true one.*

19. *Various readings, which have most clearly been occasioned by the errors or negligence of transcribers, are to be rejected. How such readings may be caused has already been shown in pp.* 98—100. *supra.*

20. *Lectionaries, or Lesson-books, used in the early Christian church, alone are not admissible as evidence for various readings.*

21. *Readings introduced into the Greek text from Latin versions are to be rejected.*

22. *A reading that is contradictory to history and geography is to be rejected, especially when it is not confirmed by manuscripts.*

23. *That reading which makes a passage more connected is preferable, all due allowance being made for abruptness in the particular case. St. Paul is remarkable for the abruptness of many of his digressions.*

24. *Readings,* certainly *genuine, ought to be restored to the text of the printed editions, though hitherto admitted into none of them: that they may henceforth be rendered as correct as possible, they ought likewise to be adopted in all versions of Scripture; and, till this be done, they ought to be followed in explaining it.*

25. Probable *readings may have so high a degree of evidence, as justly entitles them to be inserted into the text, in place of the received readings which are much less probable. Such as have not considerably higher probability than the common readings should only be put into the margin; but they, and all others, ought to be weighed with impartiality.*

26. *Readings certainly, or very probably, false ought to be expunged from the editions of the Scriptures, and ought not to be followed in versions of them, however long and generally they have usurped a place there, as being manifest corruptions, which impair the purity of the sacred books.*

27. Lastly, *since it is admitted in the criticism of the sacred Scriptures, as in that of other ancient writings, that the true reading cannot always be determined with absolute certainty, but that only a judgment as to what is more probable can be formed, it is evident that more ought not to be required in this department than can be performed; nor should a positive judgment be given, without the most careful examination. And, further, if in the criticism of profane authors caution and modesty should be used, much more ought every thing like rashness or levity to be excluded from the criticism of the sacred volume.*

The preceding are the *most material* canons for determining various readings, which are recommended by the united wisdom of the most eminent biblical critics. They have been drawn up chiefly from Dr. Kennicott's Dissertations on the Hebrew text, De Rossi's Compendio di Critica Sacra, and the canons of the same learned author, in his Prolegomena so often cited in the preceding pages, and from the canons of Bauer in his Critica Sacra, of Ernesti, of Pfaff, Pritius, Wetstein, Griesbach, Beck, Muntinghe, and, above all, of Michaelis, with Bishop Marsh's annotations, often more valuable than the elaborate work of his author.

[The following compendious rules are given by Dr. Davidson: —

"1. A reading found in all critical documents is commonly the right or original one.

"2. When the Masoretic text deviates from the other critical documents, and when these documents agree in their testimony quite independently of one another, the reading of the latter is preferable.

"3. If the documents disagree in testimony, the usual reading of the Masoretic text should be preferred, even though a majority of the Hebrew MSS. collated cannot be quoted in its favour.

"4. A reading found in the Masoretic text alone, or in the sources of evidence alone, independently of the Masoretic text, is suspicious.

"5. If the MSS. of the original text disagree with one another, *number* does not give the greater weight, but other things, such as age, country, &c., aided by internal grounds.

"6. The more difficult reading is generally preferable to the easier one.

"7. A reading more consonant with the context, with the design and style of the writer, and with the parallelism in prophetic and poetical books, is preferable.

"8. Every reading *apparently* false, vicious, absurd, containing a contradiction, is not on that account *actually* incorrect.

"9. It is possible that a reading which has no more than one or two witnesses in its favour, if it be intrinsically good, may be worthy of adoption.

"10. It is possible that in some places the true reading may be preserved in none of the sources. If there be strong reasons for thinking so, critical conjecture should be resorted to." [1]]

[1] Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxvii. pp. 386, 387. See also Dr. Tregelles, vol. iv. chaps. xxxv.—xxxvii.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.—QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM THE APOCRYPHAL WRITERS, AND FROM PROFANE AUTHORS.

NUMEROUS quotations from the Old Testament are made in the New. In these references, there is frequently an apparent contradiction or difference between the original and the quotation; of which, as in the contradictions alleged to exist in the Scriptures (which are considered and solved in the second part of this volume), infidelity and scepticism have sedulously availed themselves. These seeming discrepancies, however, when brought to the touchstone of criticism, disappear; and thus the entire harmony of the Bible becomes fully evident. The appearance of contradiction, in the quotations from the Old Testament that are found in the New, is to be considered in two points of view, namely, 1. As to the *external form*, or the words in which the quotation is made; and, 2. As to the *internal form*, or the manner or purpose to which it is applied by the sacred writers.

A considerable difference of opinion exists among some learned men, whether the evangelists and other writers of the New Testament quoted the Old Testament from the Hebrew, or from the venerable Greek version, usually called the Septuagint. Some, however, are of opinion that they did not confine themselves exclusively to either; and this appears most probable. The only way by which to determine this important question is to compare and arrange the texts actually quoted. Drusius, Junius, Glassius, Cappel, Hoffman, Eichhorn, Michaelis, and many other eminent biblical critics on the continent, have ably illustrated this topic; in our own country, indeed, it has been but little discussed. The only writers on this subject, known to the author, are the Rev. Dr. Randolph, formerly Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, the Rev. Dr. Henry Owen, and the Rev. Thomas Scott; but they have treated it with so much ability and accuracy, that he has to acknowledge himself indebted to their labours for great part of his materials for the present chapter.[1] [A list of treatises on the New Testament Quotations, some of them posterior to the time when the preceding sentence was written, may be found in Mr. Gough's useful work, "The New Testament Quotations collated with the Scriptures of the Old Testament," London, 1855, p. viii. The table which follows has been re-arranged and augmented by the present editor.]

[1] Besides the publications of the writers above mentioned, the author has availed himself of the researches of Drusius, Parallela Sacra, in the 8th volume of the Critici Sacri; of Cappel's Critica Sacra, vol. i. lib. ii. pp. 136—172. (edit. Vogel);—of Glassius's Philologia Sacra, part ii. pp. 1387. *et seq.* (edit. Dathii); and of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Bishop Marsh, vol. i. chap. v. pp. 200—246., 470—489. Dr. Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism have also been occasionally referred to, as well as Schlegelius's Dissertatio de Agro Sanguinis et Prophetiâ circa eum allegatâ, in the Thesaurus Dissertationum Exegeticarum ad Nov. Test. tom. ii. pp. 309—340.

SECTION I.

ON THE EXTERNAL FORM OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

§ 1. Table of the Quotations.

THE editions from which these texts are selected are that of Van der Hooght, Lond. 1822, for the Hebrew; of Tischendorf, Lips. 1856, for the Septuagint; and of Tischendorf, 1850, for the New Testament. The translation of passages from the Septuagint is for the most part that of Thomson, Philadelphia, 1808, Brenton's being also consulted. That of the Hebrew and the New Testament is the authorized version. The texts are arranged and numbered according to the order in which they occur in the New Testament, and placed so as to show at one view the various citations which have been made of each passage.

1. Isai. vii. 14.	Isai. vii. 14.	Matt. i. 22, 23.
הִנֵּה הָעַלְמָה הָרָה וְיֹלֶדֶת בֵּן וְקָרָאת שְׁמוֹ עִמָּנוּאֵל׃	*Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ.*	*[Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος] Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱὸν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ.*
Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.	Behold the virgin shall conceive and bear a son; and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel.	[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying,] Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son; and they shall call his name Emmanuel.
2. Micah v. 1. (E. v. 2.)	Micah v. 2.	Matt. ii. 5, 6.
וְאַתָּה בֵּית־לֶחֶם אֶפְרָתָה צָעִיר לִהְיוֹת בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה מִמְּךָ לִי יֵצֵא לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל׃	*Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ οἶκος Ἐφραθά, ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰούδα; ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.*	*[Γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου] Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεέμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ.*
But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, *though* thou be little among the thousands of Judah, *yet* out of thee shall he come forth unto me, *that is* to be ruler in Israel.	But, as for thee, Bethlehem, thou house of Ephratha, art thou the least [or, too little], to become one of the thousands of Judah? Out of thee shall one come forth to me, to be a ruler of Israel.	[It is written by the prophet,] And thou, Bethlehem *in* the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda; for out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel.
3. Hos. xi. 1.	Hos. xi. 1.	Matt. ii. 15.
וּמִמִּצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לִבְנִי׃	*Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.*	*[Ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος] Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.*

[2] This quotation agrees neither with the Hebrew nor with the Septuagint. The only material difference, however, is that the evangelist adds the negative *οὐδαμῶς*. The Syriac text of Micah may be read with an interrogation. And so Archbishop Newcome: "Art thou too little to be among the leaders of Judah?" The Arabic inserts a negative. And in Matthew D. has *μή*, interrogatively, instead of *οὐδαμῶς*; and so the Old Italic and some Latin fathers. But "the words of the evangelist express a meaning *formally* different, yet *materially* the same." Fairbairn, Herm. Man. part iii. sect. i. pp. 358, 359.

[3] The evangelist has quitted the LXX., and accurately translated the Hebrew. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion follow the present Hebrew text.

. . . and called my son out of Egypt.	I called his children out of Egypt.	[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying,] Out of Egypt have I called my son.
4. Jer. xxxi. 15.	Jer. xxxviii. 15.	Matt. ii. 17, 18.
קוֹל בְּרָמָה נִשְׁמָע נְהִי בְּכִי תַמְרוּרִים רָחֵל מְבַכָּה עַל־בָּנֶיהָ מֵאֲנָה לְהִנָּחֵם עַל־בָּנֶיהָ כִּי אֵינֶנּוּ׃	*Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾶ ἠκούσθη θρήνου καὶ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ ὀδυρμοῦ· Ῥαχὴλ ἀποκλαιομένη οὐκ ἤθελε παύσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν.*	*[Τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος] Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾷ ἠκούσθη, κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμὸς πολύς· Ῥαχὴλ κλαίουσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν.*
A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation, *and* bitter weeping; Rahel weeping for her children refused to be comforted for her children, because they *were* not.	There was heard at Rama a sound of lamentation, and weeping and wailing: Rachel, weeping for her children, refused to be comforted, because they are not.	[Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying,] In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping *for* her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.
5. Psal. xxii. 6. Isai. lii. liii.		Matt. ii. 23.
		[Ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν] Ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται.
		[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets,] He shall be called a Nazarene.
6. Isai. xl. 3–5.	Isa. xl. 3–5.	Matt. iii. 3.
קוֹל קוֹרֵא בַּמִּדְבָּר פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה יַשְּׁרוּ בָּעֲרָבָה מְסִלָּה	*Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιῆτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ*	*[Οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ῥηθεὶς διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος] Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ*

[4] The departures from the Hebrew text are trifling. Dr. Randolph's conjecture that the evangelist might have followed some other Greek translation (Prophecies and other texts cited in the N. T. p. 27.) is improbable.

[5] As the evangelist cites *the prophets* in the plural number, it is highly probable that this passage is not a quotation from any particular prophet, but a citation denoting the humble and despised condition of the Messiah, as described by the prophets in general, and especially by the prophet Isaiah. (See Dr. Hunt's sermon on Matt. ii. 23., at the end of his Observations on several Passages in the Book of Proverbs, pp. 169—193.) Though the words, *he shall be called a Nazarene*, are not to be found in the writings of the prophets, yet, as the *thing* intended by them is of frequent occurrence, the application is made with sufficient propriety. The Israelites despised the Galileans in general, but especially the Nazarenes; who were so contemptible as to be subjects of ridicule even to the Galileans themselves. Hence, *Nazarene* was a term of reproach proverbially given to any despicable worthless person whatever. Wherefore since the prophets (particularly those above referred to) have, in many parts of their writings, foretold that the Messiah should be rejected, despised, and traduced, they have in reality predicted that he should be called a *Nazarene*. And the evangelist justly reckons Christ's dwelling in Nazareth, among other things, a completion of these predictions; because, in the course of his public life, the circumstance of his having been educated in that town was frequently objected to him as a matter of scorn, and was one principal reason why his countrymen would not receive him. (John i. 46. and vii. 41, 52.) Dr. Macknight's Harmony, vol. i. p. 53. 8vo edit. See also Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, and other commentators on this text. Lee considers it an error to refer (as some do) to such passages as Isai. xi. 1.; since it is very questionable whether Nazareth had its name from נֵצֶר; as ζ corresponds to ז, while σ is written in Greek for צ. See Inspiration of Holy Scripture (2nd edit.) lect. vii. pp. 385, 336, note 1.

[6] St. Luke follows the LXX. in writing *τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ*. Hence some have imagined that the copy from which the LXX. translated had ישען instead of יחדו.

לֵאלֹהֵינוּ׃ כָּל־גֶּיא יִנָּשֵׂא וְכָל־הַר וְגִבְעָה יִשְׁפָּלוּ וְהָיָה הֶעָקֹב לְמִישׁוֹר וְהָרְכָסִים לְבִקְעָה׃ וְנִגְלָה כְּבוֹד יְהוָה וְרָאוּ כָל־בָּשָׂר יַחְדָּו׃

The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the LORD; make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted; and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight; and the rough places plain. And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed; and all flesh shall see *it* together.

Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται, καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται· καὶ ἔσται πάντα τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθεῖαν, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς πεδία, καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα Κυρίου, καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σάρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

A voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight the roads for our God. Every valley shall be filled up; and every mountain and hill be levelled. And all the crooked places shall be made a straight road, and the rough way smooth plains. And the glory of the Lord will appear; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

ἐρήμῳ Ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.

[For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying,] The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

Mark i. 2, 3.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ] ..... Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.

[As it is written in the prophets] ... The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

Luke iii. 4–6.

[Ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου] Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ· πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθείας καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας· καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σάρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[As it is written in the book of the words of Esaias the prophet, saying,] The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways *shall be* made smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

John i. 23.

[Ἔφη] Ἐγὼ *φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* Εὐθύνατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, [*καθὼς εἶπεν* Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης.]

[He said,] I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, [as said the prophet Esaias.]

Fairbairn, however, thinks that "the LXX. translator merely expressed what was implied in the preceding context." Herm. Man. pp. 376, 377. Psal. xcviii. 3. and Isai. lii. 10. would suggest the addition.

7. Deut. viii. 3.	Deut. viii. 3.	Matt. iv. 4.
לֹא עַל־הַלֶּחֶם לְבַדּוֹ יִחְיֶה הָאָדָם כִּי עַל־כָּל־מוֹצָא פִּי־יְהוָה יִחְיֶה הָאָדָם׃	*Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος.*	[*Γέγραπται*] *Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ.*
Man doth not live by bread only, but by every *word* that proceedeth out of the mouth of the LORD doth man live.	Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God shall man live.	[It is written,] Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.
		Luke iv. 4.
		[*Γέγραπται ὅτι*] *Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος.* [It is written that] Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God.
8. Psal. xci. 11, 12.	Psal. xc. 11, 12.	Matt. iv. 6.
כִּי מַלְאָכָיו יְצַוֶּה־לָּךְ לִשְׁמָרְךָ בְּכָל־דְּרָכֶיךָ׃ עַל־כַּפַּיִם יִשָּׂאוּנְךָ פֶּן־תִּגֹּף בָּאֶבֶן רַגְלֶךָ׃	*Ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου· ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσί σε, μή ποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.*	[*Γέγραπται γάρ*] *Ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε, μή ποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.*
For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in *their* hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.	For he will give his angels a charge concerning thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. With their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou shouldest at any time strike thy foot against a stone.	[For it is written,] He shall give his angels charge concerning thee; and in *their* hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.
		Luke iv. 10, 11.
		[*Γέγραπται γαρ*] *Ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε μή ποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.* [For it is written,] He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee; and in *their* hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.
9. Deut. vi. 16.	Deut. vi. 16.	Matt. iv. 7.
לֹא תְנַסּוּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם׃	*Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου.*	[*Πάλιν γέγραπται*] *Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου.*
Ye shalt not tempt the LORD your God.	Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.	[It is written again,] Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.
		Luke iv. 12.
		[*Ὅτι εἴρηται*] *Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου.* [It is said,] Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

* The evangelists exactly follow the LXX. The Hebrew text has the plural number

10. Deut. vi. 13.

אֶת־יְהוָֹה אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִּירָא וְאֹתוֹ תַעֲבֹד׃

Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him.

Deut. vi. 13.

Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him alone.

Matt. iv. 10.

[Γέγραπται γάρ] Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

[For it is written,] Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

Luke iv. 8.

[Γέγραπται] Προσκυνήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

[For it is written,] Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

11. Isai. viii. 23, ix. 1. (E. V. ix. 1, 2.)

כָּעֵת הָרִאשׁוֹן הֵקַל אַרְצָה זְבֻלוּן וְאַרְצָה נַפְתָּלִי וְהָאַחֲרוֹן הִכְבִּיד דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם׃ הָעָם הַהֹלְכִים בַּחֹשֶׁךְ רָאוּ אוֹר גָּדוֹל יֹשְׁבֵי בְּאֶרֶץ צַלְמָוֶת אוֹר נָגַהּ עֲלֵיהֶם׃

At the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun, and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict *her by* the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

Isai. ix. 1, 2.

Ταχὺ ποίει χώρα Ζαβουλών, ἡ γῆ Νεφθαλίμ, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν. Ὁ λαὸς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐν σκότει, ἴδετε φῶς μέγα· οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν χώρᾳ σκιᾷ θανάτου, φῶς λάμψει ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.

Do it quickly, O region of Zabulon, the land of Nephthalim, and the rest who inhabit the sea shore, and beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations; ye people who walk in darkness, behold! a great light! and ye who dwell in a region, the shade of death, on you a light shall shine.

Matt. iv. 14–16.

[Ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος] Γῆ Ζαβουλὼν καὶ γῆ Νεφθαλίμ, ὁδὸν θαλάσσης πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκοτίᾳ φῶς εἶδεν μέγα, καὶ τοῖς καθημένοις ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου φῶς ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying,] The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, *by* the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles: the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up.

12. Exod. xx. 12–17.

כַּבֵּד אֶת־אָבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמֶּךָ לְמַעַן יַאֲרִכוּן יָמֶיךָ עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָֹה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לָךְ׃ לֹא תִּרְצָח׃ לֹא תִּנְאָף׃ לֹא תִּגְנֹב׃ לֹא־תַעֲנֶה בְרֵעֲךָ עֵד שָׁקֶר׃ לֹא תַחְמֹד בֵּית רֵעֶךָ׃

Exod. xx. 12–17.

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, καὶ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος γένῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἀγαθῆς, ἧς Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου δίδωσί σοι. οὐ μοιχεύσεις. οὐ κλέψεις. οὐ φονεύσεις. οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ. οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου. οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πλησίον σου.

Matt. v. 21.

[Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐῤῥήθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις] Οὐ φονεύσεις· [ὃς δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει.]

[Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time,] Thou shalt not kill; [and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment.]

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[11] The LXX. is probably corrupt; the evangelist has followed the original text, taking only the part which his purpose required. Our version fails to render the Hebrew with accuracy: it should be, "As the former time made light (or vile) the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphthali, so the later time makes weighty (or honourable) the way of the sea."

[12] The citation in Eph. vi. is from the LXX., or from Deut. v.

Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

Exod. xxi. 17.

וּמְקַלֵּל אָבִיו וְאִמּוֹ מוֹת יוּמָת׃

And he that curseth his father or his mother shall surely be put to death.

Deut. v. 16.

כַּבֵּד אֶת־אָבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמֶּךָ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוְּךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְמַעַן יַאֲרִיכֻן יָמֶיךָ וּלְמַעַן יִיטַב לָךְ עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לָךְ׃

Honour thy father and thy mother, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that thy days may be prolonged, and that it may go well with thee, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long in that good land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not commit murder. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

Exod. xxi. 16.

Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἢ μητέρα αὐτοῦ τελευτήσει θανάτῳ.

He who curseth his father or his mother shall be put to death.

Deut. v. 16.

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, ὃν τρόπον ἐνετείλατό σοι Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, καὶ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος γένῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἧς Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου δίδωσί σοι.

Honour thy father and thy mother, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Matt. v. 27.

[*Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐῤῥήθη*] *Οὐ μοιχεύσεις.*

[Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time,] Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Matt. xv. 4.

[*Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς εἶπεν*] *Τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα,* [*καὶ*] *Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτω.*

[For God commanded, saying,] Honour thy father and mother; [and] He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death.

Matt. xix. 18, 19.

[*Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν*] *Τὸ οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα.*

[Jesus said,] Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honour thy father and *thy* mother.

Mark vii. 10.

[*Μωυσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν*] *Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου,* [*καὶ*] *Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτω.*

[For Moses said], Honour thy father and thy mother; [and] Whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death.

Mark x. 19.

[*Τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας*] *Μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα.*

[Thou knowest the commandments,] Do not commit adultery. Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother.

Luke xviii. 20.

[*Τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας*] *Μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου.*

[Thou knowest the commandments,] Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother.

Rom. vii. 7.

[Ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν] Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις.

[. . . the law had said,] Thou shalt not covet.

Rom. xiii. 9.

[Τὸ γὰρ] Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις.

[For this,] Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet.

Eph. vi. 2, 3.

Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα, [ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ,] ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται καὶ ἔσῃ μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Honour thy father and mother; [which is the first commandment with promise;] that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth.

James ii. 11.

[Ὁ γὰρ εἰπών] Μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, [εἶπεν καί] Μὴ φονεύσῃς.

[For he that said,] Do not commit adultery, [said also,] Do not kill.

13. Deut. xxiv. 1.

וְכָתַב לָהּ סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻת
וְנָתַן בְּיָדָהּ וְשִׁלְּחָהּ מִבֵּיתוֹ׃

Then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give *it* in her hand, and send her out of his house.

Deut. xxiv. 3.

Καὶ γράψει αὐτῇ βιβλίον ἀποστασίου καὶ δώσει εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξαποστελεῖ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ.

And he shall write for her a bill of divorcement, and give it into her hands, and send her away out of his house.

Matt. v. 31.

[Ἐῤῥέθη δέ] Ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, δότω αὐτῇ ἀποστάσιον.

[It hath been said,] Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement.

Matt. xix. 7.

[Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ] Τί οὖν Μωυσῆς ἐνετείλατο δοῦναι βιβλίον ἀποστασίου καὶ ἀπολῦσαι;

[They say unto him,] Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?

Mark x. 4.

[Οἱ δὲ εἶπαν] Ἐπέτρεψεν Μωυσῆς βιβλίον ἀποστασίου γράψαι καὶ ἀπολῦσαι.

[And they said,] Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement and to put *her* away.

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14. **Lev. xix. 12.**

וְלֹא־תִשָּׁבְעוּ בִשְׁמִי לַשָּׁקֶר וְחִלַּלְתָּ אֶת־שֵׁם אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה׃

And ye shall not swear by my name falsely; neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: I *am* the Lord.

Lev. xix. 12.

Καὶ οὐκ ὀμεῖσθε τῷ ὀνόματί μου ἐπ' ἀδίκῳ, καὶ οὐ βεβηλώσετε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν· ἐγώ εἰμι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν.

You shall not swear by my name to a falsehood; nor profane the holy name of your God: I am the Lord your God.

Matt. v. 33.

[Πάλιν ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐῤῥήθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις] Οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, ἀποδώσεις δὲ τῷ Κυρίῳ τοὺς ὅρκους σου.

[Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time,] Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths.

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15. **Exod. xxi. 24.** Comp. Lev. xxiv. 20., Deut. xix. 21.

עַיִן תַּחַת עַיִן שֵׁן תַּחַת שֵׁן׃

Eye for eye, tooth for tooth.

Exod. xxi. 24.

Ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος.

Eye for eye, tooth for tooth.

Matt. v. 38.

[Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐῤῥήθη] Ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος.

[Ye have heard that it hath been said,] An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

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16. **Lev. xix. 18.**

וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֲךָ כָּמוֹךָ׃

But thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Lev. xix. 18.

Καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

But thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Matt. v. 43.

[Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐῤῥήθη] Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου.

[Ye have heard that it hath been said,] Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.

Matt. xix. 19.

[Καὶ] Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

[And,] Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Matt. xxii. 39.

Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Mark xii. 31. and Rom. xiii. 9. have exactly the same words.

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[18] The latter part of Matt. v. 43. was probably a rabbinical addition.

		Luke x. 27. Ἀγαπήσεις .... τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. Thou shalt love .... thy neighbour as thyself. Gal. v. 14. [Ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται, ἐν τῷ] Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν. [For all the law is fulfilled in one word, *even* in this,] Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. James ii. 8. [Εἰ μέντοι νόμον τελεῖτε βασιλικὸν κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν] Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, [καλῶς ποιεῖτε.] [If ye fulfil the royal law according to the scripture,] Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, [ye do well.]
17. Isai. liii. 4. אָכֵן חֳלָיֵנוּ הוּא נָשָׂא וּמַכְאֹבֵינוּ סְבָלָם׃ Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows.	Isai. liii. 4. Οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται. This man beareth away our sins, and for us he is in sorrow.	Matt. viii. 17. [Ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος] Αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν. [That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying,] Himself took our infirmities, and bare *our* sicknesses.
18. Hos. vi. 6. כִּי חֶסֶד חָפַצְתִּי וְלֹא־זָבַח׃ I desired mercy and not sacrifice.	Hos. vi. 6. Ἔλεος θέλω ἢ θυσίαν. I desire mercy rather than sacrifice.	Matt. ix. 13. [Πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί ἐστιν] Ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν. [But go ye and learn what *that* meaneth,] I will have mercy, and not sacrifice. Matt. xii. 7. [Εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκειτε τί ἐστιν] Ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν. [But if ye had known what *this* meaneth,] I will have mercy and not sacrifice.
19. Mal. iii. 1. הִנְנִי שֹׁלֵחַ מַלְאָכִי וּפִנָּה־דֶרֶךְ לְפָנָי׃	Mal. iii. 1. Ἰδοὺ ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου, καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται ὁδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου.	Matt. xi. 10. [Οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται] Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, καὶ κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου.

[17] The evangelist more literally represents the Hebrew than the LXX. does. See Fairbairn, Herm. Man. pp. 362, 363.

[19] The Hebrew text is more nearly followed than the LXX. The alterations are plainly for fuller explanation.

Behold I will send my messenger; and he shall prepare the way before me.

Behold I send forth my messenger, and he will examine the way before me.

[For this is *he* of whom it is written,] Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

Mark i. 2

[*Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ*] *Ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου.*

[As it is written in the prophets,] Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

Luke vii. 27.

[*Οὗτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται*] *Ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου.*

[This is *he* of whom it is written,] Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

Matt. xii. 7. See No. 18.

20. **Isai. xlii. 1—4.**

הֵן עַבְדִּי אֶתְמָךְ־בּוֹ בְּחִירִי רָצְתָה נַפְשִׁי נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו מִשְׁפָּט לַגּוֹיִם יוֹצִיא׃ לֹא יִצְעַק וְלֹא יִשָּׂא וְלֹא־יַשְׁמִיעַ בַּחוּץ קוֹלוֹ׃ קָנֶה רָצוּץ לֹא יִשְׁבּוֹר וּפִשְׁתָּה כֵהָה לֹא יְכַבֶּנָּה לֶאֱמֶת יוֹצִיא מִשְׁפָּט׃ .... וּלְתוֹרָתוֹ אִיִּים יְיַחֵלוּ׃

Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect *in whom* my soul delighteth: I have put my Spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his

Isai. xlii. 1—4.

Ἰακὼβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήψομαι αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχή μου· ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτὸν κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει. οὐ κεκράξεται οὐδὲ ἀνήσει, οὐδὲ ἀκουσθήσεται ἔξω ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ. Κάλαμον τεθλασμένον οὐ συντρίψει, καὶ λίνον καπνιζόμενον οὐ σβέσει, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἐξοίσει κρίσιν·...καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν

Jacob is my servant; I will uphold him: Israel is my chosen one; my soul hath embraced him. I have put my Spirit upon him: he will publish judgment to the nations: he will not cry aloud, nor

Matt. xii. 17—21.

[*Ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἠσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος*] *Ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ᾑρέτισα, ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου· θήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπαγγελεῖ. Οὐκ ἐρίσει οὐδὲ κραυγάσει, οὐδὲ ἀκούσει τις ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ. Κάλαμον συντετριμμένον οὐ κατεάξει καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ σβέσει, ἕως ἂν ἐκβάλῃ εἰς νῖκος τὴν κρίσιν. Καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν.*

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying,] Behold my servant whom I have chosen, my beloved in whom my soul is well pleased: I will put my Spirit upon him;

[a] The evangelist for the most part follows the Hebrew; the only exception is that לֶאֱמֶת is rendered *εἰς νῖκος*. But there is no material alteration in the sense. "If by מִשְׁפָּט," says Dr. Randolph (Prophecies, &c., cited in the N. T., p. 28.), "we understand *the cause under trial*, then to *send forth his cause unto truth* will be to carry the cause." Hence *εἰς νῖκος* is a suitable phrase. The latter part of the quotation agrees with the LXX.

voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break; and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth. He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth; . . . and the isles shall wait for his law.

urge with vehemence, nor will his voice be heard abroad. A bruised reed he will not break, nor will he quench smoking flax, but will bring forth judgment unto truth; . . . and in his name shall the nations trust (or hope).

and he shall show judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory. And in his name shall the Gentiles trust.

21. Isai. vi. 9, 10.

לֵךְ וְאָמַרְתָּ לָעָם הַזֶּה שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמוֹעַ וְאַל־תָּבִינוּ וּרְאוּ רָאוֹ וְאַל־תֵּדָעוּ׃ הַשְׁמֵן לֵב־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְאָזְנָיו הַכְבֵּד וְעֵינָיו הָשַׁע פֶּן־יִרְאֶה בְעֵינָיו וּבְאָזְנָיו יִשְׁמָע וּלְבָבוֹ יָבִין וָשָׁב וְרָפָא לוֹ׃

And he said, Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their eyes heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.

Isai. vi. 9—11.

Πορευθῆτι καὶ εἰπὸν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε. Ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκάμμυσαν, μή ποτε ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσι, καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσι καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

Go and say to this people. By hearing, ye shall hear, though ye may not understand; and seeing, ye shall see, though ye may not perceive. For the heart of this people is stupefied, and their ears are dull of hearing; and they have shut their eyes, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and return, and I should heal them.

Matt. xiii. 14, 15.

[Καὶ ἀναπληροῦται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαΐου ἡ λέγουσα] Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε. Ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν· μή ποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνιῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

[And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith,] By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive; for this people's heart is waxed gross, and *their* ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with *their* eyes, and hear with *their* ears, and should understand with *their* hea[rt,] and should be converted, an[d] I should heal them.

Mark iv. 12.

Ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μή ποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.

That seeing they may see and not perceive; and hearing they may hear and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and *their* sins should be forgiven them.

Luke viii. 10.

Ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιῶσιν.

That seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand.

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[a] St. Matthew cites the LXX. almost literally (the Hebrew agreeing in *sense*). *In* St. Mark and St. Luke small portions alone are cited. St. John gives the sense, as if God had done what he commanded the prophet to do. In the Acts the citation is repeated as in Matthew.

John xii. 39, 40.

[Ὅτι πάλιν εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας] Τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐπώρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν, ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

[Because that Esaias said again,] He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart; that they should not see with *their* eyes, nor understand with *their* heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

Acts xxviii. 25—27.

[Ὅτι καλῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων] Πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἰπόν Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε· ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν· μή ποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

[Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers, saying,] Go unto this people, and say, Hearing ye shall hear and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see and not perceive; for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with *their* eyes, and hear with *their* ears, and understand with *their* heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.

22. Psal. lxxviii. 2.

אֶפְתְּחָה בְמָשָׁל פִּי אַבִּיעָה חִידוֹת מִנִּי־קֶדֶם׃

I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old

Psal. lxxvii. 2.

Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, φθέγξομαι προβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.

I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter dark sayings of old.

Matt. xiii 35.

[Ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος] Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς.

[That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying,] I will open my mouth in parables; I will

[22] The first member of the sentence coincides with the LXX.; the last is translated from the Hebrew.

utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.

Matt. xv. 4. See No. 12.

23. Isai. xxix. 13.

כִּי נִגַּשׁ הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּפִיו
וּבִשְׂפָתָיו כִּבְּדוּנִי וְלִבּוֹ רִחַק
מִמֶּנִּי וַתְּהִי יִרְאָתָם אֹתִי
מִצְוַת אֲנָשִׁים מְלֻמָּדָה׃

This people draw near *me* with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me; and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men.

Isai. xxix. 13.

Ἐγγίζει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσί με, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόῤῥω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονταί με διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας.

This people draw near to me with their mouth; and with their lips they honour me; but their heart is far from me; and in vain do they worship me, teaching the commands and doctrines of men.

Matt. xv. 7–9.

[*Καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν* Ἡσαΐας *λέγων*] Ὁ *λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόῤῥω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονταί με διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.*

[Well did Esaias prophesy of you saying,] This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth and honoureth me with *their* lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching *for* doctrines the commandments of men.

Mark vii. 6, 7.

[*Καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν* Ἡσαΐας *περὶ ὑμῶν . . . ὡς γέγραπται*] Οὗτος *ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόῤῥω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονταί με διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.*

[Well hath Esaias prophesied of you . . . as it is written,] This people honoureth me with *their* lips; but their heart is far from me. Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching *for* doctrines the commandments of men.

24. Gen. ii. 24.

עַל־כֵּן יַעֲזָב־אִישׁ אֶת־אָבִיו
וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ וְדָבַק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיוּ
לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד׃

Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.

Gen. ii. 24.

Ἕνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they two shall be one flesh.

Matt. xix. 5.

[*Καὶ εἶπεν*] *Ἕνεκα τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ κολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.*

[And said,] For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh.

Mark x. 7, 8.

Ἕνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

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[23] The evangelists follow the LXX. very nearly. This version seems to have understood וַתְּהִי, as if it were וְתֹהוּ, and taken יִרְאָתָם for a verb, 2 per. plur.

[24] The LXX. is followed, which had introduced *οἱ δύο.*

For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife ; and they twain shall be one flesh.

1 Cor. vi. 16.

Ἔσονται γάρ, [φησίν,] οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

For two, saith he, shall be one flesh.

Eph. v. 31.

Ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife ; and they two shall be one flesh.

Matt. xix. 7. See No. 18.
Matt. xix. 18, 19. See Nos. 12. 16.

25. Zech. ix. 9. (and see Isai. lxii. 11.)

גִּילִי מְאֹד בַּת־צִיּוֹן הָרִיעִי בַּת־יְרוּשָׁלַםִ הִנֵּה מַלְכֵּךְ יָבוֹא לָךְ צַדִּיק וְנוֹשָׁע הוּא עָנִי וְרֹכֵב עַל־חֲמוֹר וְעַל־עַיִר בֶּן־אֲתֹנוֹת׃

Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion ; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem : behold, thy king cometh unto thee. He *is* just and having salvation, lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.

Zech. ix. 9.

Χαῖρε σφόδρα θύγατερ Σιών, κήρυσσε θύγατερ Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς ἔρχεταί σοι δίκαιος καὶ σώζων, αὐτὸς πρᾳῢς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον.

Rejoice exceedingly, O daughter of Sion; make proclamation, O daughter of Jerusalem. Behold, thy king is coming to thee; he is righteous, and having salvation. He is meek, and mounted on an ass, even a young colt.

Matt. xxi. 4, 5.

[Τοῦτο δὲ γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος] Εἴπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιών· Ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεταί σοι πραῢς, ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου.

[All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying,] Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold thy king cometh unto thee; meek and sitting upon an ass, and (*more correctly*, even) a colt the foal of an ass.

John xii. 14, 15.

[Καθώς ἐστιν γεγραμμένον] Μὴ φοβοῦ, θυγάτηρ Σιών· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεται καθήμενος ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου.

[As it is written,] Fear not, daughter of Sion; behold thy king cometh, sitting on an ass's colt.

26. Isai. lvi. 7.

כִּי בֵיתִי בֵּית־תְּפִלָּה יִקָּרֵא לְכָל־הָעַמִּים

Isai. lvi. 7.

Ὁ γὰρ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Matt. xxi. 13.

[Γέγραπται] Ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται, ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ποιεῖτε σπήλαιον λῃστῶν.

[a] The introduction is prefixed from Isai. lxii. 11. St. John has a different introduction from St. Matthew's ; and his citation is more compendious.

[b] It is from Isaiah only that the quotation, properly so called, is taken : the other part is the word of our Lord himself, but with an allusion to Jer. vii. 11.

For mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people.

For my house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations.

[It is written,] My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.

Jer. vii. 11.

הַמְעָרַת פָּרִצִים הָיָה הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שְׁמִי־עָלָיו בְּעֵינֵיכֶם׃

Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?

Jer. vii. 11.

Μὴ σπήλαιον λῃστῶν ὁ οἶκός μου οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν;

Is not this house of mine, which is called by my name, become in your eyes a den of robbers?

Mark xi. 17.

[*Οὐ γέγραπται ὅτι*] *Ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον λῃστῶν.*

[Is it not written,] My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer? but ye have made it a den of thieves.

Luke xix. 46.

[*Γέγραπται*] *Καὶ ἔσται ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς· ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε σπήλαιον λῃστῶν.*

[It is written,] My house is the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.

27. Psal. viii. 3. (E. V. 2.)

מִפִּי עוֹלְלִים וְיֹנְקִים יִסַּדְתָּ עֹז׃

Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength.

Psal. viii. 3.

Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον.

Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise.

Matt. xxi. 16.

[*Οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι*] *Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον;*

[Have ye never read,] Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?

28. Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.

אֶבֶן מָאֲסוּ הַבּוֹנִים הָיְתָה לְרֹאשׁ פִּנָּה׃ מֵאֵת יְהוָה הָיְתָה זֹּאת הִיא נִפְלָאת בְּעֵינֵינוּ׃

The stone *which* the builders refused is become the head *stone* of the corner. This is the LORD's doing: it *is* marvellous in our eyes.

Psal. cxvii. 22, 23.

Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη, καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.

The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner. This was from the Lord (or, the Lord's doing); and it is wonderful in our eyes.

Matt. xxi. 42.

[*Οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*] *Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη, καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν;*

[Did ye never read in the scriptures,] The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?

Mark xii. 10, 11.

[*Οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε*] *Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν;*

[And have ye not read this scripture,] The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner: this was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?

Luke xx. 17.

[Τί οὖν ἐστὶν τὸ γεγραμμένον τοῦτο] Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας;

[What is this then that is written,] The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?

Acts iv. 11.

Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδόμων, ὁ γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner.

1 Peter ii. 7.

Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

The stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner.

29. Deut. xxv. 5.

כִּי־יֵשְׁבוּ אַחִים יַחְדָּו וּמֵת אַחַד מֵהֶם וּבֵן אֵין־לוֹ לֹא תִהְיֶה אֵשֶׁת־הַמֵּת הַחוּצָה לְאִישׁ זָר יְבָמָהּ יָבֹא עָלֶיהָ וּלְקָחָהּ לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה וְיִבְּמָהּ׃

If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her.

Deut. xxv. 5.

Ἐὰν δὲ κατοικῶσιν ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν, σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ᾖ αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔξω ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι· ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ λήψεται αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα καὶ συνοικήσει αὐτῇ.

When brothers dwell together, and one of them die, and hath no issue, the wife of him who died shall not marry a man abroad, who is not near of kin. The brother of her husband shall go in unto her, and take her to wife, and cohabit with her.

Matt. xxii. 24.

[Μωυσῆς εἶπεν] Ἐάν τις ἀποθάνῃ μὴ ἔχων τέκνα, ἐπιγαμβρεύσει ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστήσει σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.

[Moses said,] If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

Mark xii. 19.

[Μωυσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν ὅτι] Ἐάν τινος ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ καὶ καταλίπῃ γυναῖκα καὶ μὴ ἀφῇ τέκνον, ἵνα λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.

[Moses wrote unto us,] If a man's brother die, and leave *his* wife *behind him*, and

leave no children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother

Luke xx. 28.

[Μωυσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν] Ἐάν τινος ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ ἔχων γυναῖκα, καὶ οὗτος ἄτεκνος ἀποθάνῃ, ἵνα λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.

[Moses wrote unto us,] If any man's brother die, having a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.

30. Exod. iii. 6.

אָנֹכִי אֱלֹהֵי אָבִיךָ אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וֵאלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב וַיַּסְתֵּר מֹשֶׁה פָּנָיו כִּי יָרֵא מֵהַבִּיט אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים

I *am* the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God.

Exod. iii. 6.

Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ πατρός σου, Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ. Ἀπέστρεψε δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ· εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ κατεμβλέψαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses turned away his face; for he was afraid to gaze at God.

Matt. xxii. 31, 32.

[Οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγοντος] Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ;

[Have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying,] I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?

Mark xii. 26.

[Οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωυσέως ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου πῶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς λέγων] Ἐγὼ ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ;

[Have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying,] I *am* the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?

Luke xx. 37.

[Ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐμήνυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου, ὡς λέγει] Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Θεὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Θεὸν Ἰακώβ.

[Now, that the dead are raised, even Moses showed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord,] The God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

Acts vii. 32.

Ἐγὼ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. Ἔντρομος δὲ γενόμενος Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμα κατανοῆσαι.

I *am* the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Then Moses trembled, and durst not behold.

31. Deut. vi. 4, 5.

שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָֹה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָֹה אֶחָד׃ וְאָהַבְתָּ אֵת יְהוָֹה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ וּבְכָל־נַפְשְׁךָ וּבְכָל־מְאֹדֶךָ׃

Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.

Deut. vi. 4, 5.

Ἄκουε Ἰσραήλ, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἷς ἐστι· καὶ ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου.

Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole understanding, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole might.

Matt. xxii. 37.

Ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

Mark xii. 29, 30.

[Πρώτη ἐστίν] Ἄκουε Ἰσραήλ, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἷς ἐστίν, καὶ ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.

[The first of all the commandments *is*,] Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.

Luke x. 27.

Ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind.

Matt. xxii. 39. See No. 16.

32. Psal. cx. 1.

נְאֻם יְהוָֹה לַאדֹנִי שֵׁב לִימִינִי עַד־אָשִׁית אֹיְבֶיךָ הֲדֹם לְרַגְלֶיךָ׃

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right

Psal. cix. 1.

Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit at my right hand,

Matt. xxii. 43, 44.

[Πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν Κύριον λέγων] Εἶπεν Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου;

[How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying,]

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[a] One of the evangelists adheres to the Hebrew more closely than the others, but with no variation of sense: *διανοία* is *mental strength;* a kind of paraphrase of the original expression.

hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.	until I make thine enemies thy footstool.	The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool? **Mark xii. 36.** [*Αὐτὸς Δαυὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ*] *Εἶπεν Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου Κάθισον ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου.* [For David himself said by the Holy Ghost,] The LORD said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. **Luke xx. 42, 43.** [*Καὶ αὐτὸς Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν*] *Εἶπεν Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.* [And David himself saith in the book of Psalms,] The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. **Acts ii. 34, 35.** [*Λέγει δὲ αὐτός*] *Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.* [He saith himself,] The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool. **1 Cor. xv. 25.** *Δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρις οὗ θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.* For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. **Heb. i. 13.** [*Πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἴρηκέν ποτε*] *Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου;* [But to which *of the* angels said he at any time,] Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies *thy footstool*?
33. Zech. xiii. 7. הַךְ[33] אֶת־הָרֹעֶה וּתְפוּצֶיןָ הַצֹּאן׃	**Zech. xiii. 7.** *Πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα.*	**Matt. xxvi. 31.** [*Γέγραπται γάρ*] *Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης.*

[33] Some have imagined, as Randolph (The Prophecies, &c., cited in the N. T., p. 30.), that הַךְ should be אַךְ; but there is no authority for such a change, nor is it necessary:

Smite the shepherd; and the sheep shall be scattered.

Smite the shepherds, and draw out the sheep.

[For it is written,] I will smite the shepherd; and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.

Mark xiv. 27.

[Ὅτι γέγραπται] Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσονται.

[For it is written,] I will smite the shepherd; and the sheep shall be scattered.

34. Zech. xi. 13.

הַשְׁלִיכֵהוּ אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר אֶדֶר הַיְקָר אֲשֶׁר יָקַרְתִּי מֵעֲלֵיהֶם וָאֶקְחָה שְׁלֹשִׁים הַכֶּסֶף וָאַשְׁלִיךְ אֹתוֹ בֵּית יְהוָה אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר׃

Cast it unto the potter; a goodly price that I was prised at of them. And I took the thirty *pieces* of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord.

Zech. xi. 13.

Κάθες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον, καὶ σκέψομαι εἰ δόκιμόν ἐστιν, ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάσθην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς καὶ ἐνέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον.

Put them into the smelting furnace, and I will see whether it is proof, in like manner as I have been proved for them. So I took the thirty pieces of silver, and threw them down in the house of the Lord, for the smelting furnace.

Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.

[Τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἱερεμίου λέγοντος] Καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως, καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι Κύριος.

[Thus was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying,] And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.

35. Psal. xxii. 2. (E. V. 1.)

אֵלִי אֵלִי לָמָה עֲזַבְתָּנִי׃

Psal. xxi. 1.

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεός μου, πρόσχες μοι· ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με;

Matt. xxvii. 46.

Ἠλὶ Ἠλὶ λεμὰ σαβαχθανί; τοῦτ' ἔστιν Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;

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by the use of the first person the action is more expressly ascribed to God. For the rest of the passage, the evangelists, Mark especially, follow the Hebrew.

[a] There is confessedly much difficulty here; and the passage has been seized on by certain writers as affording countenance to the idea that the evangelists quoted from memory, and consequently made mistakes. But, "as for the dream of rationalist interpreters respecting the evangelist quoting from memory, and making a mistake, we leave it to its advocates, to Paulus, Griesbach, and Fritzsche, who thus deny the apostle's inspiration." Davidson, Sacr. Herm. p. 463. Dr. Lee shows, on the principle laid down by Hengstenberg, "why St. Matthew has ascribed to Jeremiah the words of Zechariah; the evangelist desiring to explain that Jeremiah was to be regarded as the *auctor primarius* of a prediction with which his readers were well acquainted, and to whose words (Jer. xviii. 1—3., xix. 2.) the expression of Zechariah, 'And the Lord said unto me, *Cast it unto the potter*,' refers us; Jeremiah standing to Zechariah in the same relation as Ezekiel and Daniel to the Apocalypse. Nor is the reference in such cases to a single prophet unusual. The quotation, 'That it might be fulfilled which was spoken *by the prophet*, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek,' &c., in St. Matt. xxi. 4, 5., is taken from Isai. lxii. 11, and Zech. ix. 9." Insp. of Holy Scripture, 2nd edit. lect. vii. pp. 339, 340., *note*. See Hengstenberg, Christology (Arnold), pp. 342—345.; Davidson, Sacr. Herm., chap. xi. pp. 463, 464.; Fairbairn, Herm. Man., part iii. sect. i. pp. 372, 373., sect. ii. pp. 440—446.; also, Hofmann, transl. in Journal of Sacr. Lit., Oct. 1853, pp. 145—162.

[b] This is taken from the Hebrew; but the words are Syriac or Chaldee. *Sabacthani* is the word now in the Chaldee Paraphrase (Dr. Randolph, p. 30.). So the Peshito:

ܐܠܗܝ ܐܠܗܝ ܠܡܢܐ ܫܒܩܬܢܝ

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

O God, my God, attend to me! Why hast thou forsaken me?

Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? That is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Mark xv. 34.

Ἐλωὶ ἐλωὶ λαμὰ σαβαχθανί; ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Ὁ Θεός μου ὁ Θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με;

Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani? Which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Mark i. 2.	See No. 19.
Mark i. 2, 3.	See No. 6.
Mark iv. 12.	See No. 21.
Mark vii. 6, 7.	See No. 23.
Mark vii. 10.	See No. 12.
Mark x. 4.	See No. 13.

36. Gen. i. 27.

זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם׃

Male and female created he them.

Gen. i. 27.

Ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.

A male and a female he made them.

Mark x. 6.

[Ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως] Ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.

[But from the beginning of the creation] God made them male and female.

Mark x. 7, 8.	See No. 24.
Mark x. 19.	See No. 12.
Mark xi. 17.	See No. 26.
Mark xii. 10, 11.	See No. 28.
Mark xii. 19.	See No. 29.
Mark xii. 26.	See No. 30.
Mark xii. 29, 30.	See No. 31.
Mark xii. 31.	See No. 16.
Mark xii. 36.	See No. 32.
Mark xiv. 27.	See No. 33.
Mark xv. 34.	See No. 35.

37. Mal. iii. 23, 24. (E. V. iv. 5, 6.)

הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי שֹׁלֵחַ לָכֶם אֵת אֵלִיָּה הַנָּבִיא לִפְנֵי בּוֹא יוֹם יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא׃ וְהֵשִׁיב לֵב־אָבוֹת עַל־בָּנִים וְלֵב בָּנִים עַל־אֲבוֹתָם׃

Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord; and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers.

Mal. iv. 4, 5.

Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστελῶ ὑμῖν Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ, ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ.

Now behold I will send you Elias the Thesbite before that great and awful day of the Lord cometh, who will turn the heart of father to son, and the heart of one man to another.

Luke i. 17.

Καὶ αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἡλίου, ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων.

And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just.

[37] This quotation differs from both the Hebrew and the LXX. The general sense is given. In various parts of Luke i. the language of the Old Testament is adopted, not so much in formal quotation as for elucidation of the original passages, the words of which are freely used and applied.

38. Exod. xiii. 2.

קַדֶּשׁ־לִי כָל־בְּכוֹר פֶּטֶר
כָּל־רֶחֶם:

Sanctify unto me all the first born, whatsoever openeth the womb.

Exod. xiii. 2.

Ἁγίασόν μοι πᾶν πρωτότοκον πρωτογενὲς διανοῖγον πᾶσαν μήτραν.

Consecrate to me every first born first produced, that openeth every womb.

Luke ii. 23.

[*Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ Κυρίου ὅτι*] *Πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν ἅγιον τῷ Κυρίῳ κληθήσεται.*

[As it is written in the law of the Lord,] Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord.

39. Lev. xii. 8.

שְׁתֵּי־תֹרִים אוֹ שְׁנֵי בְּנֵי יוֹנָה:

Two turtles, or two young pigeons.

Lev. xii. 8.

Δύο τρυγόνας ἢ δύο νοσσοὺς περιστερῶν.

Two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons.

Luke ii. 24.

[*Κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου*] *Ζεῦγος τρυγόνων ἢ δύο νοσσοὺς περιστερῶν.*

[According to that which is said in the law of the Lord,] A pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons.

Luke iii. 4—6. See No. 6.
Luke iv. 4. See No. 7.
Luke iv. 8. See No. 10.
Luke iv. 10, 11. See No. 8.
Luke iv. 12. See No. 9.

40. Isai. lxi. 1, 2.

רוּחַ אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִה עָלָי יַעַן
מָשַׁח יְהוָה אֹתִי לְבַשֵּׂר עֲנָוִים
שְׁלָחַנִי לַחֲבֹשׁ לְנִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵב
לִקְרֹא לִשְׁבוּיִם דְּרוֹר
וְלַאֲסוּרִים פְּקַח־קוֹחַ: לִקְרֹא
שְׁנַת־רָצוֹן לַיהוָה:

The Spirit of the Lord God *is* upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek, he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to *them that are* bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

Isai. lxi. 1, 2.

Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέ με εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς, ἀπέσταλκέ με ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν, κηρῦξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, καλέσαι ἐνιαυτὸν Κυρίου δεκτόν.

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, for the business for which he hath anointed me. He hath sent me to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

Luke iv. 17—19.

[*Εὗρεν τὸν τόπον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον*] *Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς, ἀπέσταλκέν με κηρῦξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει, κηρῦξαι ἐνιαυτὸν Κυρίου δεκτόν.*

[He found the place where it was written,] The Spirit of the Lord *is* upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

Luke vii. 27. See No. 19.
Luke viii. 10. See No. 21.
Luke x. 27. See Nos. 16, 31.
Luke xviii. 20. See No. 12.
Luke xix. 46. See No. 26.
Luke xx. 17. See No. 28.
Luke xx. 28. See No 29.
Luke xx. 37. See No. 30.
Luke xx. 42, 43. See No. 32.

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* The LXX. has been mainly followed. The most remarkable difference between this and the original text is where the words וְלַאֲסוּרִים פְּקַח־קוֹחַ are translated *καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν*. Still the sense being figurative is substantially the same. See Fairbairn, Herm. Man. pp. 377, 378. There seems also an allusion to Isai. lviii. 6.

41. Isai. liii. 12. וְאֶת־פֹּשְׁעִים נִמְנָה׃ And he was numbered with the transgressors.	Isai. liii. 12. Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη. And he was numbered among the transgressors.	Luke xxii. 37. [Τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί, τό] Καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη. [This that is written must yet be accomplished in me,] And he was reckoned among the transgressors.
42. Psal. xxxi. 6. (E. V. 5.) בְּיָדְךָ אַפְקִיד רוּחִי׃ Into thine hand I commit my spirit.	Psal. xxx. 6. Εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. Into thy hands I will commit my spirit.	Luke xxiii. 46. [Πάτερ] Εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. [Father,] into thy hands I commend my spirit.
		John i. 23. See No. 6.
43. Psal. lxix. 10. (E. V. 9.) כִּי־קִנְאַת בֵּיתְךָ אֲכָלָתְנִי׃ For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up	Psal. lxviii. 10. Ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου κατέφαγέ με. Zeal for thine house hath consumed me.	John ii. 17. [Ἐμνήσθησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι γεγραμμένον ἐστίν] Ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου καταφάγεταί με. [And his disciples remembered that it was written,] The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.
44. Psal. lxxviii. 24. וּדְגַן־שָׁמַיִם נָתַן לָמוֹ׃ And had given them of the corn of heaven.	Psal. lxxvii. 24. Καὶ ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς. And he gave them the bread of heaven.	John vi. 31. [Καθώς ἐστιν γεγραμμένον] Ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν. [As it is written,] He gave them bread from heaven to eat.
45. Isai. liv. 13. וְכָל־בָּנַיִךְ לִמּוּדֵי יְהוָה׃ And all thy children *shall be* taught of the LORD.	Isai. liv. 13. Καὶ πάντας τοὺς υἱούς σου διδακτοὺς Θεοῦ. Even thy sons, all instructed of God.	John vi. 45. [Ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις] Καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδακτοὶ Θεοῦ. [It is written in the prophets,] And they shall be all taught of God.
46. —— —— ——	—— —— ——	John vii. 38. [Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή] Ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. [He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said,] Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.

[41] This passage, heretofore found also Mark xv. 28., does not appear in that place in the best MSS., and is omitted by Tischendorf.

[46] This is no quotation: it is rather an allusion to passages in which the Holy Spirit is promised figuratively as water, *e.g.* Isai. xliv. 3., lv. 1., lviii. 11., Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26., &c. See Randolph, The Prophecies, &c., cited in the N. T., p. 31.; Davidson, Sacr. Herm. pp. 374, 375.

47. Deut. xix. 15. עַל־פִּי שְׁנֵי עֵדִים אוֹ עַל־פִּי שְׁלֹשָׁה־עֵדִים יָקוּם דָּבָר׃ At the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.	Deut. xix. 15. *Ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ ἐπὶ στόματος τριῶν μαρτύρων στήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.* By the mouth of two witnesses, or by the mouth of three witnesses, every thing shall be established.	John viii. 17. *[Καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ γέγραπται ὅτι] Δύο ἀνθρώπων ἡ μαρτυρία ἀληθής ἐστιν.* [It is also written in your law that] the testimony of two men is true. 2 Cor. xiii. 1. *Ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.* In he mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established.
48. Psal. lxxxii. 6. אֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם׃ I have said, Ye *are* Gods.	Psal. lxxxi. 6. *Ἐγὼ εἶπα Θεοί ἐστε.* I said, Ye are Gods.	John x. 34. *[Οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν ὅτι] Ἐγὼ εἶπα Θεοί ἐστε;* [Is it not written in your law,] I said, Ye are Gods? John xii. 14, 15. See No. 25.
49. Isai. liii. 1. מִי הֶאֱמִין לִשְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ וּזְרוֹעַ יְהוָה עַל־מִי נִגְלָתָה׃ Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the LORD revealed?	Isai. liii. 1. *Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίων Κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;* Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?	John xii. 38. *[Ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῇ ὃν εἶπεν] Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίων Κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;* [That the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled which he spake,] Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? Rom. x. 16. *[Ἡσαΐας γὰρ λέγει] Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;* [For Esaias saith,] Lord, who hath believed our report? John xii. 39, 40. See No. 21.
50. Psal. xli. 10. (E. V. 9.) גַּם־אִישׁ שְׁלוֹמִי .... אוֹכֵל לַחְמִי הִגְדִּיל עָלַי עָקֵב׃ Mine own familiar friend, ... which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up *his* heel against me.	Psal. xl. 10. *Ἄνθρωπος τῆς εἰρήνης μου .... ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ πτερνισμόν.* Mine own familiar friend .... who ate of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me.	John xiii. 18. *[Ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ] Ὁ τρώγων μετ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ἄρτον ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ.* [But that the scripture may be fulfilled,] He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me.
51. Psal. cix. 3. (See Psal. xxxv. 19. and lxix. 4.) וַיִּלָּחֲמוּנִי חִנָּם׃	Psal. cviii. 3. *Ἐπολέμησάν με δωρεάν.*	John xv. 25. *[Ἀλλ' ἵνα πληρωθῇ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν γεγραμμένος ὅτι] Ἐμίσησάν με δωρεάν.*

The same text is alluded to in Matt. xviii. 16. and Heb. x. 28.

It is not generally agreed from what place this citation is taken. The three indicated above are each sufficiently near verbally and in meaning.

They...fought against me without a cause.	They fought against me without cause.	[But *this cometh to pass*, that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law,] They hated me without a cause.
52. Psal. xxii. 19. (E. V. 18.) יְחַלְּקוּ בְגָדַי לָהֶם וְעַל־לְבוּשִׁי יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל׃ They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.	Psal. xxi. 19. *Διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.* They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots.	John xix. 24. [*Ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ ἡ λέγουσα*] *Διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.* [That the scripture might be fulfilled which saith,] They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots.
53. Exod. xii. 46. (See Psal. xxxiv. 20.) וְעֶצֶם לֹא־תִשְׁבְּרוּ־בוֹ׃ Neither shall ye break a bone thereof.	Exod. xii. 46. *Καὶ ὀστοῦν οὐ συντρίψετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.* And ye shall not break a bone thereof.	John xix. 36. [*Ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ*] *Ὀστοῦν οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτοῦ.* [For these things were done that the scripture should be fulfilled,] A bone of him shall not be broken.
54. Zech. xii. 10. וְהִבִּיטוּ אֵלַי אֵת אֲשֶׁר־דָּקָרוּ׃ And they shall look upon me whom they have pierced.	Zech. xii. 10. *Καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο.* They will look upon me because they have mocked me.	John xix. 37. [*Καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφὴ λέγει*] *Ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν.* [And again another scripture saith,] They shall look on him whom they pierced.
55. Psal. lxix. 26. (E. V. 25.) תְּהִי־טִירָתָם נְשַׁמָּה בְּאָהֳלֵיהֶם אַל־יְהִי יֹשֵׁב׃ Let their habitation be desolate, *and* let none dwell in their tents.	Psal. lxviii. 26. *Γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτῶν ἠρημωμένη, καὶ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν.* Let their habitation be desolate, and in their dwellings no inhabitant.	Acts i. 20. [*Γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ψαλμῶν*] *Γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ.* [For it is written in the book of Psalms,] Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein
56. Psal. cix. 8. פְּקֻדָּתוֹ יִקַּח אַחֵר׃ Let another take his office.	Psal. cviii. 8. *Καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος.* And let another take his office.	Acts. i. 20. [*Καὶ*] *Τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἕτερος.* And his bishopric let another take.

[52] This passage has heretofore appeared also in Matt. xxvii. 35.; but Tischendorf omits it there.

[54] This is from the Hebrew with a change of person: Messiah, in the original, being the speaker; in the evangelist, the person spoken of. Abp. Newcome, reading אֵלָיו (which certainly has some authority for it), translates "they shall look on him."

[55] The sense is that of the original: only the apostle applies to a particular person what was spoken by David of his enemies in the plural. In the LXX. there is no material difference.

57\. **Joel iii. 1—5.** (E. V. ii. 28—32.)

וְהָיָה אַחֲרֵי־כֵן אֶשְׁפּוֹךְ
אֶת־רוּחִי עַל־כָּל־בָּשָׂר וְנִבְּאוּ
בְּנֵיכֶם וּבְנֽוֹתֵיכֶם זִקְנֵיכֶם
חֲלֹמוֹת יַחֲלֹמוּן בַּחוּרֵיכֶם
חֶזְיֹנוֹת יִרְאוּ׃ וְגַם עַל
הָעֲבָדִים וְעַל־הַשְּׁפָחוֹת
בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה אֶשְׁפּוֹךְ אֶת־
רוּחִי׃ וְנָתַתִּי מוֹפְתִים
בַּשָּׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ דָּם וָאֵשׁ
וְתִמְרוֹת עָשָׁן׃ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יֵהָפֵךְ
לְחֹשֶׁךְ וְהַיָּרֵחַ לְדָם לִפְנֵי בּוֹא
יוֹם יְהוָֹה הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא׃
וְהָיָה כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם
יְהוָֹה יִמָּלֵט׃

And it shall come to pass afterward, *that* I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit. And I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the LORD come. And it shall come to pass, *that* whosoever shall call on the name of the LORD shall be delivered.

Joel. ii. 2—832.

Καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνύπνια ἐνυπνιασθήσονται, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου· καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ· ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ. Καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου σωθήσεται.

And it shall come to pass after those things, that I will pour out a portion of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And on my servants and on my handmaids in those days I will pour out a portion of my Spirit. And I will exhibit wonders in the heavens and on the earth, blood and fire, and smoky vapour. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the coming of the great and illustrious day of the Lord. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

Acts ii. 16—21.

[Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου] Ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ Θεός, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίοις ἐνυπνιασθήσονται· καί γε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν. Καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ. Ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα πρὶν ἢ ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν Κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ. Καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἐὰν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου σωθήσεται.

[This is that which is spoken by the prophet Joel.] And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy. And I will show wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath, blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, *that* whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

Rom. x. 13.

Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου σωθήσεται.

For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.

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* There are merely some slight additions by St. Peter of an explanatory nature.

58. Psal. xvi. 8-11.

שִׁוִּיתִי יְהוָה לְנֶגְדִּי תָמִיד
כִּי מִימִינִי בַּל־אֶמּוֹט׃ לָכֵן
שָׂמַח לִבִּי וַיָּגֶל כְּבוֹדִי אַף־
בְּשָׂרִי יִשְׁכֹּן לָבֶטַח׃ כִּי לֹא־
תַעֲזֹב נַפְשִׁי לִשְׁאוֹל לֹא־תִתֵּן
חֲסִידֶיךָ לִרְאוֹת שָׁחַת׃
תּוֹדִיעֵנִי אֹרַח חַיִּים שֹׂבַע
שְׂמָחוֹת אֶת־פָּנֶיךָ׃

I have set the Lord always before me: because *he is* at my right hand I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth: my flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life; in thy presence *is* fulness of joy.

Psal. xv. 8-11.

Προωρώμην τὸν Κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντὸς, ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μού ἐστιν ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ. Διὰ τοῦτο ηὐφράνθη ἡ καρδία μου καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. Ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. Ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς· πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου.

I foresaw the Lord continually before me; because he is at my right hand, that I may not be moved. Therefore my heart was gladdened, and my tongue exulted with joy; moreover my flesh also will dwell in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in the mansion of dead, nor suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life. Thou with thy presence wilt fill me with joy.

Acts ii. 25-28.

[Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν] Προωρώμην τὸν Κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός, ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μού ἐστιν ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ. Διὰ τοῦτο ηὐφράνθη μου ἡ καρδία καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. Ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς, πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου.

[For David speaketh concerning him,] I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved: therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad; moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance.

Acts xiii. 35.

[Διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει] Οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.

[Wherefore he saith also in another *psalm*,] Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.

Acts ii. 34, 35. See No. 32.

59. Deut. xviii. 15, 19.

נָבִיא מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאַחֶיךָ כָּמֹנִי
יָקִים לְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵלָיו
תִּשְׁמָעוּן׃ ···וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר
לֹא־יִשְׁמַע אֶל־דְּבָרַי אֲשֶׁר
יְדַבֵּר בִּשְׁמִי אָנֹכִי אֶדְרֹשׁ
מֵעִמּוֹ׃

The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy

Deut. xviii. 15, 19.

Προφήτην ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμὲ ἀναστήσει σοι Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου, αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε . . . . Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐγὼ ἐκδικήσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

The Lord thy God will raise up for thee, from among thy brethren, a prophet like

Acts iii. 22, 23.

[Μωυσῆς μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι] Προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Ἔσται δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ.

[For Moses truly said unto the fathers,] A prophet shall the Lord your God

[58] This, in both citations, agrees with the LXX.; which differs but slightly from the Hebrew. The most important variation is that the plural חסידיך is put into the singular; but in all probability the singular חֲסִידְךָ is the right reading. See Hengstenberg, Christology (Arnold), pp. 76, 77. Comp. Comm. on the Psalms, translated by Fairbairn, Edinb. 1844. vol. i. p. 251.

[59] The passage quoted in Acts iii. 22, 23., differs from both the original and the LXX. St. Peter has condensed the prophecy, and rendered the expressions more specific, with an allusion perhaps to v. 18.

brethren, like unto me: unto him ye shall hearken . . . . And it shall come to pass, *that* whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require *it* of him.

unto me; to him shall ye hearken . . . . And whosoever will not hearken to what that prophet shall speak in my name, I will execute vengeance on him.

raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me: him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass, *that* every soul which will not hear that prophet shall be destroyed from among the people.

Acts vii. 37.

[Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωυσῆς ὁ εἴπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ] Προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ.

[This is that Moses which said unto the children of Israel,] A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me.

60. Gen. xxii. 18.

וְהִתְבָּרֲכוּ בְזַרְעֲךָ כֹּל גּוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ׃

And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.

Gen. xxii. 18.

Καὶ νευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς.

And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.

Acts iii. 25.

[Λεγων πρὸς Ἀβραάμ] Καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου ἐνευλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς.

[Saying unto Abraham,] And in thy seed shall all the kindreds (i.e. *nations, as being derived from one common ancestor*) of the earth be blessed.

Gal. iii. 16.

[Οὐ λέγει] Καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, [ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἑνός] Καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου [ὅς ἐστιν Χριστός].

[He saith not,] And to seeds, [as of many; but as of one,] And to thy seed, [which is Christ.]

Acts iv. 11. See No. 28.

61. Psal. ii. 1, 2.

לָמָּה רָגְשׁוּ גוֹיִם וּלְאֻמִּים יֶהְגּוּ־רִיק׃ יִתְיַצְּבוּ מַלְכֵי־אֶרֶץ וְרוֹזְנִים נוֹסְדוּ־יָחַד עַל־יְהוָה וְעַל־מְשִׁיחוֹ׃

Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the LORD, and against his Anointed.

Psal. ii. 1, 2.

Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη, καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; Παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Why did nations rage, and tribes imagine vain things? The kings of the earth combined, and the rulers assembled together against the Lord and his Anointed.

Acts iv. 25, 26.

[Ὁ διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδός σου εἰπών] Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; Παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

[Who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said,] Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord and against his Christ (*i.e.* MESSIAH, *or* ANOINTED *one*).

62. Gen. xii. 1.	Gen. xii. 1.	Acts vii. 3.
לֶךְ־לְךָ מֵאַרְצְךָ וּמִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ וּמִבֵּית אָבִיךָ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַרְאֶךָּ׃	Ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω.	Ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας σου, καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω.
Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee.	Depart from thy land, and from thy kindred, and from the house of thy father, and come to the land which I will show thee.	Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall show thee.

63. Gen. xv. 13, 14.	Gen. xv. 13, 14.	Acts vii. 6, 7.
כִּי־גֵר יִהְיֶה זַרְעֲךָ בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם וַעֲבָדוּם וְעִנּוּ אֹתָם אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה׃ וְגַם אֶת־הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר יַעֲבֹדוּ דָּן אָנֹכִי וְאַחֲרֵי־כֵן יֵצְאוּ בִּרְכֻשׁ גָּדוֹל׃	Πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐν γῇ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ, καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ κακώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτοὺς τετρακόσια ἔτη. Τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ᾧ ἐὰν δουλεύσουσι κρινῶ ἐγώ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται ὧδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς.	Ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ, καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτὸ καὶ κακώσουσιν ἔτη τετρακόσια· καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ᾧ ἐὰν δουλεύσουσιν κρινῶ ἐγὼ, εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται καὶ λατρεύσουσίν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.
That thy seed shall be a stranger in a land *that is* not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years. And also that nation whom they shall serve will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance.	Thy seed shall sojourn in a land not their own. And they shall be enslaved and afflicted, and humbled, four hundred years. But the nation which they shall serve I will judge; and after that they shall come out hither with much wealth.	That his seed should sojourn in a strange land; and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat *them* evil four hundred years. And the nation, to whom they shall be in bondage, will I judge, said God; and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this place.

64. Gen. xlvi. 27.	Gen. xlvi. 27.	Acts vii. 14.
כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ לְבֵית־יַעֲקֹב הַבָּאָה מִצְרַיְמָה שִׁבְעִים׃	Πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ οἴκου Ἰακὼβ αἱ εἰσελθοῦσαι μετὰ Ἰακὼβ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ψυχαὶ ἑβδομηκονταπέντε.	Ἀποστείλας δὲ Ἰωσὴφ μετεκαλέσατο Ἰακὼβ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ἐν ψυχαῖς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε.
All the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, *were* threescore and ten.	All the souls of Jacob's house, that went with him into Egypt, were seventy-five souls.	Then sent Joseph, and called his father Jacob to *him*, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls.

65. (See Josh. xxiv. 32.)		Acts vii. 16.
		Ὃ ὠνήσατο Ἀβραὰμ τιμῆς ἀργυρίου παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἐμμὼρ τοῦ Συχέμ.
		That Abraham bought for

[62] In this and several following numbers the words of the Old Testament are referred to, and quoted in Stephen's speech. They are recited in a historical way, the details being familiar to the Sanhedrim, with no specific application. Generally the LXX. is followed, which gives, for the most part, the plain sense of the Hebrew.

[63] The latter clause is introduced as implied in Gen. xv. 16., or in allusion to Exod. iii. 12.

[64] The contradictions alleged to exist in this and in the next passage will be examined hereafter.

a sum of money, of the sons of Emmor, *the father* of Sychem.

66. Exod. ii. 13, 14.

וַיֵּצֵא בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי וְהִנֵּה
שְׁנֵי־אֲנָשִׁים עִבְרִים נִצִּים
וַיֹּאמֶר לָרָשָׁע לָמָּה תַכֶּה
רֵעֶךָ׃ וַיֹּאמֶר מִי שָׂמְךָ לְאִישׁ
שַׂר וְשֹׁפֵט עָלֵינוּ הַלְהָרְגֵנִי
אַתָּה אֹמֵר כַּאֲשֶׁר הָרַגְתָּ אֶת
הַמִּצְרִי׃

And, when he went out the second day, behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together; and he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow? And he said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?

Exod. ii. 13, 14.

Ἐξελθὼν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ὁρᾷ δύο ἄνδρας Ἑβραίους διαπληκτιζομένους, καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀδικοῦντι Διὰ τί σὺ τύπτεις τὸν πλησίον; Ὁ δὲ εἶπε Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις ὃν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες χθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;

And going out the next day he saw two Hebrew men quarrelling, and said to him who was in the wrong, Why dost thou smite thy neighbour? To which he replied, Who made thee a ruler or a judge over us? Dost thou mean to kill me, as thou didst the Egyptian yesterday?

Acts vii. 26–28.

Τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὤφθη αὐτοῖς μαχομένοις, καὶ συνήλλασσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην εἰπών Ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοί ἐστε· ἵνα τί ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλήλους; ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν τὸν πλησίον ἀπώσατο αὐτὸν εἰπών Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις ὃν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;

And the next day he showed himself unto them as they strove, and would have set them at one again, saying, Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another? But he that did his neighbour wrong thrust him away, saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us? Wilt thou kill me, as thou diddest the Egyptian yesterday?

Acts vii. 35.

[Τοῦτον τὸν Μωυσῆν, ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες] Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν;

[This Moses whom they refused, saying,] Who made thee a ruler and a judge?

Acts vii. 32. See No. 30.

67. Exod. iii. 5, 7, 8, 10.

וַיֹּאמֶר ... שַׁל־נְעָלֶיךָ מֵעַל
רַגְלֶיךָ כִּי הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה
עוֹמֵד עָלָיו אַדְמַת־קֹדֶשׁ הוּא׃
... רָאֹה רָאִיתִי אֶת־עֳנִי עַמִּי
אֲשֶׁר בְּמִצְרָיִם וְאֶת־צַעֲקָתָם
שָׁמַעְתִּי׃ ... וָאֵרֵד לְהַצִּילוֹ׃
... וְעַתָּה לְכָה וְאֶשְׁלָחֲךָ אֶל
פַּרְעֹה׃

And he said .... Put off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest *is* holy ground....I have surely seen the affliction of my people which *are* in Egypt, and have heard their cry....And I am come down

Exod. iii. 5, 7, 8, 10.

Ὁ δὲ εἶπε ..... Λῦσαι τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου, ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἕστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστί ..... Ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα ..... καὶ κατέβην ἐξελέσθαι αὐτούς ..... καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε πρὸς Φαραὼ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου.

And he said .... Loose the sandals from thy feet; for the place where thou standest is holy ground....I have indeed seen the affliction of my people in Egypt and have heard their cry .... therefore I am come down to

Acts vii. 33, 34.

Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος Λῦσον τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐφ' ᾧ ἕστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν. Ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα, καὶ κατέβην ἐξελέσθαι αὐτούς· καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστείλω σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

Then said the Lord to him, Put off thy shoes from thy feet; for the place where thou standest is holy ground. I have seen, I have seen the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and I have heard their groaning and am come

to deliver them...Come now, therefore; and I will send thee unto Pharaoh.

deliver them . . . Now therefore come: I will send thee to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

down to deliver them. And now come, I will send thee into Egypt.

Acts vii. 35. See No. 66.
Acts vii. 37. See No. 59.

68. Exod. xxxii. 1.

עֲשֵׂה־לָנוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ לְפָנֵינוּ כִּי־זֶה מֹשֶׁה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלָנוּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֹא יָדַעְנוּ מֶה־הָיָה לוֹ׃

Exod. xxxii. 1.

Ποίησον ἡμῖν θεοὺς οἳ προπορεύσονται ἡμῶν· ὁ γὰρ Μωυσῆς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ οἴδαμεν τί γέγονεν αὐτῷ.

Acts vii. 40.

[Εἰπόντες τῷ Ἀαρών] Ποίησον ἡμῖν θεοὺς οἳ προπορεύσονται ἡμῶν· ὁ γὰρ Μωυσῆς οὗτος, ὃς ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ οἴδαμεν τί γέγονεν αὐτῷ.

Make us gods which shall go before us; for *as for* this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

Make for us gods who shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man who brought us out from the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him.

[Saying unto Aaron,] Make us gods to go before us; for *as for* this Moses, which brought us out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

69. Amos v. 25–27.

הַזְּבָחִים וּמִנְחָה הִגַּשְׁתֶּם־לִי בַמִּדְבָּר אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ וּנְשָׂאתֶם אֵת סִכּוּת מַלְכְּכֶם וְאֵת כִּיּוּן צַלְמֵיכֶם כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר עֲשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם׃ וְהִגְלֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם מֵהָלְאָה לְדַמָּשֶׂק׃

Amos v. 25, 26.

Μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι, οἶκος Ἰσραήλ, τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ; Καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολὸχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥαιφάν, τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν οὓς ἐποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ μετοικιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκοῦ.

Acts vii. 42, 43.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν] Μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι ἔτη τεσσεράκοντα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οἶκος Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολὸχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ Ῥεφάν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς; καὶ μετοικιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος.

Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun, your images, the star of your god which ye made to yourselves. Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus.

Did you, O house of Israel, offer to me burnt offerings, and sacrifices forty years in the wilderness? You have, indeed, taken up the tent of Moloch, and the star of your god Raiphan, those types of them which you have made for yourselves. Therefore I will remove you beyond Damascus.

[As it is written in the book of the prophets,] O ye house of Israel, have ye offered to me slain beasts and sacrifices, *by the space of* forty years in the wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them; and I will carry you away beyond Babylon.

70. Isai. lxvi. 1, 2.

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הַשָּׁמַיִם כִּסְאִי וְהָאָרֶץ הֲדֹם רַגְלָי אֵי־זֶה בַיִת אֲשֶׁר תִּבְנוּ־לִי וְאֵי־זֶה מָקוֹם מְנוּחָתִי׃ וְאֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה יָדִי עָשָׂתָה׃

Isai. lxvi. 1, 2.

Οὕτως λέγει Κύριος· Ὁ οὐρανός μου θρόνος, καὶ ἡ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι; καὶ ποῖος τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ χείρ μου.

Acts vii. 48—50.

[Καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει] Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι; λέγει Κύριος, ἢ τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; Οὐχὶ ἡ χείρ μου ἐποίησεν πάντα ταῦτα;

** Both the Hebrew and the LXX. have Damascus; but the discrepancy is hardly worth noting: the Israelites were carried beyond Damascus and Babylon too. Ῥαιφὰν was the name of an idol in Egypt which was called כִּיּוּן in Syria. It is said to have represented the planet Saturn.

Thus saith the LORD, The heaven *is* my throne, and the earth *is* my footstool: where *is* the house that ye build unto me? and where *is* the place of my rest? For all those *things* hath mine hand made.	Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool. What sort of an house will ye build me? And of what sort shall be the place of my rest? For all these things my hand hath made.	[As saith the prophet,] Heaven *is* my throne, and earth *is* my footstool: what house will ye build me? saith the Lord: or what *is* the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?

71. Isai. liii. 7, 8.	Isai. liii. 7.	Acts viii. 32, 33.
כַּשֶּׂה לַטֶּבַח יוּבָל וּכְרָחֵל לִפְנֵי גֹזְזֶיהָ נֶאֱלָמָה וְלֹא יִפְתַּח פִּיו׃ מֵעֹצֶר וּמִמִּשְׁפָּט לֻקָּח וְאֶת־דּוֹרוֹ מִי יְשׂוֹחֵחַ כִּי נִגְזַר מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים׃	Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα. Ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη· τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ.	[Ἡ δὲ περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς ἣν ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἦν αὕτη] Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. Ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη· τὴν δὲ γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ.
He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter; and, as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. He was taken from prison and from judgment; and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living.	He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and, as a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. In his humiliation his legal trial was taken away. Who will declare his manner of life? Because his life is taken from the earth.	[The place of the scripture which he read was this,] He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and, like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so opened he not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was taken away; and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth.

72. Psal. lxxxix. 21. (E. V. 20.)	Psal. lxxxviii. 21.	Acts xiii. 22
מָצָאתִי דָּוִד עַבְדִּי בְּשֶׁמֶן קָדְשִׁי מְשַׁחְתִּיו׃	Εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἐν ἐλέει ἁγίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν.	[Ὧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας] Εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου.
I have found David my servant: with my holy oil have I anointed him.	I have found David my servant: I have anointed him with holy mercy.	[To whom also he gave testimony and said,] I have found David the *son* of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will.
1 Sam. xiii. 14.	1 Kings xiii. 14.	
בִּקֵּשׁ יְהוָה לוֹ אִישׁ כִּלְבָבוֹ׃	Ζητήσει Κύριος ἑαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ.	
The LORD hath sought him a man after his own heart.	But the Lord will seek for himself a man after his own heart.	

73. Psal. ii. 7.	Psal. ii. 7.	Acts xiii. 33.
בְּנִי אַתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּיךָ׃	Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.	[Ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται] Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.
Thou *art* my Son: this day have I begotten thee.	Thou art my Son: this day have I begotten thee.	[As it is also written in the second psalm,] Thou art my Son: this day have I begotten thee.

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[n] This agrees with the LXX., except that αὐτόν and αὐτοῦ are added, the latter twice. But the agreement with the Alexandrine MS. of the LXX. is very close. "The eunuch had read the passage from the Greek version; and accordingly the inspired historian accurately copies that translation." Lee, the Insp. of Holy Scripture, lect. vii. 2nd ed. p. 359.

[n] Here is a combination of two passages, of which St. Paul gives the sense.

[n] πρώτῳ is the reading preferred by Tischendorf and others. Possibly the order of the Psalms has varied; or that which we call the first was considered as an introduction to the whole, and therefore not numbered.

Heb. i. 5.

[*Τίνι γὰρ εἶπέν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων*] *Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε;*

[For unto which of the angels said he at any time,] Thou art my Son: this day have I begotten thee?

Heb. v. 5.

[*Ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν*] *Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.*

[He that said unto him,] Thou art my Son: to-day have I begotten thee.

74. Isai. lv. 3.

וְאֶכְרְתָה לָכֶם בְּרִית עוֹלָם חַסְדֵי דָוִד הַנֶּאֱמָנִים׃

I will make an everlasting covenant with you, *even* the sure mercies of David.

Isai. lv. 3.

Καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιον, τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά.

And I will make with you an everlasting covenant, the gracious promises to David, which are faithful.

Acts. xiii. 34.

[*Οὕτως εἴρηκεν ὅτι*] *Δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά.*

[He said on this wise,] I will give you the sure mercies of David.

Acts xiii. 35. See No. 58.

75. Hab. i. 5.

רְאוּ בַגּוֹיִם וְהַבִּיטוּ וְהִתַּמְּהוּ תְּמָהוּ כִּי־פֹעַל פֹּעֵל בִּימֵיכֶם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ כִּי יְסֻפָּר׃

Behold ye, among the heathen, and regard, and wonder marvellously; for *I* will work a work in your days, *which* ye will not believe, though it be told *you*.

Hab. i. 5.

Ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονηταὶ καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε, καὶ θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια καὶ ἀφανίσθητε· διότι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται.

Behold, ye despisers, and view intently, and be amazed at wonderful things, and vanish. For in your days I am doing a work, which ye will not believe, though one tell you.

Acts xiii. 40, 41.

[*Βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*] *Ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, ὅτι ἔργον ἐργάζομαι ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ἔργον ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται ὑμῖν.*

[Beware, therefore, lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the prophets,] Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish; for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.

76. Isai. xlix. 6.

וּנְתַתִּיךָ לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם לִהְיוֹת יְשׁוּעָתִי עַד־קְצֵה הָאָרֶץ׃

I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.

Isai. xlix. 6.

Δέδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

I have given thee for the covenant of a race, for the light of nations, that thou mayest be for salvation to the farthest part of the earth.

Acts xiii. 47.

[*Οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος*] *Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.*

[For so hath the Lord commanded us, *saying*,] I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.

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[75] The words *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις* are used either because one book contained the so-called minor prophets, and hence we seldom find one of them individually named, or, possibly, because there is a reference included to Isai. xxviii. 14. The LXX. perhaps read בּוֹגְדִים for בַּגּוֹיִם.

77. Amos ix. 11, 12.	Amos ix. 11, 12.	Acts xv. 15—17.
בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אָקִים אֶת־סֻכַּת דָּוִיד הַנֹּפֶלֶת וְגָדַרְתִּי אֶת־פִּרְצֵיהֶן וַהֲרִסֹתָיו אָקִים וּבְנִיתִיהָ כִּימֵי עוֹלָם׃ לְמַעַן יִירְשׁוּ אֶת־שְׁאֵרִית אֱדוֹם וְכָל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עֲלֵיהֶם נְאֻם־יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה זֹּאת׃	Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτὴν, καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς, λέγει Κύριος ὁ ποιῶν πάντα ταῦτα.	[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν, ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν Κύριον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς, λέγει Κύριος ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα.
In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David, that is fallen; and close up the breaches thereof, and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old; that they may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all the heathen, which are called by my name, saith the LORD, that doeth this.	In that day I will raise up the tabernacle of David, which hath fallen; I will rebuild those parts of it which have fallen to decay, and repair what have been demolished. I will indeed rebuild it as in the days of old, that the rest of mankind may seek (the Lord), even all the nations who are called by my name, saith the Lord, who doth all these things.	[As it is written,] After this I will return and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up; that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things.

78. Exod. xxii. 27. (E. V. 28.)	Exod. xxii. 28.	Acts xxiii. 5.
וְנָשִׂיא בְעַמְּךָ לֹא תָאֹר׃	Ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς.	[Γέγραπται γάρ] Ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς.
Thou shalt not...curse the ruler of thy people.	Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.	[For it is written,] Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.

Acts xxviii. 25—27. See No. 21.

79. Hab. ii. 3, 4.	Hab. ii. 3, 4.	Rom. i. 17.
כִּי־בֹא יָבֹא לֹא יְאַחֵר׃ הִנֵּה עֻפְּלָה לֹא־יָשְׁרָה נַפְשׁוֹ בּוֹ וְצַדִּיק בֶּאֱמוּנָתוֹ יִחְיֶה׃	Ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ. Ἐὰν ὑποστείληται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.	[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.
Because it will surely come, it will not tarry. Behold his soul *which* is lifted up is not upright in him; but the just shall live by his faith.	Though he may tarry, wait for him; for he will assuredly come and will not fail. If any one draw back, my soul hath no pleasure in him. But the just shall live by faith in me.	[As it is written,] The just shall live by faith.

[77] This for the most part is taken from the LXX. In one clause there is a remarkable deviation from the Hebrew. Some have supposed that the LXX. read here יִדְרְשׁוּ שְׁאֵרִית אָדָם אֶת. But this is merely a conjecture. And Fairbairn shows that the words as we have them in the New Testament are but a generalisation of the prophet's meaning. Herm. Man. part iii. sect. i. pp. 386, 387.

[79] The Codex Ephremi has μου after πίστεως, which reading was in the MS. consulted by the author of the Philoxenian or later Syriac version, and also by Eusebius and Jerome. The citation agrees more nearly with the Hebrew than with the LXX. But in the Epistle to the Hebrews the LXX. is chiefly followed.

		Gal. iii. 11. [Ὅτι] Ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται. [For] The just shall live by faith.
		Heb. x. 37, 38. Ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ· ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται, καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ. He that shall come will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith; but, if *any man* draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.

80. Isai. lii. 5.	Isai. lii. 5.	Rom. ii. 24.
וְתָמִיד כָּל־הַיּוֹם שְׁמִי מִנֹּאָץ׃	Δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.	Τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, [καθὼς γέγραπται.]
And my name continually every day *is* blasphemed.	On your account my name is continually reviled among the nations.	For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, [as it is written.]

81. Psal. li. 6. (E. V. 4.)	Psal. l. 6.	Rom. iii. 4.
לְמַעַן תִּצְדַּק בְּדָבְרֶךָ תִּזְכֶּה בְשָׁפְטֶךָ׃	Ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.	[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.
That thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, *and* be clear when thou judgest.	So that thou mayest be justified in thy sayings, and overcome when thou art judged.	[As it is written,] That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.

82. Psal. xiv. 1–3.	Psal. xiii. 1–3.	Rom. iii. 10–12.
אֵין עֹשֵׂה־טוֹב׃ יְהוָה מִשָּׁמַיִם הִשְׁקִיף עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם לִרְאוֹת הֲיֵשׁ מַשְׂכִּיל דֹּרֵשׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהִים׃ הַכֹּל סָר יַחְדָּו נֶאֱלָחוּ אֵין עֹשֵׂה־טוֹב אֵין גַּם־אֶחָד׃	Οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός. Κύριος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκυψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἔστι συνιῶν ἢ ἐκζητῶν τὸν Θεόν. Πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν, οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός.	[Καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι] Οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἷς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνιῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν Θεόν· πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν· οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός.
There is none that doeth good. The LORD looked down from heaven upon the	There is none who doeth good: no, not one. The Lord looked down from hea-	[As it is written,] There is none righteous, no, not one: there is none that under-

[80] This is from the LXX., with immaterial variation.

[81] This is taken from the LXX. which agrees with the Hebrew: תִּזְכֶּה is rendered νικήσῃς; for "to be clear in judgment," or to be acquitted, is "to overcome."

[82] This quotation agrees in the latter portion with the LXX. The former part is abridged. Ἠχρειώθησαν is not so forcible as the corresponding Hebrew word.

children of men ; to see if there were any that did understand *and* seek God. They are all gone aside ; they are *all* together become filthy : *there is* none that doeth good, no, not one.	ven on the children of men, to see if any had understanding, or were seeking God. They had all gone aside, they were altogether become vile. There is none who doeth good, no, not one.	standeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way; they are together become unprofitable ; there is none that doeth good ; no, not one.
83. Psal. v. 10. (E. v. 9.)	Psal. v. 10.	Rom. iii. 13.
קֶבֶר־פָּתוּחַ גְּרוֹנָם לְשׁוֹנָם יַחֲלִיקוּן׃	*Τάφος ἀνεῳγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν.*	*Τάφος ἀνεῳγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν.*
Their throat *is* an open sepulchre: they flatter with their tongue.	The throat *is* an open sepulchre ; with their tongue they have practised deceit.	Their throat *is* an open sepulchre : with their tongues they have used deceit.
84. Psal. cxl. 4. (E. v. 3.)	Psal. cxxxix. 4.	Rom. iii. 13.
חֲמַת עַכְשׁוּב תַּחַת שְׂפָתֵימוֹ׃	*Ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χείλη αὐτῶν.*	*Ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χείλη αὐτῶν.*
Adders' poison *is* under their lips.	The poison of asps is under their lips.	The poison of asps *is* under their lips.
85. Psal. x. 7.	Psal. ix. 28.	Rom. iii. 14.
אָלָה פִּיהוּ מָלֵא וּמִרְמוֹת׃	*Οὗ ἀρᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας.*	*Ὧν τὸ στόμα ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει.*
His mouth is full of cursing and deceit.	His mouth is full of cursing and bitterness.	Whose mouth *is* full of cursing and bitterness.
86. Isai. lix. 7, 8.	Isai. lix. 7, 8.	Rom. iii. 15–17.
רַגְלֵיהֶם לָרַע יָרֻצוּ וִימַהֲרוּ לִשְׁפֹּךְ דָּם נָקִי ... שֹׁד וָשֶׁבֶר בִּמְסִלּוֹתָם׃ דֶּרֶךְ שָׁלוֹם לֹא יָדָעוּ׃	*Οἱ δὲ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίαν τρέχουσι, ταχινοὶ ἐκχέαι αἷμα... Σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ οἴδασι.*	*Ὀξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα, σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν.*
Their feet run to evil; and they make haste to shed innocent blood .... Wasting and destruction *are* in their paths. The way of peace they know not.	Their feet run to evil, they are swift to shed blood .... Destruction and misery are in their ways ; and the way of peace they do not know.	Their feet *are* swift to shed blood. Destruction and misery *are* in their ways ; and the way of peace they have not known.
87. Psal. xxxvi. 2. (E. v. 1.)	Psal. xxxv. 1.	Rom. iii. 18.
אֵין־פַּחַד אֱלֹהִים לְנֶגֶד עֵינָיו׃	*Οὐκ ἔστι φόβος Θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ.*	*Οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος Θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.*
There is no fear of God before his eyes.	There is no fear of God before his eyes.	There is no fear of God before their eyes.

* The verses Rom. iii. 13—17. are interpolated in Psal. xiii. between vv. 3 and 4. of the modern printed editions of the Vatican LXX.; but they are only in the margin of the Vatican MS. They are not in the Alexandrine MS. They are, however, in the Vulgate translation of Psal. xiii.

* Perhaps the LXX. read מְרֹרֹת for מִרְמוֹת.

88. Gen. xv. 6.

וְהֶאֱמִן בַּיהוָה וַיַּחְשְׁבֶהָ לּוֹ צְדָקָה׃

And he believed in the LORD; and he counted it to him for righteousness.

Gen. xv. 6.

Καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἄβραμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

And Abram believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

Rom. iv. 3.

[Τί γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει;] Ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

[For what saith the scripture?] Abraham believed God; and it was counted unto him for righteousness.

Gal. iii. 6.

[Καθὼς] Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

[Even as] Abraham believed God; and it was accounted to him for righteousness.

James ii. 23.

[Καὶ ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφὴ ἡ λέγουσα] Ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

[And the scripture was fulfilled which saith,] Abraham believed God; and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.

89. Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.

אַשְׁרֵי נְשׂוּי־פֶּשַׁע כְּסוּי חֲטָאָה׃ אַשְׁרֵי־אָדָם לֹא יַחְשֹׁב יְהוָה לוֹ עָוֺן׃

Blessed *is he whose* transgression *is* forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed *is* the man unto whom the LORD imputeth not iniquity.

Psal. xxxi. 1, 2.

Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται Κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

Happy they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Happy the man, to whose account the Lord will not charge sin.

Rom. iv. 6—8.

[Καθάπερ καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει . . . .] Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται Κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

[Even as David also describeth . . . *saying*,] Blessed *are* they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed *is* the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.

90. Gen. xvii. 5.

כִּי אַב־הֲמוֹן גּוֹיִם נְתַתִּיךָ׃

A father of many nations have I made thee.

Gen. xvii. 5.

Ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε.

Because I have made thee the father of many nations.

Rom. iv. 17.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι] Πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε.

[As it is written,] I have made thee a father of many nations.

91. Gen. xv. 5.

כֹּה יִהְיֶה זַרְעֶךָ׃

So shall thy seed be.

Gen. xv. 5.

Οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου.

So shall thy seed be.

Rom. iv. 18.

[Κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον] Οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου.

[According to that which was spoken,] So shall thy seed be.

Rom. vii. 7. See No. 12

Hebrew	LXX	New Testament
92. Psal. xliv. 23. (E. v. 22.)	Psal. xliii. 23.	Rom. viii. 36.
כִּי־עָלֶיךָ הֹרַגְנוּ כָל־הַיּוֹם נֶחְשַׁבְנוּ כְּצֹאן טִבְחָה׃	Ὅτι ἕνεκά σου θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς.	[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Ὅτι ἕνεκεν σοῦ θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς.
Yea, for thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter.	For, for thy sake we are killed all the day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter.	[As it is written,] For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.
93. Gen. xxi. 12.	Gen. xxi. 12.	Rom. ix. 7.
כִּי בְיִצְחָק יִקָּרֵא לְךָ זָרַע׃	Ὅτι ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεταί σοι σπέρμα.	['Ἀλλ'] Ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεταί σοι σπέρμα.
For in Isaac shall thy seed be called.	For in Isaac shall thy seed be called.	[But] In Isaac shall thy seed be called.
		Heb. xi. 18.
		[Πρὸς ὃν ἐλαλήθη ὅτι] Ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεταί σοι σπέρμα.
		[Of whom it was said that] In Isaac shall thy seed be called.
94. Gen. xviii. 10.	Gen. xviii. 10.	Rom. ix. 9.
שׁוֹב אָשׁוּב אֵלֶיךָ כָּעֵת חַיָּה וְהִנֵּה־בֵן לְשָׂרָה אִשְׁתֶּךָ׃	Ἐπαναστρέφων ἥξω πρὸς σὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας, καὶ ἕξει υἱὸν Σάῤῥα ἡ γυνή σου.	[Ἐπαγγελίας γὰρ ὁ λόγος οὗτος] Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐλεύσομαι καὶ ἔσται τῇ Σάῤῥᾳ υἱός.
I will certainly return unto thee according to the time of life; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son.	I will return to thee according to this period seasonably; and Sarah, thy wife, shall have a son.	[For this *is* the word of promise,] At this time will I come; and Sarah shall have a son.
95. Gen. xxv. 23.	Gen. xxv. 23.	Rom. ix. 12.
וְרַב יַעֲבֹד צָעִיר׃	Καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι.	[Ἐῤῥέθη αὐτῇ ὅτι] Ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι.
And the elder shall serve the younger.	And the elder shall serve the younger.	[It was said unto her,] The elder shall serve the younger.
96. Mal. i. 2, 3	Mal. i. 2, 3.	Rom ix. 13.
וָאֹהַב אֶת־יַעֲקֹב׃ וְאֶת־עֵשָׂו שָׂנֵאתִי׃	Καὶ ἠγάπησα τὸν Ἰακὼβ, τὸν δὲ Ἡσαῦ ἐμίσησα.	[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἠγάπησα, τὸν δὲ Ἡσαῦ ἐμίσησα.
Yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau.	Yet I loved Jacob, and hated Esau.	[As it is written,] Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.
97. Exod. xxxiii. 19.	Exod. xxxiii. 19.	Rom ix. 15.
וְחַנֹּתִי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר אָחֹן וְרִחַמְתִּי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר אֲרַחֵם׃	Καὶ ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ οἰκτειρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτειρῶ.	[Τῷ Μωυσεῖ γὰρ λέγει] Ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ οἰκτειρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτείρω.
I . . . will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy.	I will have mercy on whom I please to have mercy; and I will have compassion on whomsoever I compassionate.	[For he saith to Moses,] I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.

[94] This is after the LXX., with some variations. It has been supposed that the LXX. read הֵנָּה for חַיָּה; but the supposition is unnecessary.

98. Exod. ix. 16.

וְאוּלָם בַּעֲבוּר זֹאת הֶעֱמַדְתִּיךָ בַּעֲבוּר הַרְאֹתְךָ אֶת־כֹּחִי וּלְמַעַן סַפֵּר שְׁמִי בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ׃

And in very deed for this *cause* have I raised thee up, for to show *in* thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.

Exod. ix. 16.

Καὶ ἕνεκεν τούτου διετηρήθης ἵνα ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν ἰσχύν μου, καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῇ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.

But thou hast been preserved for this purpose, that by thee I might display my power, and that my name may be celebrated throughout all the earth.

Rom. ix. 17.

[Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ τῷ Φαραὼ ὅτι] Εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου, καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῇ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.

[For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh,] Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.

99. Hos. ii. 25. (E. V. 23.)

וְרִחַמְתִּי אֶת־לֹא רֻחָמָה וְאָמַרְתִּי לְלֹא־עַמִּי עַמִּי־אַתָּה׃

And I will have mercy upon her that had not obtained mercy, and I will say to *them which were* not my people, Thou *art* my people.

Hos. ii. 23.

Καὶ ἀγαπήσω τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην, καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ οὐ λαῷ μου Λαός μου εἶ σύ.

And I will love her who was not beloved; and to them who were not my people I will say, Thou art my people.

Rom. ix. 25.

[Ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει] Καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου, λαόν μου καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην, ἠγαπημένην.

[As he saith also in Osee,] I will call them my people, which were not my people; and her beloved which was not beloved.

1 Pet. ii. 10.

Οἵ ποτε οὐ λαός, νῦν δὲ λαὸς Θεοῦ, οἱ οὐκ ἠλεημένοι, νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες.

Which in time past *were* not a people, but *are* now the people of God; which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy.

100. Hos. ii. 1. (E. V. i. 10.)

וְהָיָה בִּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יֵאָמֵר לָהֶם לֹא־עַמִּי אַתֶּם יֵאָמֵר לָהֶם בְּנֵי אֵל־חָי׃

And it shall come to pass *that*, in the place where it was said unto them, Ye *are* not my people, *there* it shall be said unto them, *Ye are* the sons of the living God.

Hos. i. 10.

Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐῤῥέθη αὐτοῖς Οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

But it shall come to pass that, in the place where it was said, Ye are not my people, they shall be called children of the living God.

Rom. ix. 26.

Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐῤῥέθη αὐτοῖς Οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

And it shall come to pass *that*, in the place where it was said unto them, Ye *are* not my people, there shall they be called the children of the living God.

101. Isai. x. 22, 23.

כִּי אִם־יִהְיֶה עַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּחוֹל הַיָּם שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב בּוֹ כִּלָּיוֹן חָרוּץ שׁוֹטֵף צְדָקָה׃

Isai. x. 22, 23.

Καὶ ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ κατάλειμμα αὐτῶν σωθήσεται. Λόγον συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ὅτι λόγον

Rom. ix. 27, 28.

['Ησαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ] Ἐὰν ᾖ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται. Λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν

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[98] The citation agrees more nearly with the Hebrew than with the LXX.

[99] The LXX. is a close rendering of the original. The apostle does not, however, adopt it, but expresses the sense somewhat paraphrastically.

[100] The LXX. is followed pretty closely; in the latter part only the general sense of the Hebrew is given.

כִּי כָלָה וְנֶחֱרָצָה אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִֹה צְבָאוֹת עֹשֶׂה בְּקֶרֶב כָּל־הָאָרֶץ׃

συντετμημένον Κύριος ποιήσει ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ.

καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον ποιήσει Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

For, though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, *yet* a remnant of them shall return: the consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness. For the Lord God of hosts shall make a consumption, even determined, in the midst of all the land.

Though the people of Israel be as the sand of the sea, the remnant of them shall be saved. He is closing an account, and making a deduction with saving goodness. Because the whole land the Lord will make a reckoning from which a deduction hath been made.

[Esaias also crieth concerning Israel,] Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved; for he will finish the work, and cut *it* short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth.

102. Isai. i. 9.

לוּלֵי יְהוָֹה צְבָאוֹת הוֹתִיר לָנוּ שָׂרִיד כִּמְעָט כִּסְדֹם הָיִינוּ לַעֲמֹרָה דָּמִינוּ׃

Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, *and* we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

Isai. i. 9.

Καὶ εἰ μὴ Κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν, καὶ ὡς Γόμοῤῥα ἂν ὡμοιώθημεν.

Had not the Lord of hosts left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom, and made like Gomorrah.

Rom. ix. 29.

[*Καὶ καθὼς προείρηκεν* Ἡσαΐας] *Εἰ μὴ Κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὡς Γόμοῤῥα ἂν ὁμοιώθημεν.*

[And as Esaias said before,] Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had been as Sodoma, and been made like unto Gomorrha.

103. Isai. viii. 14.

וְהָיָה ··· וּלְאֶבֶן נֶגֶף וּלְצוּר מִכְשׁוֹל לִשְׁנֵי בָתֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

He shall be...... for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel.

Isai. xxviii. 16.

הִנְנִי יִסַּד בְּצִיּוֹן אָבֶן אֶבֶן בֹּחַן פִּנַּת יִקְרַת מוּסָד מוּסָּד הַמַּאֲמִין לֹא יָחִישׁ׃

Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-*stone*, a sure foundation; he that believeth shall not make haste.

Isai. viii. 14.

Καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθου προσκόμματι συναντήσεσθε οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι.

And ye shall not run against a stumbling-stone, nor as under a falling rock.

Isai. xxviii. 16.

Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιὼν λίθον πολυτελῆ ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον, εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ.

Behold, I lay for the foundation of Sion a stone of inestimable worth, a chosen precious corner-stone for the foundations of it; and he who believeth shall not be ashamed.

Rom. ix. 33.

[*Καθὼς γέγραπται*] *Ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.*

[As it is written,] Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone, and rock of offence; and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.

Rom. x. 11.

[*Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή*] *Πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.*

[For the Scripture saith,] Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.

1 Pet. ii. 6, 7, 8.

[*Διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ*] *Ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν λίθον ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ*

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[103] St. Paul combines two passages, and naturally with some degree of freedom. But he appears to have followed the Hebrew generally, except in the rendering of לֹא יָחִישׁ. The substantial meaning, however, is not different; comp. Walton, Proleg. ix. 46. p. 439. The hasty flight of those who did not rest on a secure foundation is equivalent to their being confounded. St. Peter has a similar combination of the two places in Isaiah.

οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ . . . . οὗτος ἐγενήθη . . . . λίθος προσκόμματος κα πέτρα σκανδάλου.

[Wherefore also it is contained in the Scripture,] Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded.... the same is made.... a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence.

104. Lev. xviii. 5.

אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם הָאָדָם וָחַי בָּהֶם׃

Judgments which if a man do, he shall live in them.

Lev. xviii. 5.

Ἃ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Which if a man do, he shall live thereby.

Rom. x. 5.

[Μωυσῆς γὰρ γράφει τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι] Ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

[For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, that,] The man which doeth those things shall live by them.

Gal. iii. 12.

[Ἀλλ'] Ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

[But,] The man that doeth them shall live in them.

105. Deut. xxx. 12—14.

לֹא בַשָּׁמַיִם הִוא לֵאמֹר מִי יַעֲלֶה־לָּנוּ הַשָּׁמַיְמָה וְיִקָּחֶהָ לָּנוּ וְיַשְׁמִעֵנוּ אֹתָהּ וְנַעֲשֶׂנָּה׃ וְלֹא־מֵעֵבֶר לַיָּם הִוא לֵאמֹר מִי יַעֲבָר־לָנוּ אֶל־עֵבֶר הַיָּם וְיִקָּחֶהָ לָּנוּ וְיַשְׁמִעֵנוּ אֹתָהּ וְנַעֲשֶׂנָּה׃ כִּי־קָרוֹב אֵלֶיךָ הַדָּבָר מְאֹד בְּפִיךָ וּבִלְבָבְךָ לַעֲשֹׂתוֹ׃

It *is* not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither *is* it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, that we may hear it and do it? But the word *is* very nigh unto

Deut. xxx. 12—14.

Οὐκ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω ἐστί, λέγων Τίς ἀναβήσεται ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ λήψεται ἡμῖν αὐτήν, καὶ ἀκούσαντες αὐτὴν ποιήσομεν; Οὐδὲ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστί, λέγων Τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ λάβῃ ἡμῖν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκουστὴν ἡμῖν ποιήσῃ αὐτήν, καὶ ποιήσομεν; Ἐγγύς σού ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα σφόδρα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου ποιεῖν αὐτό.

It is not in heaven above, that thou shouldest say, Who will ascend for us into heaven, and bring it to us, that we may hear and do it? Nor is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who will cross the sea for us, and bring it to us, and let us hear it, that we may do it? The

Rom. x. 6—8.

[Ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτως λέγει] Μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου Τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; [τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν·] ἢ Τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον; [τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν. Ἀλλὰ τί λέγει;] Ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμά ἐστιν, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου.

[But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise,] Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down *from above*;) or, Who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) [But what

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105 Properly speaking this is not a quotation. The apostle uses certain expressions in Deuteronomy which conveyed a meaning adapted to his purpose, and intermingles explanatory remarks. The phrases he borrows are nearly coincident with the LXX. See a lucid exposition in Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. xi. p. 509.

thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.	word is very near thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, and in thy hand, to do it.	saith it?] The word is nigh thee, *even* in thy mouth and in thy heart.

Rom. x. 11. See No. 103.
Rom. x. 13. See No. 57.

106. Isai. lii. 7.	Isai. lii. 7.	Rom. x. 15.
מַה־נָּאווּ עַל־הֶהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מַשְׁמִיעַ שָׁלוֹם מְבַשֵּׂר טוֹב׃	Ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης, ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθά.	[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Ὡς ὡραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθά.
How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good!	Like beauty on the mountains, like the feet of one proclaiming peace, like one proclaiming glad tidings.	[As it is written,] How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!

Rom. x. 16. See No. 49.

107. Psal. xix. 5. (E. V. 4.)	Psal. xviii. 4.	Rom. x. 18.
בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ יָצָא קַוָּם וּבִקְצֵה תֵבֵל מִלֵּיהֶם׃	Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.	[Μενοῦνγε] Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.
Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.	To every land their sound is gone forth, and their doctrines to the limits of the world.	[Yes verily,] Their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.

108. Deut. xxxii. 21.	Deut. xxxii. 21.	Rom. x. 19.
וַאֲנִי אַקְנִיאֵם בְּלֹא־עָם בְּגוֹי נָבָל אַכְעִיסֵם׃	Κἀγὼ παραζηλώσω αὐτοὺς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ αὐτούς.	[Πρῶτος Μωυσῆς λέγει] Ἐγὼ παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ ὑμᾶς.
I will move them to jealousy with *those which are* not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.	I, therefore, will provoke them by what is not a nation; by a foolish nation I will vex them.	[First Moses saith,] I will provoke you to jealousy by *them that are* no people, *and* by a foolish nation I will anger you.

109. Isai. lxv. 1, 2.	Isai. lxv. 1, 2.	Rom. x. 20, 21.
נִדְרַשְׁתִּי לְלוֹא שָׁאָלוּ נִמְצֵאתִי לְלֹא בִקְשֻׁנִי.... פֵּרַשְׂתִּי יָדַי כָּל־הַיּוֹם אֶל־עַם סוֹרֵר׃	Ἐμφανὴς ἐγενήθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν, εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν... Ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.	[Ἡσαΐας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει] Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν. [Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει] Ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.
I am sought of *them that* asked not *for me;* I am found of *them that* sought me not. ... I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people.	I became manifest to them who inquired not for me; I was found by them who sought me not. ... I stretched out my hands all the day long to a disobedient and gainsaying people.	[But Esaias is very bold and saith,] I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me. [But to Israel he saith,] All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.

** This is exactly from the LXX. It has been supposed that the translators of that version read קוֹלָם instead of קַוָּם; but this is doubtful. They might take the word, which properly means *measuring-line*, in the sense of a line or cord used for a stringed instrument. Comp. Walton, Proleg. ix. 46, p. 439.

110. 1 Kings xix. 14.	3 Kings xix. 14.	Rom. xi. 2, 3.
בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־מִזְבְּחֹתֶיךָ הָרָסוּ וְאֶת־נְבִיאֶיךָ הָרְגוּ בֶחָרֶב וָאִוָּתֵר אֲנִי לְבַדִּי וַיְבַקְשׁוּ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי לְקַחְתָּהּ׃	Τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου καθεῖλαν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαι ἐγὼ μονώτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχήν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.	[Ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ἐν Ἡλίᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή ...;] Κύριε, τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν, κἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος καὶ ζητοῦσιν τὴν ψυχήν μου.
The children of Israel have ... thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, *even* I only, am left; and they seek my life to take it away.	They have demolished thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I alone am left; and they seek my life to take it.	[Wot ye not what the scripture saith of Elias (*or*, in the Elias section) .... ?] Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone; and they seek my life.

111. 1 Kings xix. 18.	3 Kings xix. 18.	Rom. xi. 4.
וְהִשְׁאַרְתִּי בְיִשְׂרָאֵל שִׁבְעַת אֲלָפִים כָּל־הַבִּרְכַּיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־כָרְעוּ לַבַּעַל׃	Καὶ καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ὤκλασαν γόνυ τῷ Βάαλ.	[Ἀλλὰ τί λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματισμός;] Κατέλιπον ἐμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ.
Yet I have left *me* seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal.	But thou shalt leave in Israel seven thousand men, all the knees which have not bowed to Baal.	[But what saith the answer of God unto him?] I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to *the image of* Baal.

112. Isai. xxix. 10. (and see Deut. xxix. 4. Isai. vi. 9, 10. Ezek. xii. 2.)	Isai. xxix. 10.	Rom xi. 8.
כִּי־נָסַךְ עֲלֵיכֶם יְהוָה רוּחַ תַּרְדֵּמָה וַיְעַצֵּם אֶת־עֵינֵיכֶם׃	Ὅτι πεπότικεν ὑμᾶς Κύριος πνεύματι κατανύξεως, καὶ καμμύσει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν.	[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν.
For the LORD hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes.	For the Lord hath drenched you with a spirit of stupefaction, and will close up the eyes of them.	[According as it is written,] God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear.

113. Psal. lxix. 23, 24. (E. V. 22, 23.)	Psal. lxviii. 22, 23.	Rom. xi. 9, 10.
יְהִי־שֻׁלְחָנָם לִפְנֵיהֶם לְפָח וְלִשְׁלוֹמִים לְמוֹקֵשׁ׃ תֶּחְשַׁכְנָה עֵינֵיהֶם מֵרְאוֹת וּמָתְנֵיהֶם תָּמִיד הַמְעַד׃	Γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδοσιν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον· σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς σύγκαψον.	[Καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει] Γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα καὶ εἰς θήραν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδομα αὐτοῖς, σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς σύγκαμψον.
Let their table become a snare before them; and *that*	Let their table before them become a snare, and a re-	[And David saith,] Let their table be made a snare,

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[110] This is from the LXX., transposed and abridged.

[111] The Hebrew text is followed rather than the LXX.

[112] The apostle has combined two or more passages, and has expressed the general sense without preserving the exact words.

[113] From the LXX. with some variation.

which should have been for *their* welfare, *let it become* a trap. Let their eyes be darkened, that they see not; and make their loins continually to shake.	compence, and a stumbling block. Let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see, and bow down their back continually.	and a trap, and a stumbling-block, and a recompence unto them. Let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see, and bow down their back alway.

114. Isai. lix. 20, 21. (and see Isai. xxvii. 9.)	Isai. lix. 20, 21.	Rom xi. 26, 27.
וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל וּלְשָׁבֵי פֶשַׁע בְּיַעֲקֹב נְאֻם יְהוָה׃ וַאֲנִי זֹאת בְּרִיתִי אוֹתָם׃	*Καὶ ἥξει ἕνεκεν Σιὼν ὁ ῥυόμενος καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ. Καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη.*	*[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Ἥξει ἐκ Σιὼν ὁ ῥυόμενος, ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ. Καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.*
And the Redeemer shall come to Sion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the LORD. As for me, this *is* my covenant with them.	For the sake of Sion, the Deliverer will come, and turn away ungodliness from Jacob. And this shall be my covenant with them.	[As it is written,] There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob; for this *is* my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins.

115. Isai. xl. 13.	Isai. xl. 13.	Rom. xi. 34.
מִי־תִכֵּן אֶת־רוּחַ יְהוָה וְאִישׁ עֲצָתוֹ יוֹדִיעֶנּוּ׃	*Τίς ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου, καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο;*	*Τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;*
Who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord, or *being* his counsellor hath taught him?	Who hath known the mind of the Lord? and who hath been of his counsel to teach him?	For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor? 1 Cor. ii. 16. *Τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου, ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν;* For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him?

116. Deut. xxxii. 35.	Deut. xxxii. 35.	Rom. xii. 19.
לִי נָקָם וְשִׁלֵּם׃	*Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω.*	*[Γέγραπται γάρ] Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, [λέγει Κύριος.]*
To me *belongeth* vengeance and recompence.	In the day of vengeance I will requite.	[For it is written,] Vengeance *is* mine: I will repay, [saith the Lord.] Heb. x. 30. *[Οἴδαμεν γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα] Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.* [For we know him that hath said,] Vengeance *belongeth* unto me: I will recompense, saith the Lord.

[114] This is freely from the LXX., with some words from Isai. xxvii. 9. The Hebrew somewhat differs; but the alterations are explanatory. "It is," says Dr. Fairbairn, "the same prophecy still; only, by the verbal alterations he puts on it, the apostle adapts it to the time when he wrote, and renders it more distinctly indicative of the manner in which it was to find what still remained of its accomplishment." Herm. Man. part iii. sect. i. p. 395.

117. Prov. xxv. 21, 22.

אִם־רָעֵב שֹׂנַאֲךָ הַאֲכִלֵהוּ לָחֶם וְאִם־צָמֵא הַשְׁקֵהוּ מָיִם׃ כִּי גֶחָלִים אַתָּה חֹתֶה עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ׃

If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and, if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.

Prov. xxv. 21, 22.

Ἐὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, ψώμιζε αὐτόν, ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he be thirsty, give him drink; for by doing thus, thou wilt heap coals of fire upon his head.

Rom. xii. 20.

Ἐὰν οὖν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, ψώμιζε αὐτόν· ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.

Rom. xiii. 9. See Nos. 12, 16.

118. Isai. xlv. 23.

בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי יָצָא מִפִּי צְדָקָה דָּבָר וְלֹא יָשׁוּב כִּי־לִי תִּכְרַע כָּל־בֶּרֶךְ תִּשָּׁבַע כָּל־לָשׁוֹן׃

I have sworn by myself; the word is gone out of my mouth *in* righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.

Isai. xlv. 23.

Κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὀμνύω, εἰ μὴ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου δικαιοσύνη, οἱ λόγοι μου οὐκ ἀποστραφήσονται, ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ ὀμεῖται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τὸν Θεόν.

By myself I swear (righteousness shall proceed from my mouth; my words shall not be reversed), that to me every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear with respect to God.

Rom. xiv. 11.

[Γέγραπται γάρ] Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει Κύριος, ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ Θεῷ.

[For it is written,] *As* I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.

119. Psal. lxix. 10. (E. V. 9.)

וְחֶרְפּוֹת חוֹרְפֶיךָ נָפְלוּ עָלָי׃

And the reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen on me.

Psal. lxviii. 9.

Οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε ἐπέπεσον ἐπ' ἐμέ.

On me have fallen the reproaches of them who reproached thee.

Rom. xv. 3.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σὲ ἐπέπεσαν ἐπ' ἐμέ.

[As it is written,] The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me.

120. Psal. xviii. 50. (E. V. 49.)

עַל־כֵּן אוֹדְךָ בַגּוֹיִם יְהוָה וּלְשִׁמְךָ אֲזַמֵּרָה׃

Therefore will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the heathen, and sing praises unto thy name.

Psal. xvii. 50.

Διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσι, Κύριε, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ.

For this cause I will praise thee, O Lord, among the nations; and sing melodiously unto thy name.

Rom. xv. 9.

[Καθὼς γέγραπται] Διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ.

[As it is written,] For this cause will I confess to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy name.

121. Deut. xxxii. 43.

הַרְנִינוּ גוֹיִם עַמּוֹ׃

Deut. xxxii. 43.

Εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Rom. xv. 10.

[Καὶ πάλιν λέγει] Εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

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[118] This citation agrees verbally with neither the Hebrew nor the LXX.; though in the last clause the Alexandrine text is the same with that of the apostle. The sense is the same.

[121] This passage coincides with the LXX.; which combines two translations of this clause of the verse (one probably being a gloss). It must have read עִמּוֹ for עַמּוֹ, or repeated the two letters עם עמו.

Rejoice, O ye nations, *with* his people.

Rejoice, O nations, with his people.

[And again he saith,] Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people.

122. Psal. cxvii. 1.

הַלְלוּ אֶת־יְהוָה כָּל־גּוֹיִם
שַׁבְּחוּהוּ כָּל־הָאֻמִּים׃

O praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people.

Psal. cxvi. 1.

Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐπαινέσατε αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί.

Praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye peoples.

Rom. xv. 11.

[*Καὶ πάλιν*] *Αἰνεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ἐπαινεσάτωσαν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί.*

[And again,] Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles; and laud him, all ye people.

123. Isai. xi. 10.

וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא שֹׁרֶשׁ
יִשַׁי אֲשֶׁר עֹמֵד לְנֵס עַמִּים
אֵלָיו גּוֹיִם יִדְרֹשׁוּ׃

And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people: to it shall the Gentiles seek.

Isai. xi. 10.

Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι.

There shall be in that day the root of Jesse, even he who riseth up to rule nations; in him nations will put their trust.

Rom. xv. 12.

[*Καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει*] *Ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν.*

[And again Esaias saith,] There shall be a root of Jesse; and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles trust.

124. Isai. lii. 15.

כִּי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־סֻפַּר לָהֶם רָאוּ
וַאֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ הִתְבּוֹנָנוּ׃

For *that*, which had not been told them, shall they see, and *that*, which they had not heard, shall they consider.

Isai. lii. 15.

Ὅτι οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄψονται, καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκηκόασι συνήσουσι.

Because they, to whom no publication was made concerning him, shall see; and they, who had not heard, will understand.

Rom. xv. 21.

[*Καθὼς γέγραπται*] *Οἷς οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὄψονται, καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκηκόασιν, συνήσουσιν.*

[As it is written,] To whom he was not spoken of, they shall see; and they that have not heard shall understand.

125. Isai. xxix. 14.

וְאָבְדָה חָכְמַת חֲכָמָיו
וּבִינַת נְבֹנָיו תִּסְתַּתָּר׃

For the wisdom of their wise *men* shall perish; and the understanding of their prudent *men* shall be hid.

Isai. xxix. 14.

Καὶ ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν κρύψω.

And I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will hide the understanding of the prudent.

1 Cor. i. 19.

[*Γέγραπται γάρ*] *Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω.*

[For it is written,] I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.

126. Jer. ix. 23. (E. V. 24.)

כִּי אִם־בְּזֹאת יִתְהַלֵּל
הַמִּתְהַלֵּל הַשְׂכֵּל וְיָדֹעַ אוֹתִי
כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה חֶסֶד
מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה בָּאָרֶץ׃

But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I *am* the Lord which

Jer. ix. 24.

Ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος, συνιεῖν καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι Κύριος ὁ ποιῶν ἔλεος καὶ κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

But let him who boasteth boast of this only, that he understandeth and knoweth that I am the Lord, who ex-

1 Cor. i. 31.

[*Καθὼς γέγραπται*] *Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω.*

[According as it is written,] He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth.	ercise mercy and judgment and justice on the earth.	2 Cor x. 17. Ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. But he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.
127. Isai. lxiv. 3. (E. v. 4.) וּמֵעוֹלָם לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ לֹא הֶאֱזִינוּ עַיִן לֹא־רָאָתָה אֱלֹהִים זוּלָתְךָ יַעֲשֶׂה לִמְחַכֵּה־לוֹ׃ For, since the beginning of the world, *men* have not heard nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, beside thee, *what* he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him.	Isai. lxiv. 4. Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον Θεὸν πλὴν σοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου ἃ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον. Never have we heard, nor have our eyes seen a God, besides thee, nor works such as thine, which thou wilt do for them who wait for mercy.	1 Cor. ii. 9. [Ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται] Ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. [But as it is written,] Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. 1 Cor. ii. 16. See No. 115.
128. Job v. 13. לֹכֵד חֲכָמִים בְּעָרְמָם׃ He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.	Job v. 13. Ὁ καταλαμβάνων σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ φρονήσει. Who entangleth the wise in their wisdom.	1 Cor. iii. 19. [Γέγραπται γάρ] Ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν. [For it is written,] He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.
129. Psal. xciv. 11. יְהוָה יֹדֵעַ מַחְשְׁבוֹת אָדָם כִּי־הֵמָּה הָבֶל׃ The LORD knoweth the thoughts of man, that they *are* vanity.	Psal. xciii. 11. Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι εἰσὶ μάταιοι. The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men, that they are vain.	1 Cor. iii. 20. [Καὶ πάλιν] Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι. [And again,] The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain. 1 Cor. vi. 16. See No. 24.
130. Deut. xxv. 4. לֹא־תַחְסֹם שׁוֹר בְּדִישׁוֹ׃ Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out *the corn.*	Deut. xxv. 4. Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα. Thou shalt not muzzle an ox treading out corn.	1 Cor. ix. 9. [Ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωϋσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται] Οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα. [For it is written in the law of Moses,] Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.

[127] This passage, obscure in itself, "is rather paraphrased than translated by the apostle. The 'neither hearing nor perceiving by the ear,' is a kind of reiteration for the purpose of strongly asserting that the matters referred to lay entirely remote from any cognizance of men's faculties; but the apostle, instead of giving this duplicate reference to ear knowledge, carries it into the region of the heart, and uses words substantially taken from the cognate passage of chap. lxv. 17., 'it came not up upon the heart.' The Septuagint has in the latter place οὐ μὴ ἐπέλθῃ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, so similar to the phrase here employed by the apostle that one can scarcely doubt he had it in view. The citation, therefore, proceeds on the principle of bringing distinctly out, by a sort of paraphrastic interpretation, the import of the passage, and, while doing so, availing himself in part of language furnished by another passage in Isaiah's writings." Fairbairn, Herm. Man., part iii. sect. i. p. 398. See also Davidson, Sacr. Herm., chap. xi. pp 457—459.

[129] This quotation agrees both with the LXX. and with the Hebrew; except that it substitutes σοφῶν for ἀνθρώπων, which, however, does not alter the sense.

Hebrew	LXX	New Testament
		1 Tim. v. 18. [Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή] Βοῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις. [For the scripture saith,] Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.
131. Exod. xxxii. 6. וַיֵּשֶׁב הָעָם לֶאֱכֹל וְשָׁתוֹ וַיָּקֻמוּ לְצַחֵק׃ And the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.	Exod. xxxii. 6. Καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίζειν. And the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.	1 Cor. x. 7. [Ὥσπερ γέγραπται] Ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίζειν. [As it is written,] The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.
132. Deut. xxxii. 17. יִזְבְּחוּ לַשֵּׁדִים לֹא אֱלֹהַּ׃ They sacrificed unto devils, not to God.	Deut. xxxii. 17. Ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ Θεῷ. They sacrificed to demons, and not to God.	1 Cor. x. 20. Ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν δαιμονίοις θύουσιν, καὶ οὐ Θεῷ. But *I say* that, the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God.
133. Psal. xxiv. 1. לַיהוָה הָאָרֶץ וּמְלוֹאָהּ׃ The earth is the LORD's, and the fulness thereof.	Psal. xxiii. 1. Τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.	1 Cor. x. 26. Τοῦ Κυρίου γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ το πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. For the earth *is* the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.
134. Isai. xxviii. 11, 12. כִּי בְּלַעֲגֵי שָׂפָה וּבְלָשׁוֹן אַחֶרֶת יְדַבֵּר אֶל־הָעָם הַזֶּה׃ .... וְלֹא אָבוּא שְׁמוֹעַ׃ For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to this people .... Yet they would not hear.	Isai. xxviii 11, 12. Διὰ φαυλισμὸν χειλέων, διὰ γλώσσης ἑτέρας, ὅτι λαλήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ .... καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀκούειν. On account of the mockery of their lips, because they will speak to this people with a strange tongue ... yet they would not hear.	1 Cor. xiv. 21. [Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι] Ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέροις λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονταί μου, λέγει Κύριος. In the law it is written,] With *men of* other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people; and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord.
		1 Cor. xv. 25. See No. 32.
135. Psal. viii. 5—7. (E. V. 4—6.) מָה־אֱנוֹשׁ כִּי־תִזְכְּרֶנּוּ וּבֶן אָדָם כִּי תִפְקְדֶנּוּ׃ וַתְּחַסְּרֵהוּ	Psal. viii. 5—7. Τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μιμνήσκῃ αὐτοῦ, ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπτῃ αὐτόν; Ἠλάτ-	1 Cor. xv. 27. Πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

[132] This hardly appears to be a citation, though it agrees nearly with the LXX. and Hebrew of Deut. xxxii. 17.

[134] This agrees in substance with the Hebrew; excepting that it substitutes the *first* person for the *third*, and adds λέγει Κύριος. The version of Aquila coincides exactly with this quotation as far as τούτῳ. See Montfaucon's edition of Origen's Hexapla, in loc. tom. ii. p. 134.

[135] The citations are from the LXX. In Heb. ii. 7., the clause, καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου, omitted by Tischendorf and others, is thought to be interpolated from the LXX. See Fairbairn, Herm. Man., part iii. sect. i. pp. 404, 405.

מְעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים וְכָבוֹד וְהָדָר תְּעַטְּרֵהוּ׃ תַּמְשִׁילֵהוּ בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ כֹּל שַׁתָּה תַחַת־רַגְלָיו׃

What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands: thou hast put all *things* under his feet.

τωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν, καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου· πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

What is man, that thou shouldest be mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou shouldest visit him? Thou madest him a little lower than angels; with glory and honour thou hast crowned him, and set him over the works of thy hands. Thou hast put all things under his feet.

For he hath put all things under his feet.

Eph. i. 22.

Καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

And hath put all *things* under his feet.

Heb. ii. 6—8.

[Διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων] Τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μιμνήσκῃ αὐτοῦ; ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπτῃ αὐτόν; Ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν, πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

[But one in a certain place testified, saying,] What is man, that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, [and didst set him over the works of thy hands;] thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet.

136. Isai. xxii. 13.

אָכוֹל וְשָׁתוֹ כִּי מָחָר נָמוּת׃

Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.

Isai. xxii. 13.

Φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.

Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.

1 Cor. xv. 32.

Φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.

Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.

137. Gen. ii. 7

וַיְהִי הָאָדָם לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה׃

And man became a living soul.

Gen. ii. 7.

Καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.

And the man became a living soul.

1 Cor. xv. 45.

[Οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται] Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.

[And so it is written,] The first man Adam was made a living soul.

138. Isai. xxv. 8.

בִּלַּע הַמָּוֶת לָנֶצַח׃

He will swallow up death in victory.

Isai. xxv. 8.

Κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας.

Mighty death had swallowed up.

1 Cor. xv. 54.

[Τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος] Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος.

[Then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written,] Death is swallowed up in victory.

139. Hos. xiii. 14.

אֱהִי דְבָרֶיךָ מָוֶת אֱהִי קָטָבְךָ שְׁאוֹל׃

Hos. xiii. 14.

Ποῦ ἡ δίκη σου, θάνατε; ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου, ᾅδη;

1 Cor. xv. 55.

Ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον; Ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ νῖκος;

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[137] From the LXX., a little enlarged.

[138] The apostle follows the Hebrew. Aquila renders, *καταποντισει τὸν θανατον εις νῖκος.*

[139] A free citation from the LXX.

O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction.	O death, where is thy penalty? Where thy sting, O grave?	O death, where *is* thy sting? O grave, where *is* thy victory?
140. Psal. cxvi. 10.	Psal. cxv. 1.	2 Cor. iv. 13.
הֶאֱמַנְתִּי כִּי אֲדַבֵּר׃	*Ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα.*	*[Κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον] Ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα.*
I believed, therefore have I spoken.	I believed; therefore I spake.	[According as it is written,] I have believed, and therefore have I spoken.
141. Isai. xlix. 8.	Isai. xlix. 8.	2 Cor. vi. 2.
בְּעֵת רָצוֹן עֲנִיתִיךָ וּבְיוֹם יְשׁוּעָה עֲזַרְתִּיךָ׃	*Καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι.*	*[Λέγει γάρ] Καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι.*
In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee.	In an acceptable time I have hearkened to thee, and in a day of salvation helped thee	[For he saith,] I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee.
142. Lev. xxvi 11, 12.	Lev. xxvi. 11, 12.	2 Cor. vi. 16.
וְנָתַתִּי מִשְׁכָּנִי בְּתוֹכְכֶם .... וְהִתְהַלַּכְתִּי בְּתוֹכְכֶם וְהָיִיתִי לָכֶם לֵאלֹהִים וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ־לִי לְעָם׃	*Καὶ θήσω τὴν σκηνήν μου ἐν ὑμῖν . . . . Καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν Θεὸς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαός.*	*[Καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι] Ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν Θεὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι λαός.*
And I will set my tabernacle among you . . . . And I will walk among you, and will be your God; and ye shall be my people.	And I will fix my tabernacle among you . . . . And I will walk about among you, and be your God, and ye shall be my people.	[As God hath said,] I will dwell in them and walk in *them*; and I will be their God; and they shall be my people.
143. Isai. lii. 11, 12.	Isai. lii. 11, 12.	2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.
סוּרוּ סוּרוּ צְאוּ מִשָּׁם טָמֵא אַל־תִּגָּעוּ צְאוּ מִתּוֹכָהּ .... וּמְאַסִּפְכֶם אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃	*Ἀπόστητε ἀπόστητε, ἐξέλθατε ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἅψησθε, ἐξέλθετε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς, ἀφορίσθητε . . . . καὶ ὁ ἐπισυνάγων ὑμᾶς Θεὸς Ἰσραήλ.*	*Διὸ ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφορίσθητε, [λέγει Κύριος,] καὶ ἀκαθάρτου μὴ ἅπτεσθε· κἀγὼ εἰσδέξομαι ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν εἰς πατέρα, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας, [λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ.]*
Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean *thing*, go ye out of the midst of her ... And the God of Israel *will be* your rearward.	Depart, depart; come out thence, and touch no polluted thing. Come out of the midst of her, be clean. And the God of Israel will bring up your rear.	Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate [saith the Lord], and touch not the unclean *thing*: and I will receive you, and will be a father unto you; and

[142] From the LXX. with slight variation. The apostle uses the oblique, instead of the direct form of address.

[143] This seems freely taken from the LXX. St. Paul generalizes the admonition from Isaiah, applying it to Christians in general. "But, as to the formal character of both these verses," says Dr. Fairbairn, "it may be questioned whether they should be regarded strictly as a quotation, or, rather, as an utterance of the Lord's mind by the apostle himself, though couched in the style of ancient prophecy, and with reference to certain passages contained in it." Herm. Man., part iii. sect. i. p. 400.

2 Sam. vii. 14. אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה־לּוֹ לְאָב וְהוּא יִהְיֶה־לִּי לְבֵן׃ I will be his father; and he shall be my son.	2 Kings vii. 14. *Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.* I will be to him a father; and he shall be to me a son.	ye shall be my sons and daughters, [saith the Lord Almighty.] Heb. i. 5. [*Καὶ πάλιν*] *Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.* [And again,] I will be to him a father; and he shall be to me a son.
144. Exod. xvi. 18. וְלֹא הֶעְדִּיף הַמַּרְבֶּה וְהַמַּמְעִיט לֹא הֶחְסִיר׃ He that gathered much had nothing over; and he that gathered little had no lack.	Exod. xvi. 18. *Οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν ὁ τὸ πολύ, καὶ ὁ τὸ ἔλαττον οὐκ ἠλαττόνησεν.* He who gathered much had nothing over; and he who gathered little did not fall short.	2 Cor. viii. 15. [*Καθὼς γέγραπται*] *Ὁ τὸ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν, καὶ ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον οὐκ ἠλαττόνησεν.* [As it is written,] He *that had gathered* much had nothing over; and he *that had gathered* little had no lack.
145. Prov. xxii. 9. טוֹב־עַיִן הוּא יְבֹרָךְ׃ He that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed.	Prov. xxii. 8. *Ἄνδρα ἱλαρὸν καὶ δότην εὐλογεῖ ὁ Θεός.* God blesseth a cheerful giver.	2 Cor. ix. 7. *Ἱλαρὸν γὰρ δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ Θεός.* For God loveth a cheerful giver.
146. Psal. cxii. 9. פִּזַּר נָתַן לָאֶבְיוֹנִים צִדְקָתוֹ עֹמֶדֶת לָעַד׃ He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor: his righteousness endureth for ever.	Psal. cxi. 9. *Ἐσκόρπισεν, ἔδωκε τοῖς πένησιν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.* He hath dispersed; he hath given to the needy; his righteousness shall endure for ever.	2 Cor. ix. 9. [*Καθὼς γέγραπται*] *Ἐσκόρπισεν, ἔδωκεν τοῖς πένησιν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* [As it is written,] He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the poor: his righteousness endureth for ever.
		2 Cor. x. 17. See No. 126. 2 Cor. xiii. 1. See No. 47. Gal. iii. 6. See No. 88.
147. Gen. xii. 3. (and see xviii. 18, xxii. 18.) וְנִבְרְכוּ בְךָ כֹּל מִשְׁפְּחֹת הָאֲדָמָה׃ And in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.	Gen. xii. 3 *Καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.* And in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed.	Gal. iii. 8. [*Προϊδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφὴ . . . προευηγγελίσατο τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὅτι*] *Ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.* [And the scripture foreseeing . . . preached before the gospel unto Abraham, *saying*,] In thee shall all nations be blessed.
148. Deut. xxvii. 26. אָרוּר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָקִים אֶת־דִּבְרֵי הַתּוֹרָה־הַזֹּאת לַעֲשׂוֹת אוֹתָם׃	Deut. xxvii. 26. *Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τούτου ποιῆσαι αὐτούς.*	Gal. iii. 10. [*Γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι*] *Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά.*

[148] This citation differs but slightly from the LXX.: it is somewhat more explicit than the Hebrew.

Cursed *be* he that confirmeth not *all* the words of this law to do them.	Cursed be every man who will not persevere in all the words of this law to do them.	[For it is written,] Cursed *is* every one, that continueth not in all things, which are written in the book of the law, to do them.
		Gal. iii. 11. See No. 79. Gal. iii. 12. See No. 104.
149. Deut. xxi. 23.	Deut. xxi. 23.	Gal. iii. 13.
קִלְלַת אֱלֹהִים תָּלוּי׃	*Κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου.*	*[Ὅτι γέγραπται] Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου.*
He that is hanged *is* accursed of God.	Every one that is hanged on a gibbet is accursed of God.	[For it is written,] Cursed *is* every one that hangeth on a tree.
		Gal. iii. 16. See No. 60.
150. Isai. liv. 1.	Isai. liv. 1.	Gal. iv. 27.
רָנִּי עֲקָרָה לֹא יָלָדָה פִּצְחִי רִנָּה וְצַהֲלִי לֹא־חָלָה כִּי רַבִּים בְּנֵי־שׁוֹמֵמָה מִבְּנֵי בְעוּלָה׃	*Εὐφράνθητι στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.*	*[Γέγραπται γάρ] Εὐφράνθητι στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.*
Sing, O barren, thou *that* didst not bear · break forth into singing and cry aloud, thou *that* didst not travail with child; for more *are* the children of the desolate, than the children of the married wife.	Rejoice thou barren, who bearest not: break forth with shouts of joy, thou who sufferest not the pangs of childbirth; for many more are the children of the desolate than of her who hath an husband.	[For it is written,] Rejoice, *thou* barren that bearest not: break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband.
151. Gen. xxi. 10.	Gen. xxi. 10.	Gal. iv. 30.
גָּרֵשׁ הָאָמָה הַזֹּאת וְאֶת־בְּנָהּ כִּי לֹא יִירַשׁ בֶּן־הָאָמָה הַזֹּאת עִם־בְּנִי עִם־יִצְחָק׃	*Ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην ταύτην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης ταύτης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Ἰσαάκ.*	*[Ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή;] Ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.*
Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, *even* with Isaac.	Send away this girl and her son; for the son of this girl shall not be heir with my son Isaac.	[Nevertheless what saith the scripture?] Cast out the bondwoman and her son; for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free woman.
		Gal. v. 14. See No. 16. Eph. i. 22. See No. 135.
152. Psal. lxviii. 19. (E.V. 18.)	Psal. lxvii. 19.	Eph. iv. 8.
עָלִיתָ לַמָּרוֹם שָׁבִיתָ שֶּׁבִי לָקַחְתָּ מַתָּנוֹת בָּאָדָם׃	*Ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ᾐχμαλώτευσας αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ.*	*[Διὸ λέγει] Ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ᾐχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.*

[149] Slightly abbreviated from the LXX.
[151] From the LXX. with small alteration generalizing the sense.
[152] In this citation the second person is changed to the third; and there is a remarkable alteration in the last clause. But two different aspects of the same truth are exhibited. He, who receives gifts for others, will in due time dispense them.

Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive, thou hast received gifts for men.	Having ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive, and received gifts for man.	[Wherefore he saith,] When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.
153 Psal. iv. 5. (E. V. 4.)	Psal. iv. 5.	Eph. iv. 26.
רִגְזוּ וְאַל־תֶּחֱטָאוּ	Ὀργίζεσθε, καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε.	Ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε.
Stand in awe, and sin not.	Be ye angry and sin not.	Be ye angry and sin not.
154. —	—	Eph. v. 14.
		[Διὸ λέγει] Ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.
—	—	[Wherefore he saith,] Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead; and Christ shall give thee light.
		Eph. v. 31. See No. 24.
		Eph. vi. 2, 3. See No. 12.
		1 Tim. v. 18. See No. 130.
155. Numb. xvi. 5.	Numb. xvi. 5.	2 Tim. ii. 19.
וְיֹדַע יְהוָה אֶת־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ׃	Ἐπέσκεπται καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ.	Ἔγνω Κύριος τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ.
The Lord will show who *are* his.	God hath seen and known who are his.	The Lord knoweth them that are his.
		Heb. i. 5. See. No. 73, 143.
156. Psal. xcvii. 7.	Psal. xcvi. 7.	Heb. i. 6.
הִשְׁתַּחֲווּ־לוֹ כָּל־אֱלֹהִים׃	Προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ.	[Λέγει] Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ.
Worship him, all *ye* gods.	Worship him, all ye his angels.	[He saith,] And let all the angels of God worship him.
157. Psal. civ. 4.	Psal. ciii. 4.	Heb. i. 7.
עֹשֶׂה מַלְאָכָיו רוּחוֹת מְשָׁרְתָיו אֵשׁ לֹהֵט׃	Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.	[Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει] Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

153 The apostle literally follows the LXX. Gesenius attributes the meaning *to be angry* to רָגַז, in some cases, as Prov. xxix. 9., Isai. xxviii. 21., though he disallows it here. Dathe translates, Nolite irascendo peccare. Psalmi, Halæ, 1794.

154 These words do not occur in the Old Testament: hence they have been supposed to be taken from some apocryphal book or Christian hymn. But in this case they would hardly have been introduced with διὸ λέγει. Possibly there is an allusion to Isai. xxvi. 19., lx. 1, 2.

155 In the latter part of 2 Tim. ii. 19. there is, perhaps, an allusion to Numb. xvi. 26.

156 It has been thought that this citation is from Deut. xxxii. 43. (LXX.): but there are no words there in the Hebrew answering to such a clause. Gesenius maintains that the word אֱלֹהִים never means *angels*. Dr. Davidson, Sacr. Herm., chap. xi. p. 427, *note*, opposes his assertion as contrary to the authority of an inspired writer; but this gentleman has since adopted a different view. Stuart's Excursus vi. on this verse, in his

Who maketh his angels spirits, his ministers a flaming fire.

Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers flaming fire.

[And of the angels he saith,] Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.

158. Psal. xlv. 7, 8.
(E. V. 6, 7.)

כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים עוֹלָם וָעֶד
שֵׁבֶט מִישֹׁר שֵׁבֶט מַלְכוּתֶךָ׃
אָהַבְתָּ צֶּדֶק וַתִּשְׂנָא רֶשַׁע עַל
כֵּן מְשָׁחֲךָ אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֶיךָ
שֶׁמֶן שָׂשׂוֹן מֵחֲבֵרֶיךָ׃

Thy throne, O God, *is* for ever and ever : the sceptre of thy kingdom *is* a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness ; therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.

Psal. xliv. 6, 7.

Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεός, εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος, ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. Ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου.

Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever : the sceptre of thy kingdom is a sceptre of rectitude. Thou didst love righteousness and hate iniquity ; therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of joy above thy associates.

Heb. i. 8, 9.

[Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Υἱόν] Ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος· ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. Ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέν σε, ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου.

[But unto the Son *he saith*,] Thy throne, O God, *is* for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness *is* the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity ; therefore God, *even* thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.

159. Psal. cii. 26—28.
(E. V. 25—27.)

לְפָנִים הָאָרֶץ יָסַדְתָּ וּמַעֲשֵׂה
יָדֶיךָ שָׁמָיִם׃ הֵמָּה יֹאבֵדוּ
וְאַתָּה תַעֲמֹד וְכֻלָּם כַּבֶּגֶד יִבְלוּ
כַּלְּבוּשׁ תַּחֲלִיפֵם וְיַחֲלֹפוּ׃
וְאַתָּה הוּא וּשְׁנוֹתֶיךָ לֹא
יִתָּמּוּ׃

Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth ; and the heavens *are* the work of thy hands. They shall perish;

Psal. ci. 26—28.

Κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν γῆν σὺ Κύριε ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί· αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις· καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἑλίξεις αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται· σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν.

Thou, Lord, in the beginning, didst lay the foundations of the earth ; and the heavens are the work of thy

Heb. i. 10—12.

[Καὶ] Σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, Κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί· αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις· καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἑλίξεις αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται, σὺ δὲ ὁ αυτὸς εἶ καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν.

[And] Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of

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Commentary on the Hebrews, may be consulted with advantage. He sums up: "How could the LXX., and Paul after them, translate אֱלֹהִים by *angels?* It is admitted that the great body of lexicographers and critics in modern times reject the sense of the word here given. But usage after all pleads in favour of it. The Septuagint render אֵל (God) by ἄγγελος, in Job xx. 15.; and אֱלֹהִים by ἄγγελοι, in Psal. viii. 6.; xcvii. (xcvi.) 7.; cxxxvii. 1. Paul follows them by quoting Psal. viii. 6., in Heb. ii. 7., and also by quoting Psal. xcvii. 7. in the verse before us; *i. e.* supposing he does actually quote it. Is not this sufficient evidence that there was a *usus loquendi* among the Jews, which applied the word אֱלֹהִים occasionally to designate *angels?* It is admitted that kings and magistrates are called *Elohim* because of their rank or dignity. Is there anything improbable in the supposition that angels may be also called אֱלֹהִים, who at present are elevated above men? Heb. ii. 7. *Facts*, and not *suppositions*, are evidences of the *usus loquendi* of the Jewish writers." Comp. Fairbairn, Herm. Man. part iii. sect. i. pp. 404, 405.

[159] This, as well as the preceding quotation, is almost verbatim from the LXX., and is a close rendering of the Hebrew, save in the words ἑλίξεις αὐτοὺς for תַּחֲלִיפֵם; but the general sense is the same.

but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them; and they shall be changed; but thou *art* the same, and thy years shall have no end.

hands. They shall perish, but thou wilt endure; they shall all wax old like a garment; and like a mantle thou wilt fold them up, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.

thine hands. They shall perish; but thou remainest; and they shall all wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up; and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.

Heb. i. 13. See No. 32.

Heb. ii. 6—8. See No. 135.

160. Psal. xxii. 23. (E. V. 22.)

אֲסַפְּרָה שִׁמְךָ לְאֶחָי בְּתוֹךְ קָהָל אֲהַלְלֶךָּ׃

I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee.

Psal. xxi. 23.

Διηγήσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε.

I will declare thy name to my brethren: in the midst of the congregation I will sing praise to thee.

Heb. ii. 12.

[Λέγων] Ἀπαγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε.

[Saying,] I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee.

161. Isai. viii. 17, 18. (See 2 Sam. xxii. 3.)

וְקִוֵּיתִי לוֹ׃ הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי וְהַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר נָתַן־לִי יְהוָה׃

And I will look for him. Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me.

Isai. viii. 17, 18.

Καὶ πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἅ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός.

And I will trust in him. Here am I, and the children whom God hath given me.

Heb. ii. 13.

[Καὶ πάλιν] Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθὼς ἐπ' αὐτῷ. [Καὶ πάλιν] Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἅ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός.

[And again,] I will put my trust in him. [And again,] Behold I and the children which God hath given me.

162. Psal. xcv. 7—11.

הַיּוֹם אִם־בְּקֹלוֹ תִשְׁמָעוּ׃ אַל־תַּקְשׁוּ לְבַבְכֶם כִּמְרִיבָה כְּיוֹם מַסָּה בַּמִּדְבָּר׃ אֲשֶׁר נִסּוּנִי אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם בְּחָנוּנִי גַּם־רָאוּ פָעֳלִי׃ אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה אָקוּט בְּדוֹר וָאֹמַר עַם תֹּעֵי לֵבָב הֵם וְהֵם לֹא־יָדְעוּ דְרָכָי׃ אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי בְאַפִּי אִם־יְבֹאוּן אֶל־מְנוּחָתִי׃

To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your heart, as in the provocation, *and* as *in* the day of temptation in the wilderness; when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my work. Forty years long was I grieved with *this* generation, and said,

Psal. xciv. 8—11.

Σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· οὗ ἐπείρασάν με οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν, ἐδοκίμασαν καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου. Τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη προσώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ εἶπα Ἀεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδούς μου. Ὡς ὤμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου Εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου.

To-day, since ye have heard his voice, harden not your hearts as at the great provocation, as in the day of the temptation in the desert, where your fathers tried me; they proved me, though they had seen my works. Forty years I was

Heb. iii. 7—11.

[Διό, καθὼς λέγει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον] Σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὗ ἐπείρασαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου τεσσεράκοντα ἔτη. Διὸ προσώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ εἶπον Ἀεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδούς μου, ὡς ὤμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου Εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου.

[Wherefore, as the Holy Ghost saith,] To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness; when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years. Where-

It *is* a people that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways: unto whom I sware in my wrath, that they should not enter into my rest.

incensed with that generation, and said, They do always err in their heart, and have not known my ways. So I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.

fore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do alway err in *their* heart; and they have not known my ways. So I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest.

Heb. iii. 15.

[Ἐν τῷ λέγεσθαι] Σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ.

[While it is said,] To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation.

Heb. iv. 3.

[Καθὼς εἴρηκεν] Ὡς ὤμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου Εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου.

[As he said,] As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest.

Heb. iv. 7.

[Καθὼς προείρηται] Σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

[As it is said,] To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.

163. Gen. ii. 2 or 3.

וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ כִּי בוֹ שָׁבַת מִכָּל־מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר־בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת׃

And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.

Gen. ii. 3.

Καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην, καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι.

And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; because on it he rested from all these works of his, which God had taken occasion to make.

Heb. iv. 4.

[Εἴρηκεν γάρ που περὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης οὕτως] Καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.

[For he spake in a certain place of the seventh *day* on this wise,] And God did rest the seventh day from all his works.

Heb. iv. 7. See No. 162.
Heb. v. 5. See No. 73.

164. Psal. cx. 4.

נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה וְלֹא יִנָּחֵם אַתָּה־כֹהֵן לְעוֹלָם עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק׃

The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou *art* a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.

Psal. cix. 4.

Ὤμοσε Κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.

The Lord hath sworn and will not change, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedek.

Heb. v. 6.

[Καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει] Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.

[As he saith also in another *place*,] Thou *art* a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.

Heb. vii. 17, 21.

[Μαρτυρεῖται γὰρ ὅτι] Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν

τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ . . . [*Ὁ δὲ μετὰ ὁρκωμοσίας διὰ τοῦ λέγοντος πρὸς αὐτόν*] *Ὤμοσεν Κύριος, καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*

[For he testifieth,] Thou *art* a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec. . . . . [But this with an oath by him that said unto him,] The Lord sware, and will not repent, Thou *art* a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec.

165. Gen. xxii. 16, 17.

וַיֹּאמֶר בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי נְאֻם־יְהוָה . . . כִּי־בָרֵךְ אֲבָרֶכְךָ וְהַרְבָּה אַרְבֶּה אֶת־זַרְעֲךָ׃

And said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord ... that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed.

Gen. xxii. 16, 17.

Λέγων Κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὤμοσα, λέγει Κύριος, ... Ἦ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου.

Saying, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord...with blessings; I will indeed bless thee; and I will multiply thy seed abundantly.

Heb. vi. 13, 14.

Ὁ Θεὸς . . . . . ὤμοσεν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, λέγων Ἦ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ σε.

God .... sware by himself, saying, Surely blessing I will bless thee; and multiplying I will multiply thee.

Heb. vii. 17, 21. See No. 164.

166. Exod. xxv. 40.

וּרְאֵה וַעֲשֵׂה בְּתַבְנִיתָם אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה מָרְאֶה בָּהָר׃

And look, that thou make *them* after their pattern, which was showed thee in the mount.

Exod. xxv. 40.

Ὅρα ποιήσεις κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

See that thou make them according to the pattern shown thee on this mount.

Heb. viii. 5.

[*Καθὼς κεχρημάτισται Μωυσῆς . . . .*] *Ὅρα γάρ* [*φησιν*] *ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει.*

[As Moses was admonished of God . . . for,] See, [saith he,] *that* thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount.

167. Jer. xxxi. 31—34.

הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְכָרַתִּי אֶת־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶת־בֵּית יְהוּדָה בְּרִית חֲדָשָׁה׃ לֹא כַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרַתִּי אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם בְּיוֹם הֶחֱזִיקִי בְיָדָם לְהוֹצִיאָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם אֲשֶׁר־הֵמָּה הֵפֵרוּ אֶת־בְּרִיתִי וְאָנֹכִי בָּעַלְתִּי בָם

Jer. xxxviii. 31—34.

Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, φησὶ Κύριος, καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα διαθήκην καινήν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠμέλησα αὐτῶν, φησὶ Κύριος. Ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη μου ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ Μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, φησὶ Κύριος,

Heb. viii. 8—12.

[*Λέγει*] *Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰούδα διαθήκην καινήν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν ἐποίησα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, κἀγὼ ἠμέλησα αὐτῶν, λέγει Κύριος. Ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ*

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[167] The quotation here is with little change from the LXX. But the rendering *ἠμέλησα αὐτῶν* given to בָּעַלְתִּי בָם, has been called in question The expression occurs Jer. iii. 14.; and in both places our version translates *married.* Gesenius, however, assigns the meaning of *loathing, rejecting,* to the two passages, of which *ἠμέλησα* would be a mild sense. Comp. Walton, Proleg. ix. 46., p. 439. The Syriac version, J. Kimchi, Pococke, and others, sanction this. Some have proposed a conjectural emendation of the Hebrew, as נָעַלְתִּי. But this has no authority.

נְאֻם־יְהוָֹה: כִּי זֹאת הַבְּרִית
אֲשֶׁר אֶכְרֹת אֶת־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל
אַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים הָהֵם נְאֻם־יְהוָֹה
נָתַתִּי אֶת־תּוֹרָתִי בְּקִרְבָּם
וְעַל־לִבָּם אֶכְתֲּבֶנָּה וְהָיִיתִי
לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים וְהֵמָּה יִהְיוּ
לִי לְעָם: וְלֹא יְלַמְּדוּ עוֹד
אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ וְאִישׁ אֶת־
אָחִיו לֵאמֹר דְּעוּ אֶת־יְהוָֹה
כִּי כוּלָּם יֵדְעוּ אוֹתִי לְמִקְטַנָּם
וְעַד־גְּדוֹלָם נְאֻם־יְהוָֹה כִּי
אֶסְלַח לַעֲוֹנָם וּלְחַטָּאתָם לֹא
אֶזְכָּר־עוֹד:

Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day *that* I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the LORD. But this *shall be* the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel. After those days, saith the LORD, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God; and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the LORD; for they shall all know me from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the LORD; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.

διδοὺς δώσω νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν γράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν. Καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἕκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ λέγων Γνῶθι τὸν Κύριον· ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσί με ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐτῶν ἕως μεγάλου αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι.

Behold, the days are coming, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to bring them out of Egypt. Because they did not abide by this covenant of mine, therefore I took no care of them, saith the Lord. For this is my covenant which I will make with the house of Israel: after those days, saith the Lord, I will adapt my laws to their understandings, and write them on their hearts, and I will be their God; and they shall be my people; and they shall no more teach every man his fellow-citizen, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for all will know me from the greatest to the least of them; for I will be merciful to their iniquities, and no more remember their sins.

τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει Κύριος, διδοὺς νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν. Καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἕκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, λέγων Γνῶθι τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσίν με ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐτῶν ἕως μεγάλου αὐτῶν. Ὅτι ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι.

[He saith,] Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant; and I regarded them not, saith the Lord. For this *is* the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord: I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a God; and they shall be to me a people. And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for all shall know me from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more.

Heb. x. 15—17.

[Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ προειρηκέναι] Αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἣν διαθήσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει Κύριος Διδοὺς νόμους μου ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διανοιῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτων οὐ μὴ μνησθήσομαι ἔτι.

[*Whereof* the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us; for after that he had said before] This *is* the covenant that I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them, and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more.

168. Exod. xxiv. 8.

הִנֵּה דַם־הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם׃

Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you.

Exod. xxiv. 8.

Ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο Κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you.

Heb. ix. 20.

[*Λέγων*] *Τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς ἐνετείλατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεός.*

[Saying,] This *is* the blood of the testament, which God hath enjoined unto you.

169. Psal. xl. 7—9. (E. V. 6—8.)

זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה לֹא חָפַצְתָּ אָזְנַיִם כָּרִיתָ לִּי עוֹלָה וַחֲטָאָה לֹא שָׁאָלְתָּ׃ אָז אָמַרְתִּי הִנֵּה־בָאתִי בִּמְגִלַּת־סֵפֶר כָּתוּב עָלָי׃ לַעֲשׂוֹת־רְצוֹנְךָ אֱלֹהַי חָפָצְתִּי וְתוֹרָתְךָ בְּתוֹךְ מֵעָי׃

Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire: mine ears hast thou opened. Burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book *it is* written of me: I delight to do thy will, O

Psal. xxxix. 7—9.

Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι· ὁλοκαύτωμα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ᾔτησας. Τότε εἶπον Ἰδοὺ ἥκω, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου ὁ Θεός μου ἠβουλήθην, καὶ τὸν νόμον σου ἐν μέσῳ τῆς καρδίας μου.

Sacrifice and offerings thou didst not desire, but thou preparedst a body for me. Whole burnt offering, and offering for sin thou didst not require. Then I said, Behold I come: in the volume of a book it is written respect-

Heb. x. 5—7. (See also vv. 8, 9.)

[*Διὸ εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον λέγει*] *Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ηὐδόκησας· τότε εἶπον Ἰδοὺ ἥκω, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὸ θέλημά σου.*

[Wherefore when he cometh into the world he saith,] Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me. In burnt-offerings and *sacrifices* for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo,

[169] This quotation follows the LXX. very closely. But one clause differs remarkably from the Hebrew, and presents considerable difficulty. Kennicott supposes that the text is corrupted, and would read אז גוה for אזנים. But this is mere conjecture. Some have thought that there is an allusion to the custom mentioned Exod xxi. 6.; but the verb there used is רצע. "Opening the ear," however (see Isai l. 5.), implies "revealing," including or followed by listening and obedience. Hence Dr. Fairbairn says, "The meaning is, Thou hast formed in me a willing and obedient spirit; so that I preserve an open and listening ear to all thy commands. It is difficult to understand how this should have come to be put into the form given it by the Septuagint . . . But the sentiment conveyed by it is substantially the same; for by the preparing of a body, in such a connection, is evidently meant a body formed and qualified for the service of God, ready in all its powers to yield the obedience required." Herm. Man., part iii. sect. i., p. 408. See also Hengstenberg, Christology (Arnold), pp. 91, 92., Comm. on the Psalms, translated by Fairbairn, Edinb. 1846, vol. ii. pp. 70—72.; Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. xi., pp. 460—462. Many other writers have exercised their ingenuity on the passage. Saurin supposes that the boring of the ears was not familiar to any but the Jews; so that a literal translation would have been unintelligible to most nations; hence the LXX. gave an equivalent idea, which was generally intelligible, viz., the setting apart of a person for a particular work, by branding or marking, *i.e.*, preparing, his body. See Serm. Sur la Substitution de Jésus Christ (edit. Par. 1835), tom. v. pp. 15, 16.

my God; yea, thy law *is* within my heart.	ing me: to perform, O my God, thy will I was determined, even that law of thine, within my heart.	I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God.
		Heb. x. 15—17. See No. 167.

170. Deut. xxxii. 36.	Deut. xxxii. 36.	Heb. x. 30. (and see No. 116.)
כִּי־יָדִין יְהוָה עַמּוֹ׃	Ὅτι κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.	[Καὶ πάλιν] Κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.
For the LORD shall judge his people.	Because the Lord will judge his people.	[And again,] The Lord shall judge his people.
		Heb. x. 37, 38. See No. 79.
		Heb. xi. 18. See No. 93.

171. Gen. xlvii. 31.	Gen. xlvii. 31.	Heb. xi. 21.
וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־רֹאשׁ הַמִּטָּה׃	Καὶ προσεκύνησεν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ.	Καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ.
And Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head.	And Israel bowed down on the head of his staff.	And worshipped, *leaning* upon the top of his staff.

172. Prov. iii. 11, 12.	Prov. iii. 11, 12.	Heb. xii. 5, 6.
מוּסַר יְהוָה בְּנִי אַל־תִּמְאָס וְאַל־תָּקֹץ בְּתוֹכַחְתּוֹ׃ כִּי אֶת אֲשֶׁר יֶאֱהַב יְהוָה יוֹכִיחַ וּכְאָב אֶת־בֵּן יִרְצֶה׃	Υἱέ, μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας Κυρίου, μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος· ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος ἐλέγχει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.	[Διαλέγεται] Υἱέ μου, μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας Κυρίου, μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος· ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.
My son, despise not the chastening of the LORD; neither be weary of his correction. For whom the LORD loveth he correcteth, even as a father the son *in whom* he delighteth.	My son, slight not the correction of the Lord; nor faint when reproved by him. For whom the Lord loveth he reproveth, and chastiseth every son whom he receiveth.	[Which speaketh....] My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him. For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.

173. Exod. xix. 12, 13.	Exod. xix. 12, 13.	Heb. xii. 20.
כָּל־הַנֹּגֵעַ בָּהָר מוֹת יוּמָת׃ לֹא תִגַּע בּוֹ יָד כִּי־סָקוֹל יִסָּקֵל אוֹ־יָרֹה יִיָּרֶה אִם־בְּהֵמָה אִם־אִישׁ לֹא יִחְיֶה׃	Πᾶς ὁ ἁψάμενος τοῦ ὄρους θανάτῳ τελευτήσει. Οὐχ ἅψεται αὐτοῦ χείρ· ἐν γὰρ λίθοις λιθοβοληθήσεται ἢ βολίδι κατατοξευθήσεται· ἐάν τε κτῆνος ἐάν τε ἄνθρωπος, οὐ ζήσεται.	[Οὐκ ἔφερον γὰρ τὸ διαστελλόμενον] Κἂν θηρίον θίγῃ τοῦ ὄρους, λιθοβοληθήσεται.
Whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death. There shall not an hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot through: whether *it be* beast or man, it shall not live.	Whosoever shall touch the mount shall surely die. A hand shall not touch him; for he shall be stoned with stones or shot with a dart. Whether man or beast it shall not live.	[For they could not endure that which was commanded,] And if so much as a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned.

171 The variation from the Hebrew is occasioned by the punctuation. הַמִּטָּה is "the bed," הַמַּטֶּה, "the staff." It is difficult to say which is the proper reading.

173 The sense is given in an abridged form.

174. Deut. ix. 19.	Deut. ix. 19.	Heb. xii. 21.
כִּי יָגֹרְתִּי מִפְּנֵי הָאַף וְהַחֵמָה אֲשֶׁר קָצַף יְהוָה׃	*Καὶ ἔκφοβός εἰμι διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργήν.*	*[Μωυσῆς εἶπεν] Ἔκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος.*
For I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure wherewith the Lord was wroth.	Even now I tremble on account of the wrath and indignation.	[Moses said,] I exceedingly fear and quake.

175. Hag. ii. 6.	Hag. ii. 6.	Heb. xii. 26.
עוֹד אַחַת מְעַט הִיא וַאֲנִי מַרְעִישׁ אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ׃	*Ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.*	*[Νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελται λέγων] Ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν.*
Yet once, it *is* a little while, and I will shake the heavens and the earth.	Yet once more, I will shake the heaven and the earth.	[But now he hath promised, saying,] Yet once more I shake, not the earth only, but also heaven.

176. Josh. i. 5. (and see Deut. xxxi. 8.)	Josh. i. 5.	Heb. xiii. 5.
לֹא אַרְפְּךָ וְלֹא אֶעֶזְבֶךָּ׃	*Οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε οὐδ' ὑπερόψομαί σε.*	*[Αὐτὸς γὰρ εἴρηκεν] Οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ οὐδ' οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω.*
I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.	I will not leave thee, nor neglect thee.	[For he hath said,] I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.

177. Psal. cxviii. 6.	Psal. cxvii. 6.	Heb. xiii. 6.
יְהוָה לִי לֹא אִירָא מַה־יַּעֲשֶׂה לִי אָדָם׃	*Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσομαι τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος.*	*Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσομαι· τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος;*
The Lord *is* on my side, I will not fear: what can man do unto me?	The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man can do unto me.	The Lord *is* my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me.

178. Hos. xiv. 3. (E. V. 2.)	Hos. xiv. 2.	Heb. xiii. 15.
וּנְשַׁלְּמָה פָרִים שְׂפָתֵינוּ׃	*Καὶ ἀνταποδώσομεν καρπὸν χειλέων ἡμῶν.*	*Δι' αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως διὰ παντὸς τῷ Θεῷ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν καρπὸν χειλέων ὁμολογούντων τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.*
So will we render the calves of our lips.	And we will render to thee the fruit of our lips.	By him, therefore, let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the

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[175] The apostle seems purposely to have varied from the LXX., in order to render the quotation more emphatical and suited to his purpose.

[176] This agrees more nearly with the Hebrew than with the LXX.

[178] This is not properly a citation, but only an allusion to an expression in Hos. xiv. 3. The phrase *καρπὸν χειλέων* is taken from the LXX. Some have supposed that for פָּרִים the word should be פְּרִי; but there is no sufficient ground for such a conjecture.

fruit of *our* lips, giving thanks to his name.

James ii. 8. See No. 16.
James ii. 11. See No. 12.
James ii. 23. See No. 88.

179. (Gen. vi. 3—5.? Eccl. iv. 4.)

(Gen. vi. 3—5.?)

James iv. 5.
[Ἢ δοκεῖτε ὅτι κενῶς ἡ γραφὴ λέγει] Πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ κατῴκησεν ἐν ἡμῖν;

[Do ye think that the scripture saith in vain,] The spirit, that dwelleth in us, lusteth to envy?

180. Prov. iii. 34. (comp. Prov. xxix. 23.)

אִם־לַלֵּצִים הוּא יָלִיץ
וְלַעֲנָיִים יִתֶּן־חֵן׃

Surely he scorneth the scorners, but he giveth grace unto the lowly.

Prov. iii. 34.
Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν.

The Lord resisteth the proud, but he giveth grace unto the humble.

James iv. 6.
[Διὸ λέγει] Ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

[Wherefore he saith,] God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.

1 Pet. v. 5.
[Ὅτι] Ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

[For] God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.

181. Lev. xi. 44.

וִהְיִיתֶם קְדֹשִׁים כִּי קָדוֹשׁ
אָנִי׃

Ye shall be holy, for I *am* holy.

Lev. xi. 44.
Καὶ ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἅγιός εἰμι ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν.

And be ye holy, because I the Lord your God am holy.

1 Pet. i. 16.
[Διότι γέγραπται] Ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος.

[Because it is written,] Be ye holy; for I am holy.

182. Isai. xl. 6—8.

כָּל־הַבָּשָׂר חָצִיר וְכָל־חַסְדּוֹ
כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה׃ יָבֵשׁ חָצִיר
נָבֵל צִיץ... וּדְבַר אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם
לְעוֹלָם׃

Isai. xl. 6—8.
Πᾶσα σὰρξ χόρτος, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου· ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσε, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
Διότι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου· ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσεν· τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα Κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

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[179] The reference seems to be to passages which condemn an envious or covetous spirit as naturally working in men's hearts. But it is merely a reference, not a special quotation. See Davidson, Sacr Herm., chap. xi. pp. 441—443.

[180] This is from the LXX., only putting ὁ Θεὸς for Κύριος. The Hebrew agrees in sense.

[181] Closely following the Hebrew: the Greek is fuller.

All flesh *is* grass, and all the goodliness thereof *is* as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: ...... But the word of our God shall stand fast for ever.

All flesh is grass; and all the glory of man as a flower of grass. The grass is withered, and the flower fallen; but the word of our God endureth for ever.

For all flesh *is* as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away; but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

1 Pet. ii. 6, 7, 8. See Nos. 28, 103.

183. Exod. xix. 6.

וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ־לִי מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים וְגוֹי קָדוֹשׁ׃

And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.

Exod. xix. 6.

Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσεσθέ μοι βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον.

And ye shall be to me a royal priesthood, and an holy nation.

1 Pet. ii. 9.

Ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον.

But ye *are* a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation.

1 Pet. ii. 10. See No. 99.

184. Isai. liii. 9.

עַל לֹא־חָמָס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מִרְמָה בְּפִיו׃

Because he had done no violence, neither *was any* deceit in his mouth.

Isai. liii. 9.

Ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ δόλον ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.

He committed no iniquity, nor practised guile with his mouth.

1 Pet. ii. 22.

Ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.

Who did no sin; neither was guile found in his mouth.

185. Isai. liii. 5.

וּבַחֲבֻרָתוֹ נִרְפָּא־לָנוּ׃

And with his stripes we are healed.

Isai. liii. 5.

Τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν.

By his bruises we are healed.

1 Pet. ii. 24.

Οὗ τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἰάθητε.

By whose stripes ye were healed.

186. Isai. liii. 6.

כֻּלָּנוּ כַּצֹּאן תָּעִינוּ׃

All we like sheep have gone astray.

Isai. liii. 6.

Πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν.

We all like sheep had strayed.

1 Pet. ii. 25.

Ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι.

For ye were as sheep going astray.

187. Psal. xxxiv. 13—17. (E. v. 12—16.)

מִי־הָאִישׁ הֶחָפֵץ חַיִּים אֹהֵב יָמִים לִרְאוֹת טוֹב׃ נְצֹר לְשׁוֹנְךָ מֵרָע וּשְׂפָתֶיךָ מִדַּבֵּר מִרְמָה׃ סוּר מֵרָע וַעֲשֵׂה־טוֹב בַּקֵּשׁ שָׁלוֹם וְרָדְפֵהוּ׃ עֵינֵי יְהוָה אֶל־צַדִּיקִים וְאָזְנָיו אֶל־שַׁוְעָתָם׃ פְּנֵי יְהוָה בְּעֹשֵׂי רָע׃

Psal. xxxiii. 13—17.

Τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωὴν, ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθάς; Παῦσον τὴν γλῶσσάν σου ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ χείλη σου τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον· ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθόν, ζήτησον εἰρήνην καὶ δίωξον αὐτήν. Ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους, καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν· πρόσωπον δὲ Κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά.

1 Pet. iii. 10—12.

Ὁ γὰρ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς παυσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ χείλη τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον, ἐκκλινάτω δὲ ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν, ζητησάτω εἰρήνην καὶ διωξάτω αὐτήν, ὅτι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν, πρόσωπον δὲ Κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά.

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[187] From the LXX. with some alterations.

What man *is he that* desireth life, *and* loveth *many* days, that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it. The eyes of the LORD *are* upon the righteous; and his ears *are open* unto their cry. The face of the LORD *is* against them that do evil.	What man is he that desireth life, and loveth to see good days? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous; and his ears are open to their prayer. But the face of the Lord is against them that do evil.	For he that will love life, and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile. Let him eschew evil and do good; let him seek peace and ensue it. For the eyes of the Lord *are* over the righteous; and his ears *are* open unto their prayers; but the face of the Lord *is* against them that do evil.
188. Isai. viii. 12, 13.	Isai. viii. 12, 13.	1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.
וְאֶת־מוֹרָאוֹ לֹא־תִירְאוּ וְלֹא תַעֲרִיצוּ׃ אֶת־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֹתוֹ תַקְדִּישׁוּ׃	*Τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆτε οὐδὲ μὴ ταραχθῆτε. Κύριον αὐτὸν ἁγιάσατε.*	*Τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε, Κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε.*
Neither fear ye their fear: nor be afraid. Sanctify the LORD of hosts himself.	Be not ye terrified with the fear of him, nor dismayed. Sanctify the Lord himself.	And be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled, but sanctify the Lord God.
189. Prov. x. 12.	Prov. x. 12.	1 Pet. iv. 8.
וְעַל כָּל־פְּשָׁעִים תְּכַסֶּה אַהֲבָה׃	*Πάντας δὲ τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικοῦντας καλύπτει φιλία.*	[Ὅτι] *Ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.*
But love covereth all sins.	But friendship covereth all them who are not contentious.	[For] Charity shall cover the multitude of sins.
190. Prov. xi. 31.	Prov. xi. 31.	1 Pet. iv. 18.
הֵן צַדִּיק בָּאָרֶץ יְשֻׁלָּם אַף כִּי־רָשָׁע וְחוֹטֵא׃	*Εἰ ὁ μὲν δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται, ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανεῖται;*	[Καὶ] *Εἰ ὁ δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται, ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανεῖται;*
Behold, the righteous shall be recompensed in the earth; much more the wicked and the sinner.	If the righteous scarcely escape, where shall the ungodly and sinner appear?	[And] If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?
		1 Pet. v. 5. See No. 180.
191. Prov. xxvi. 11.	Prov. xxvi. 11.	2 Pet. ii. 22.
כְּכֶלֶב שָׁב עַל־קֵאוֹ׃	*Ὥσπερ κύων ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον.*	[*Συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς παροιμίας*] *Κύων ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα, καὶ Ὗς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου.*
As a dog returneth to his vomit.	As when a dog goes to his own vomit.	[But it is happened unto them according to the true proverb,] The dog *is* turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire

[188] An adaptation of the language of the prophet to those whom the apostle addressed.
[189] This is a translation from the Hebrew, and widely differs from the LXX.
[190] Literally from the LXX. Schultens translates: Ecce justus in terra traditur neci: quanto magis improbus et peccator, and maintains that שֻׁלָּם has occasionally the sense of being given up to trouble. See A. Schultens, Versio Prov. Sal. Halæ, 1769: Not. in loc. Dathe translates similarly, and says: Non video, quid obstet quo minus hunc sensum h. l. tribuamus, quem *οἱ ὁ* indicarunt, et quem Petrus 1 Epist. v. 18., alia allegatione, comprobavit. Job, Prov., &c. Halæ, 1789, Not. in loc.

192. Psal. ii. 9.	Psal. ii. 9.	Rev. ii. 27.
תְּרֹעֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל כִּכְלִי יוֹצֵר תְּנַפְּצֵם׃	*Ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς.*	[Καὶ] *Ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται.*
Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.	Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron; thou shalt break them to pieces like a potter's vessel.	[And] He shall rule them with a rod of iron: as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers.

[192] From the LXX. with the alteration of person.

[The quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures found in the New Testament have been classified according to their external form by Dr. Randolph.[1] This classification comprises the following divisions:—

1. Citations agreeing exactly with the Hebrew.
2. „ agreeing nearly with the Hebrew.
3. „ agreeing with the Hebrew in sense but not in words.
4. „ giving the general sense, but abridging or adding to it.
5. „ taken from several passages of sacred Scripture.
6. „ differing from the Hebrew, but agreeing with the Septuagint.
7. „ where we have reason to suspect that the apostles either read the Hebrew differently, or put some sense upon the words different from what our lexicons express.
8. Places where the Hebrew seems to be corrupted.
9. Not properly citations, but references or allusions.
10. Citations agreeing verbatim with the Septuagint or only changing the person.
11. „ taken from the Septuagint but with some variation.
12. „ agreeing with the Septuagint in sense but not in words.
13. „ differing from the Septuagint, but agreeing exactly or nearly with the Hebrew.
14. „ differing both from the Septuagint and from the Hebrew, and taken probably from some other translation or paraphrase.

Dr. Randolph was himself sensible of the imperfection of this mode of classification, and has candidly acknowledged that some particulars in it may be disputable. In fact, the uncertainty attending all such attempts is too great to render a classification of the kind of practical use. The tables of quotations constructed after this system will not, therefore, be here reprinted.[2]]

[1] The Prophecies, and other Texts cited in the New Testament, compared with the Hebrew original, and with the Septuagint Version. By Thomas Randolph, D.D., President of C.C.C. Oxford, and Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. Oxford, 1782, pp. 25, 26.

[2] Comp. Lee, The Inspiration of Holy Scripture (2nd edit.), lect. vii. pp. 349, &c.; who gives four classes of quotations with reference to the relation of the Hebrew text to the Septuagint version:—

§ 2. *Considerations on the probable causes of the seeming discrepancies in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New.*

On a comparison of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, it is obvious that in the epistles, which were addressed generally to churches consisting of converted Hellenists (that is, Greek Jews), or Gentiles, or of both, the quotations are uniformly made from the Septuagint version, or with express reference to it, except where some important reason induced the sacred writer to deviate from it; for the Septuagint was the only version generally known in those churches, whose members were mostly strangers to the Hebrew. There are, however, some apparent contradictions in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, the reconciliation of which has much engaged the attention of learned men, who have assigned various causes to account for, or explain, such discrepancies. These it may be useful briefly to consider, before we discuss the mode in which the sacred writers of the New Testament apply their quotations from the Old Testament. The causes of the differences in these quotations may be reduced to these, viz. 1. Sophistications or corruptions of the Hebrew text; —2. Various readings, or differences in copies;—3. Our ignorance of the correct meaning of particular texts;—and, 4. The different designs with which they were quoted.

1. The instances of probable sophistication, or corruption of the Hebrew text, are very few: the comparison of manuscripts and versions alone can enable the critic to determine the true reading.

2. Various readings in the manuscript copies of the Greek Bible used by the sacred writers of the New Testament, and also various readings in different manuscripts of the New Testament, are another cause of the apparent contradictions in the quotations made in it from the Old Testament. Michaelis likewise thinks it possible that, in those cases where the quotations are materially different, another translation might have been added in the Septuagint as a marginal note, in the same manner as we find in the Hexapla of Origen, under the name of ἄλλος. The Proverbs of Solomon, he observes, present instances where the same Hebrew words are twice translated; which can be explained on no other supposition, than that one of them was originally a marginal note, which has insensibly crept into the text itself.[1]

3. Another cause of the apparent discrepancy occurring in the

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1. Those taken strictly from the LXX. where it differs from the Hebrew; as Matt. xix 5.; Mark x. 8.

2. Those in which, the LXX. version being incorrect, a new translation of the original is given; as John xix. 37.

3. Those which differ from both the Hebrew and the LXX.; even when, as it seems, the latter accurately renders the former; as Eph. iv. 8.

4. Those in which, the LXX. having attached a particular meaning to a passage in the Hebrew, one writer bases his argument on the literal sense of the original, while another adopts for his purpose that given in the Greek version; thus, comp. Matt. viii. 17., with 1 Peter ii. 24.

[1] Marsh, Michaelis, vol. i. p. 235.

quotations from the Old Testament in the New may arise from our ignorance of particular Hebrew texts or words. But this is only a temporary cause: the researches of commentators and critics (which the preceding tables have tended to confirm) have shown that the writers of the New Testament express the true sense, even when not the sense generally attributed to the Hebrew; and, in proportion as such researches are more diligently prosecuted, and our knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures is increased, these difficulties will gradually and certainly diminish.

4. It is further to be observed that the very same quotations are often contracted by some of the evangelists, and as often enlarged by others. This difference in quoting may be accounted for by the different occasions on which they are introduced, and the different designs which they were intended to serve. Thus Luke, who wrote his Gospel for the instruction of *Gentile* converts, quotes (iii. 4—6.) not less than *three* verses from the prophet Isaiah; while Matthew (iii. 3.) and Mark (i. 3.) quote only the *first* of them.[1] But it was necessary to Luke's purpose that he should proceed so far, in order to assure the Gentiles that they were destined to be partakers of the privileges of the gospel, and to *see the salvation of God.* On the other hand, Matthew (xiii. 14, 15.) and Paul (Acts xxviii. 26, 27.), when reproving the Jews for their incredulity, which Isaiah had long before predicted, introduced the prophecy at full length; whereas Mark (iv. 11, 12.) and Luke (viii. 10.) only refer to it briefly.[2] Mark, whose Gospel was written for a mixed society of Jewish and Gentile converts, has many peculiarities belonging to him, which are not exhibited by the other evangelists. Of these peculiarities, we have an instance in his manner of citing the passage of Isaiah just noticed. The verses in his Gospel run thus: *Τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται, Ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μή ποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς [τὰ ἁμαρτήματα].* "Unto them that are without all *these* things are done in parables: That seeing they may see and not perceive; and hearing they may hear and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them." In order to engage the Jews the more effectually to adopt and obey his Gospel, Mark has not only inserted in it more Hebrew or rather Syro-Chaldaic phrases than all the other evangelists together; but in the verse here given, he has forsaken both the Hebrew and Greek of Isai. vi. 10. (in our translation truly rendered *and I will heal them*), and translated for himself.

Now these particular variations are so far from being disparagements to the Gospels, that they are in reality the excellencies and ornaments of them. They are such variations only, as these different converts, of different conceptions, required to have made, for their obtaining a true and right knowledge of the Old Testament prophecies.[3] A similar mode of citation is pursued by the illustrious apostle Paul, who "does not mention or allege the law and the

[1] See the passages of Isaiah and Luke at length, No. 6., pp. 115, 116.
[2] See the passages of Isaiah and of the evangelists cited, No. 21., pp. 124, 125.
[3] Dr. Owen, on the Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical Writers, pp. 57—88.

prophets in one and the same manner to Jews and Gentiles. To Felix the Roman governor, he says of himself (Acts xxiv. 14.), 'Believing all things which are *written* in the law and the prophets.' But to king Agrippa (xxvi. 22.), 'Saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses *did say* should come.' And thus he distinguishes in his epistles. In that to the Hebrews are many passages from the Old Testament, but not a single instance in which it is quoted as *written*. But in his other epistles he rarely uses any other form than, 'It is written,' or, 'The Scripture saith.'[1] Thus he cites it to the Romans; the chief variations from which mode to that of *He saith* are in the three chapters, ix., x., xi., which principally relate to the Jews; and even there he seldom fails to name the prophet whose words are adduced. To the Galatians, and in both epistles to the Corinthians, with one or two exceptions, he urges the words of the Old Testament as *written*. To the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, if I mistake not, he makes no direct quotation from it. In the epistle to the Ephesians he refers to it twice, and there indeed in both places under the form of *He saith*. But he himself had spent above two years in teaching them with the utmost diligence and attention (Acts xix. 8, 10.), and wrote his epistle to them some years after; when he might have full assurance that he spoke to those *who knew the law*. A passage in this epistle, compared with one similar in that to the Colossians, seems to prove that he made a difference between them, and judged the Ephesians to be better versed in the sacred books. To these he proposes the precept of obedience to parents with a view to the Mosaic promise (Eph. vi. 1—3.): 'Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right. Honour thy father and mother; which is the first commandment with promise.' But he omits this reference to the words of the Decalogue, in giving the same precept to the Colossians; with whose proficiency in the Scriptures he was less acquainted, as having never been among them. He says only (Col. iii. 20.): 'Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing unto the Lord.' Thus we see that St. Paul has one mode of citing the Old Testament to the Hebrews, and another to the churches of which the Gentiles were members; that in the former case he agrees with St. Matthew, in the latter with St. Mark and St. Luke. And in this respect there is so much uniformity in the apostle and two evangelists, that we may justly conclude it was not accidental, but designed by him and them, for the same purpose of suiting their style to the small measure of scriptural knowledge which they might well suppose many of their readers to possess. By which means the unlearned or newly-converted Gentiles were instructed that what was offered to them, as the word of God *which came in old time*, was to be found in the books of Scripture; and, if Judaizers crept in and perplexed them with doctrines of an oral or traditionary law, they were furnished with this reply to such teachers: When the apostles and evangelists, who have been our more immediate guides, propose

[1] [The distinction thus observable is of course made use of by those who deny the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews.]

to us any part of the Mosaic economy, they allege only what is *written*, and what they carefully inform us to be so."[1]

Upon the whole, then, as it respects the external form of quotations from the Old Testament, it may be observed that the writers of the New Testament did not make it a *constant* rule to cite from the Greek version; because there are many places in which their quotations differ from that version, and agree with the Hebrew. And, as their quotations now correspond with the Hebrew, very frequently in express words, and generally in the sense, so it has been thought that they uniformly agreed at first, and that, where the Hebrew was properly expressed in the Greek version, they used the words of that version. But, where it materially varied from the meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures, they either gave the sense of the passage cited in their own words, or took as much of the Septuagint as suited their purpose, introducing the requisite alterations. Hence several passages are neither direct quotations from the Hebrew text, nor quotations from the Septuagint; and some, as we have already seen, agree with the latter even where it varies from the former, but only where the deviation does not so affect the meaning of the passage as to interfere with the pertinency of the quotation for the purpose intended. "All this accords to what ordinary writers, in similar circumstances, would have done, and, in fact, have been authorized to do; but the sacred penmen, being themselves divinely inspired, might take liberties which we must not; because their comments were equally the *word of God* with the texts commented on."[2]

[That the New Testament writers did not exclusively adhere to one source of citation is manifest by what is above stated. The Septuagint they used most frequently, though by no means in all cases. But it is difficult to lay down any general rule for the causes which may have influenced them in quitting the Septuagint and resorting to the Hebrew. Some of the reasons already alluded to probably had their weight; but the truth is that every individual case of quotation must be judged by itself, and the result will show that no answer to the question, Why was the Septuagint sometimes abandoned? is universally applicable. Some of the sacred penmen seem more dependent on the Greek text than others. Matthew, John, and Paul evince a greater freedom, while Luke more closely adheres to the Septuagint. But it is to be observed that they could never intend to bind themselves to a verbal transcribing of the passages they cite. Sometimes they introduce into one quotation words taken from another part of Scripture, occasionally combining several passages into one paragraph. Again, they abridge, they add, they transpose words or phrases, making a variety of changes, according both to the character of the persons addressed, and to the different objects which they themselves had in view. They thus employ almost every mode of citation, "from the exactest to the most loose;

[1] Dr. Townson, Discourses on the Four Gospels, Disc. iv. sect. ii. Works, vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

[2] The Rev. T. Scott, on the Authority of the Septuagint, in the Christian Observer for 1810, vol. ix. p. 102.

but in no case is violence done to the meaning of the original." "Let it be remembered" (says Dr. Davidson, from whom the preceding words are adopted) "that the sacred writers were not bound in all cases to cite the very words of the originals: it was usually sufficient for them to exhibit the sense perspicuously. The same meaning may be conveyed by different terms. It is unreasonable to expect that the apostles should scrupulously abide by the precise words of the passages they quote. By a slight deviation from the Greek, they sometimes rendered the sense clearer and more explicit, at other times they paraphrased rather than translated the original Hebrew. In every instance we suppose them to have been directed by the superintending Spirit, who infallibly kept them from error, and guided them in selecting the most appropriate terms where their own judgments would have failed."[1]

Some have endeavoured to explain cases of discrepancy between the original text and the quotation, by supposing that the New Testament writers cited from memory. Dr. Davidson indignantly repudiates such a mode of solving the difficulty.[2] Very forcible, too, on this topic are the observations of Dr. Lee: "A direct answer to the assertion that the New Testament writers have quoted the former Scriptures 'from memory' is supplied by the striking fact to which a distinguished scholar has drawn attention—namely, that 'the verbal agreement of the evangelists with each other is particularly remarkable in many citations from the Old Testament, in which they follow neither the Hebrew text nor the Septuagint with exactness.'"[3] The appended note must be also given, "Gieseler, 'Die Entstehung der schriftl. Evangelien,' s. 4. *E. g.* St. Matt. (xi. 10.), and St. Luke (vii. 27.) (see also St. Mark i. 2.) agree verbatim as follows: 'This is he of whom it is written, Ἰδού, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου: while the LXX., which in all points corresponds with the Hebrew, thus renders the words of Mal. iii. 1.: Ἰδοὺ ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου, καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται ὁδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου.' '*Remarkable*,' writes Olshausen—unable to have recourse here to the 'quotation from memory' theory—'is the extremely accurate agreement of the evangelists in this section, as well in single expressions (*e. g.* Luke vii. 23.), as particularly (Matt. xi. 10.) in the Old Testament quotation from Mal. iii. 1. The LXX. translates the passage accurately according to the Hebrew text; *both evangelists, however, deviate uniformly from both Hebrew and the LXX.*' *loc. cit.* b. i. s. 353. Gieseler points out that a similar fact is to be noticed in other parts of the New Testament. 'There is also found in quotations in the epistles of different apostles an equal relation to each other and to their sources' (*e. g.* 1 Pet. ii. 6, 8.; Rom. ix. 33.). *Ibid.* s. 89."

It was, then, with no capriciousness, and with no uncertainty, that the New Testament writers cited the ancient Scripture. They were careful to produce accurately the sense and meaning of the

[1] Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xi. pp. 469, 470.
[2] Ibid. p. 463. See before, page 133. No. 34., note.
[3] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, 2nd edit., lect. vii. p. 358.

passages they quoted. A mere inspection of the preceding table will convince that in a vast majority of instances this is self-evident; and minuter inquiry will prove, with respect to the very few in which their accuracy has been questioned, that there are not sufficient grounds for substantiating any such charge. For explanation, for bringing into the clearer light of gospel day the obscure utterances of the law, for definitely pointing that which was general, or for enlarging that which was at first restricted, they have sometimes modified the diction, but they have preserved the spirit of the ancient oracle. "It may have been expedient," says Dr. Fairbairn, "it may even have been required by the highest spiritual wisdom, to adopt some slight modification of the original passage, or to give an explanatory rendering of its terms, so as to adapt it the better to the purpose of its application. Even in those cases in which, for anything we can see, a closer translation would have served equally well the purpose of the writer, it may have been worthy of the inspiring Spirit, and perfectly consistent with the fullest inspiration of the original Scriptures, that the sense should have been given in a free current translation; for the principle was thereby sanctioned of a rational freedom in the handling of Scripture, as opposed to the rigid formalism and superstitious regard to the letter, which prevailed among the Rabbinical Jews. The church of the New Testament, we are thereby taught, is not bound by the pedantic trammels which Jewish authorities imposed, and which, by spending its solicitude upon the shell, comparatively neglected the kernel. The stress occasionally laid in the New Testament upon particular words in passages of the Old, and even on the number and tenses of words, as at Matt. xxii. 32, 45.; Gal. iii. 16.; Heb. i. 5., v. 15., sufficiently proves what a value attaches to the very form of the divine communications, and how necessary it is to connect the element of inspiration with the written record as it stands. It shows that God's words are pure words, and that, if fairly interpreted, they cannot be too closely pressed. But, in other cases, when nothing depended upon a rigid adherence to the letter, the practice of the sacred writers, not scrupulously to stickle about this, but to give prominence simply to the substance of the revelation, is fraught also with an important lesson; since it teaches us that the letter is valuable only for the truth couched in it, and that the one is no further to be prized and contended for, than may be required for the exhibition of the other." [1]

It is worthy of remark, that, in conveying the same idea without employing precisely the same words, the New Testament writers only follow the example of those in the Old. Compare, for examples of a perfect substantial agreement accompanied with a variation of expression, Gen. xxiv. 2—8. and 37—41.; Exod. xx. 8. and Deut. v 12.; Lev. x. 3. and Exod. xix. 22., xxix. 43, 44.]

[1] Herm. Man. part iii. sect. i. pp. 413, 414. Compare Lee, Inspiration of Holy Scripture, lect. vii. p. 345., note 4.

SECT. II.

ON THE INTERNAL FORM OF QUOTATIONS, OR THE MODE IN WHICH CITATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT ARE APPLIED IN THE NEW.

General observations on the rabbinical and other modes of quoting the Old Testament — Classification of the quotations in the New Testament: — I. Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which the predictions are literally accomplished; — II. Quotations in which that is said to have been done, of which the Scriptures have spoken not in a literal but in a spiritual sense; — III. Quotations made by the sacred writers in the way of illustration; — IV. Quotations and other passages from the Old Testament which are alluded to in the New: Mode of application of the citations in the New Testament — Examination of some particular cases.

In considering the passages of the Old Testament, which have been introduced by the apostles and evangelists into the writings of the New, "there is often a difficulty with respect to the *application* of such quotations; when they are applied to a purpose to which they *seem* to have no relation, according to their original design. This difficulty arises from the writers of the New Testament making quotations from the Old with very different views; and it can be removed only by attending to their real view in a particular quotation." An accurate distinction, therefore, must be made between such quotations as, being merely borrowed, are used as the words of the writer himself, and such as are quoted in proof of a doctrine, or the completion of a prophecy.

Michaelis[1] has remarked that, whenever a book is the subject of our daily reading, it is natural that its phrases should occur to us in writing—sometimes with a perfect recollection of the places whence they are taken, and at other times when the places themselves have totally escaped our memory. Thus, the lawyer quotes the maxims of the law; the scholar, his favourite classics; and the divine, the precepts of the gospel. It is no wonder, therefore, if the same has happened to the writers of the New Testament; who, being daily occupied in the study of the Old Testament, unavoidably adopted its modes of expression, and especially of the Greek Septuagint, which they have borrowed, and applied to their own use in various ways and for various purposes.

The quotations from the Old Testament in the New are generally introduced by certain formulæ, such as, *That it might be fulfilled; As it is written; Isaiah prophesied*, &c.; and various rules have been framed in order to account for their application. It has been observed by the same great philologist, that the writers of the New Testament quote in general like the rabbins, without mentioning the place whence the quotation is taken; as they pre-suppose the reader to be so well acquainted with the Old Testament, as to be able to find it without particular direction. The rabbins select some principal word out of each section, and apply that name to the section itself; in the same manner as the Mohammedans distinguish the

[1] Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 200—203.

suras or chapters of their Koran, saying, in Eli, in Solomon, when they intend to signify the sections where those names are mentioned. For instance, Rashi, in his remarks on Hosea ix. 9. ("They have deeply corrupted themselves, as in the days of Gibeah"), says, "Some are of opinion that this is Gibeah of Benjamin *in the concubine,*" that is, is mentioned in the chapter of the concubine, or Judges xix. And in this manner quotations are sometimes made in the New Testament. Thus, in Mark xii. 26. and Luke xx. 37., ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου (*in* or *at* the bush) signifies, "in the section relating to the burning bush;" which, according to the modern division, is the third chapter of Exodus. Again, in Rom. xi. 2., ἐν Ἡλίᾳ (in Elias) signifies "in the section in which the actions of Elias are recorded;" which at present forms the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters of the first book of Kings.[1]

Another very frequent practice of the rabbins was to produce only the initial words of a quoted passage, while those are omitted in which the force of the argument consists, or the absence of which destroys the connection. Of this description are the quotations in Rom. vii. 7. and xiii. 9., "Thou shalt not covet," in which the apostle leaves us to supply the following words contained in Exod. xx. 17.: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," &c. Similar instances are to be found in Rom. xi. 27. and Heb. ii. 13.[2]

[It has been charged against the New Testament writers that the formulæ with which they introduce their citations are similar to those employed by the rabbins, as if it followed that their interpretations were of the same fanciful character. Lists have been drawn out of parallel expressions; and no doubt the briefest inspection of them will show that the formulæ are in very many instances the same. But it was natural for Jewish writers to use the current phrases of the day: they would not otherwise have been understood. So that, if there was nothing blamable in any set of words themselves, the inspiration under which the apostles and evangelists wrote cannot be reasonably supposed so far to have changed the current of their thoughts or their modes of speech as to have led them to adopt other than the usual language.]

The formulæ (*As it is written; That it might be fulfilled; It hath been said,* &c. &c.), with which the quotations in the New Testament are generally introduced, have been supposed by Surenhusius[3] (to whose

[1] Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 243, 244, 133, 134. Upon the same rule, Michaelis thinks the supposed contradiction between Mark ii. 26. and 1 Sam. xxi. 1. may be explained "in the chapter of Abiathar," or, in that part of the books of Samuel in which the history of Abiathar is related. This explanation, Rosenmüller very justly remarks, would be preferable to any other, if Mark had added the expression *It is written*, or *The Scripture saith.* Scholia in N. T. tom. i. p. 573. edit. 1801. See also Kuinöel on Mark ii. 26.; Comm. in Libros N. T. Historicos, tom. ii. pp. 31, 32.

[2] Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 244—246.

[3] In the preface to his Βίβλος Καταλλαγῆς: in quo, secundum veterum Theologorum Hebræorum Formulas allegandi et modos interpretandi, conciliantur loca ex Veteri in Novo Testamento allegata. 4to. Amst. 1713. The words of Professor Surenhusius are as follow: *Etenim omni in loco ex V. T. in N. allegato recte conciliando, videndum est prius, quâ allegandi formulâ utantur apostoli; ex quâ statim dignoscere licet, quare sequentia verba hoc, et non alio modo, allegaverint, atque ad veterem scripturam Hebræam plusve minusve, attenderint. Sic alium sensum involvit illa allegandi formula* ἐῤῥήθη; *alium,* γέγραπται; *alium,* ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν; *alium,* ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφή, *&c.*

learned researches biblical students are most deeply indebted) to be the indications of the *modes* in which they are expressed; so that, by attending to these formulæ, we may easily know why the evangelists allege the subsequent words in one certain manner rather than in another, and why they depart more or less from the Hebrew text. Agreeably to this hypothesis, Surenhusius has, with infinite labour and industry, collected a great variety of rules out of the Talmud and the rabbinical writings, and has illustrated them with numerous extracts, in order to explain and justify all the quotations made from the Old Testament in the New. But what militates against this hypothesis is, that we find that the very *same quotations*, expressed in the same words, and brought to prove the very same points, are introduced by *different* formulæ in different gospels.

[Dr. Davidson has thus classified the introductory formulæ:—

"In quoting Messianic passages, Matthew has the formula, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, i. 23., ii. 15. This form is abbreviated in ii. 17., iii. 3., iv. 14., viii. 17., xii. 17., xiii. 14, 35., xxi. 4., xxvi. 56., xxvii. 9. The formula, τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα, κ. τ. λ. (i. 22., xxi. 4., xxvi. 56.), is worthy of attention, as it does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. In addition to these introductory phrases we find γέγραπται, or a similar term, employed by St. Matthew.

"In Mark, the customary formula is γέγραπται, ὡς γέγραπται, or some parallel expression.

"Luke has almost always γέγραπται, ἦν γεγραμμένον, or γράφω, joined to other words.

"In John, the customary formula is γεγραμμένον, καθὼς ἐστι γεγραμμένον, or words similar to these.

"In the Acts of the Apostles all the introductory clauses differ from one another. No two are alike.

"In the epistle to the Romans καθὼς γέγραπται occurs much oftener than any other preface, so that it may be regarded as the characteristic formula. The chief departures from it are in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, which primarily refer to the Jews, and where there are such expressions as Ἡσαΐας λέγει, Μωυσῆς λέγει, &c.

"The two letters to the Corinthians have as their usual formula, καθὼς γέγραπται, γέγραπται, &c. There are but three instances in which the verb γράφω is not employed, viz. 2 Cor. vi. 2, 16, 17, 18.

"In the epistle to the Galatians γέγραπται γὰρ is the ordinary prefix.

"The epistle to the Ephesians has only three citations; two of which are prefaced with διὸ λέγει.

"The epistle to Timothy has only two quotations; one of which has a preface.

"The letter to the Hebrews contains numerous passages from the Old Testament. The formulas are generally such as λέγει, μαρτυρεῖ, εἴρηκε, φησί. Γράφω is never used. The manner of citation here is very usual in Philo.

"The epistle of James has only five quotations; three of which are introduced by the verb λέγω, another by ὁ εἰπών.

"Peter's manner is to have no formula. From this he departs only in three instances; in one of which he has γέγραπται, in another περιέχει ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, or rather, as Lachmann reads, περιέχει ἡ γραφή."[1]

[1] Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xi. pp. 451, 452.

It is evident from this variety, especially when we remember that different formulæ are in different books used for the same quotations, *e. g.* Mark xv. 28., Luke xxii. 37., and Rom. iv. 3., James ii. 23., that they can be no certain indications of the mode in which Scripture is cited. Still some reasons for the diversity may be found. In narrating the fulfilment of a prophecy a phrase would naturally be used different from that which was required when only an illustration was intended: Jewish converts, too, would seem to require a mode of speaking diverse from that which was most suitable for Gentiles: to the former, the idea of God's speaking was familiar; to the latter, "It is written," was better adapted. When several texts follow in succession, or any one is repeated, an introductory formula is commonly omitted.]

A further objection to the rules adduced by Surenhusius is their number and their complexity, which render it difficult to refer all the quotations accurately to them. It is therefore not only more convenient, but more intrinsically useful, to refer the citations from the Old Testament in the New to the four following classes, which have been adopted, with some alteration, from Rosenmüller[1], after Gusset and Wolfius. According to these critics, the phrases, *That it might be fulfilled, As it is written,* &c. &c. may be properly applied in the New Testament,—

I. *When the thing predicted is* literally *accomplished.*

II. *When that is done, of which the Scripture has spoken, not in a literal, but in a* spiritual *sense.*

III. *When the thing which is done is, neither in a literal nor in a spiritual sense, according to the fact referred to in the Scriptures; but is similar to that fact. The passages thus cited may, briefly, be termed* quotations in the way of illustration.

IV. *When the sacred writers have made simple* allusions *to passages in the Old Testament.*[2]

In the following tables, the quotations are arranged under each class, to which they appear respectively to belong. Some of the references, perhaps, may be disputable; and, in some, it is possible that the author may be mistaken; but, as they are the result of a laborious and patient comparison of every prophecy or citation, in classifying which he could have but little assistance, he trusts he may be allowed to say that he has exerted the best of his judgment, and to indulge the hope that he has not misapplied the quotations in any essential point.

I. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which the things predicted are* literally *accomplished.*

Direct prophecies are those which relate to Christ and the gospel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other sense; and the Scripture is said to be *fulfilled* in the *literal sense,* when that event which

[1] Scholia in Nov. Test. tom. i. p. 25.

[2] The fourth class mentioned by Rosenmüller, Gusset, and Wolfius, is as follows:— When that, which has, in the Old Testament, been mentioned as formerly done, is accomplished, in a larger and more extensive sense, in the New Testament. But, as the citations which appear to belong to this class may be referred to the first and third, we have substituted the preceding in lieu of it.

it foretells is accomplished. The quotations from the Old Testament in the New, which belong to this class, are both numerous and highly important. Such are those which mention the calling of the Gentiles and the everlasting kingdom of Messiah: such also is the 110th Psalm, which, it has been well remarked, "is as plain as a prophetic description ought to be. It is applicable to Christ alone, and it sets forth his exaltation, his royal dignity, his priestly office, the propagation of his gospel, the obedience of his subjects, the destruction of his enemies, and of the Roman emperors who persecuted his church."[1]

Other examples of this description will be found in the following quotations, the references in which are made to the authorized English version of the Bible.

Gen. xii. 3., xviii. 18., xxii. 18., quoted in	Acts iii. 25. Gal. iii. 8.
Gen. xvii. 7, 19., xxii. 16, 17. - -	Luke i. 55, 72, 73, 74.
Deut. xviii. 15, 19. - - -	Acts iii. 22, 23.
Psal. ii. 1, 2. - - - -	Acts iv. 25, 26.
Psal. ii. 7. - - - -	Acts xiii. 33. Heb. i. 5., v. 5.
Psal. viii. 2. - - - -	Matt. xxi. 16.
Psal. viii. 4—6. - - - -	Heb. ii. 6—8.
Psal. xvi. 8—11. - - -	Acts ii. 25—28, 31.
Psal. xvi. 10. - - - -	Acts xiii. 35.
Psal. xxi. 1. - - - -	Matt. xxvii. 46. Mark xv. 34.
Psal. xxii. 18. - - - -	Matt. xxvii. 35. Mark xv. 24. Luke xxiii. 34. John xix. 24.
Psal. xxii. 22. - - - -	Heb. ii. 12.
Psal. xxxi. 5. - - - -	Luke xxiii. 46.
Psal. xli. 9. - - - -	John xiii. 18. Acts i. 16.
Psal. xlv. 6, 7. - - - -	Heb. i. 8, 9.
Psal. lxviii. 18. - - - -	Eph. iv. 7, 8.
Psal. lxix. 21. - - - -	John xix. 28, 29. Matt. xxvii. 48. Mark xv. 36. and Luke xxiii. 36.
Psal. lxix. 25., cix. 8. - - -	Acts i. 20.
Psal. xcv. 7—11. - - -	Heb. iii. 7—11.; iv. 3, 5—7.
Psal. cii. 25—27. - - -	Heb. i. 10—12.
Psal. cx. 1. - - - -	Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 42. Acts ii. 34, 35. Heb. i. 13.
Psal. cx. 4. - - - -	Heb. v. 6.
Psal. cxviii. 22, 23. - - -	Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10, 11. Luke xx. 17. Acts iv. 11.
Psal. cxviii. 25, 26. - - -	Matt. xxi. 9. Mark xi. 9. John xii. 13.
Psal. cxxxii. 11, 17. - - -	Luke i. 69. Acts ii. 30.
Isai. vii. 14. - - - -	Matt. i. 23.
Isai. ix. 1, 2. - - - -	Matt. iv. 15, 16.
Isai. ix. 7., with Dan. vii. 14, 27. -	Luke i. 32, 33.
Isai. xi. 10. - - - -	Rom. xv. 12.
Isai. xxv. 8. - - - -	1 Cor. xv. 54.
Isai. xxvii. 9., and lix. 20, 21. - -	Rom. xi. 26, 27.
Isai. xxviii. 16., with Joel ii. 32. -	Rom. ix. 33., and 1 Pet. ii. 6.
Isai. xl. 3—5. - - - -	Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4—6.
Isai. xlii. 1—4. - - - -	Matt. xii. 17—21.
Isai. xlix. 6. - - - -	Acts xiii. 47, 48., and xxvi. 23. Luke ii. 32.
Isai. liii. 1. - - - -	John xii. 38. Rom. x. 16.
Isai. liii. 3—6. - - - -	Acts xxvi. 22, 23.
Isai. liii. 4—6, 11. - - -	1 Pet. ii. 24, 25.
Isai. liii. 4. - - - -	Matt. viii. 17.
Isai. liii. 9. - - - -	1 Pet. ii. 22.
Isai. liii. 12. - - - -	Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37.
Isai. liv. 13. - - - -	John vi. 45.
Isai. lv. 3. - - - -	Acts xiii. 34.

[1] Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. (Works, edit. 1810) vol. i. p. 273. The best critical illustration of the prophetical sense of Psalm cx. is, perhaps, that given by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his Second Argument in defence of Christianity, taken from the ancient Prophecies, chap. viii. pp. 275—311.

Jer. xxxi. 31—34.	quoted in	Heb. viii. 8—12., x. 16, 17
Hosea i. 10.	-	Rom. ix. 26.
Hosea ii. 23.	-	Rom. ix. 25. 1 Pet. ii. 10.
Joel ii. 28—32.	-	Acts ii. 16—21.
Amos ix. 11, 12.	-	Acts xv. 16, 17.
Micah v. 2.	-	Matt. ii. 5, 6. John vii. 42.
Habak. i. 5.	-	Acts xiii. 40.
Haggai ii. 6.	-	Heb. xii. 26.
Zech. ix. 9.	-	Matt. xxi. 4, 5. John xii. 14, 16.
Zech. xi. 13.	-	Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.
Zech. xii. 10.	-	John xix. 37.
Zech. xiii. 7.	-	Matt. xxvi. 31, 56. Mark xiv. 27, 50.
Mal. iii. 1.	-	Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
Mal. iv. 5, 6.	-	Matt. xi. 13, 14., xvii. 10—13. Mark ix. 11—13. Luke i. 16, 17.

II. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which that is said to have been done, of which the Scriptures have spoken, not in a literal, but in a* spiritual *sense.*

There are citations out of the Old Testament in the New in a mediate and typical or spiritual sense, respecting Christ and his mystical body the church. The Scripture is therefore said to be fulfilled, when that is accomplished in the antitype which is written concerning the type. Thus, in John xix. 36. we read, "these things were done that the *Scripture should be fulfilled,* A bone of him shall not be broken." These words, which were originally written of the paschal lamb (Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12.), are said to be fulfilled in Christ, who is the antitype of that lamb. Additional examples of the same kind will be found in the annexed passages.

Gen xiv. 18, 20.	cited and applied in	Heb. vii. 1—10.
Gen. xv. 5.	-	Rom. iv. 18.
Gen. xvi. 15.	-	Gal. iv. 22.
Gen. xvii. 4.	-	Rom. iv. 17.
Gen. xviii. 10.	-	Rom ix. 9.
Gen. xxi. 1—3.	-	Gal. iv. 22, &c.
Gen. xxi. 12.	-	Rom. ix. 7.
Gen. xxv. 23.	-	Rom. ix. 12.
Exod. xvi. 13—15.	-	John vi. 31, 49. 1 Cor. x. 3.
Exod. xvii. 6. Numb. xx. 11.	-	1 Cor. x. 4.
Exod. xix. 6.	-	1 Pet. ii. 9.
Exod. xxiv. 8.	-	Heb. ix. 20.
Levit. xxvi. 11, 12.	-	2 Cor. vi. 16.
Numb. xxi. 8, 9.	-	John iii. 14.
Deut. xxi. 23.	-	Gal. iii. 13.
Deut. xxxii. 21.	-	Rom. x. 19.
2 Sam. vii. 14.	-	Heb. i. 5.
Psal. ii. 9.	-	Rev. ii. 27.
Psal. viii. 4—6.	-	Heb. ii. 6—8.
Psal. viii. 6.	-	1 Cor. xv. 27.
Psal. xviii. 49.	-	Rom. xv. 9.
Psal. xxxv. 19., lxix. 4., and cix. 3.	-	John xv. 25.
Psal. xl. 6—8.	-	Heb. x. 5—7.
Psal. lxix. 9.	-	John ii. 17.
Psal. civ. 4.	-	Heb. i. 7.
Isai. xl. 6, 7.	-	1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
Isai. lii. 7. and Nahum i. 15.	-	Rom. x. 15.
Isai. liv. 1.	-	Gal. iv. 27.
Isai. lxiv. 4.	-	1 Cor. ii. 9.
Jonah i. 17., ii. 1., and iii. 5.	-	Matt. xii. 40, 41. Luke xi. 30, 32.
Habak. ii. 3.	-	Heb. x. 37.
Habak. ii. 4.	-	Rom. i. 17. Gal. iii. 11. Heb. x. 38.

III. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which the thing done is, neither in a literal nor in a spiritual sense, according to the fact referred to in the Scriptures, but is similar to that fact; in other words, where the passages referred to are cited* in the way of illustration.

The attentive reader of the New Testament cannot fail to observe that many passages of the Old Testament are cited and adapted by the writers of the New Testament to an occurrence which happened in their time, on account of their correspondence and similitude. These citations are not prophecies, though they are said sometimes to be fulfilled; for any thing may be said to be fulfilled when it can be pertinently applied. This method of explaining Scripture by the way of illustration will enable us to solve some of the greatest difficulties relating to the prophecies.

For the better understanding of this important subject, it should be recollected that the writings of the Jewish prophets, which abound in fine descriptions, poetical images, and sublime diction, were the classics of the later Jews; and, in subsequent ages, all their writers affected allusions to them, borrowed their images and descriptions, and very often cited their identical words when recording any event or circumstance that happened in the history of the persons whose lives they were relating, provided it was *similar* and parallel to one that occurred in the times, and was described in the books of the ancient prophets. It was a familiar idiom of the Jews, when quoting the writings of the Old Testament, to say, *that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by such and such a prophet*[1]; not intending to be understood that such a particular passage in one of the sacred books was ever designed to be a *real prediction* of what they were then relating, but signifying only that the words of the Old Testament might be properly adapted to express their meaning and illustrate their ideas. And thus the apostles, who were Jews by birth, and wrote and spoke in the Jewish idiom, have very frequently alluded to the sacred books, after the customary style of their nation; intending no more by this mode of speaking, than that the words of such an ancient writer are happily descriptive of what was transacted in their time, and might, with equal propriety, be adapted to characterize such a particular circumstance as happened in their days; that there was a *con-similarity* of case and incidents; and that the expressive style and diction of the old inspired prophets were as justly applicable to the occurrences recorded by the apostles, as they were suitable to denote those events and facts in their times which they had commemorated.

Thus, our Lord, speaking of the insurmountable prepossessions and perverseness of the Jews to whom he preached, says, *Seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand*, that is, their stupidity is so gross, and their prejudices are so numerous, that, though they have capacities proper for understanding and receiving my doctrine, they will neither understand nor receive it; so that in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah — his words are perfectly applicable to the present age, and descriptive of their moral character and condition: — *Hearing ye will hear, and will not understand; and seeing ye will see, and will not perceive. For this people's heart is waxed gross; and their ears are dull of hearing; and their eyes they have closed, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them* (Isai. vi. 9, 10., cited in Matt. xiii. 14, 15.). The same passage of the evangelical prophet is cited by St. Paul (Rom. xi. 8.), and applied to the invincible obstinacy of his countrymen; not, indeed, as though they had then, and then only, received their precise accomplishment, but as remarkably expressive of the obduracy, determined infidelity, and impenitence of the Jews.

Once more, our Lord having delivered several parables, the sacred historian, after remarking that Jesus Christ chose to convey his religious and moral instruction to the Jews by means of parables, with which all his public discourses abounded, says, *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world* (Psal. lxxviii. 2., quoted in Matt. xiii. 35.)[2].

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[1] The Talmud and rabbinical writers abound with instances; great numbers of which are quoted by Surenhusius, in the work already cited in p. 186. note[3].

[2] This mode of quoting passages by way of illustration was not confined to the inspired penmen. Pagan writers often cite passages from their old poets, to describe things of which these poets never thought; and this, Dr. Jortin remarks, is no fault, but rather a beauty in writing; and a passage, applied justly in a new sense, is ever pleasing to an

A similar instance occurs in St. Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians (vi. 2.); where he cites the saying of the prophet (Isai. xlix. 8.), *I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation I have succoured thee.* In this passage the apostle does not mean to declare that the prophet had the Corinthians in view, but he cites it as a parallel case; intimating that they might collect from that saying that there was a certain *accepted time*, in which God would hear them, and which, therefore, it concerned them not to let pass without carefully improving it.

The following table presents a list of the passages thus quoted from the Old Testament by the writers of the New, in the way of illustration.

Gen. xv. 5.	cited in	Rom. iv. 18.
Gen. xv. 6.		Rom. iv. 3. Gal. iii. 6., and James ii. 23.
Gen. xviii. 10.		Rom. ix. 9.
Gen. xix. 15, 26.		Luke xvii. 28, 29, 32.
Gen. xxi. 12.		Rom. ix. 7.
Gen. xxv. 33.		Heb. xii. 16.
Gen. xxvii. 28, &c.		Heb. xi. 20., xii. 17.
Exod. ix. 16.		Rom. ix. 17.
Exod xxxii. 6.		1 Cor. x. 7.
Exod. xxxiii. 19.		Rom. ix. 15.
Lev. xi. 45.		1 Pet. i. 16.
Lev. xviii. 5.		Rom. x. 5. Gal. iii. 12.
Deut. vi. 13.		Matt. iv. 10. Luke iv. 8.
Deut. vi. 16.		Matt. iv. 7. Luke iv. 12.
Deut. viii. 3.		Matt. iv. 4. Luke iv. 4.
Deut. xxv. 4.		1 Cor. ix. 9. 1 Tim. v. 18.
Deut. xxvii. 26.		Gal. iii. 10.
Deut. xxxii. 35.		Rom. xii. 19. Heb. x. 30.
Deut. xxxii. 36.		Heb. x. 30.
Deut. xxxii. 43.		Rom. xv. 10.
Josh. i. 5.		Heb. xiii. 5.
1 Sam. xxi. 6.		Matt. xii. 3, 4. Mark ii. 25, 26. Luke vi. 3, 4.
1 Kings xix. 14, 18.		Rom. xi. 3, 4.
Psal. v. 9., and cxl. 3.		Rom. iii. 13.
Psal. x. 7.		Rom. iii. 14.
Psal. xiv. 1—3., and liii. 1—3.		Rom. iii. 10—12.
Psal. xix. 4.		Rom. x. 18.
Psal. xxiv. 1.		1 Cor. x. 26.
Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.		Rom. iv. 7, 8.
Psal. xxxiv. 12—16.		1 Pet. iii. 10—12.
Psal. xxxvi. 1.		Rom. iii. 18.
Psal. xliv. 22.		Rom. viii. 36.
Psal. li. 4.		Rom. iii. 4.
Psal. lxix. 9.		Rom. xv. 3.
Psal. lxix. 22, 23.		Rom. xi. 9, 10.
Psal. lxxviii. 2.		Matt. xiii. 35.
Psal. lxxxii. 6.		John x. 34.
Psal. cxii. 9.		2 Cor. ix. 9.
Psal. cxvi. 10.		2 Cor. iv. 13.
Psal. cxvii. 1.		Rom. xv. 11.
Psal. cxviii. 6.		Heb. xiii. 6.
Prov. i. 16. Isai. lix. 7, 8.		Rom. iii. 15—17.
Prov. iii. 11, 12.		Heb. xii. 5, 6.
Prov. iii. 34.		James iv. 6.

ingenious reader, who loves to see a likeness and pertinency where he expected none. Rem. on Eccl. Hist. (Works, edit. 1810.) vol. i. pp. 272, 273. In Ælian, Diogenes the Cynic philosopher is reported to have said, that "he *fulfilled* in himself all the curses of tragedy;" and Olympiodorus, in his life of Plato, has this expression, "that it might be true concerning him," and then cites the following verse from Homer:

Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή.
Words sweet as honey from his lips distill'd. Pope.

Which verse, however applicable to that great philosopher, is not to be considered as an oracle delivered by the poet with a view to the particular use or accommodation of it by this biographer. Sharpe. Second Argument in Defence of Christianity, pp. 348, 349.

Prov. x. 12.	cited in	1 Pet. iv. 8.
Prov. xxv. 21, 22.	-	Rom. xii. 20.
Prov. xxvi. 11.	-	2 Pet. ii. 22.
Isai. i. 9.	-	Rom. ix. 29.
Isai. vi. 9, 10.	-	John xii. 40. Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Luke viii. 10. Rom. xi. 8.
Isai. viii. 12, 13.	-	1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.
Isai. viii. 17, 18.	-	Heb. ii. 13.
Isai. x. 22, 23.	-	Rom. ix. 27, 28.
Isai. xxviii. 16.	-	Rom. x. 11.
Isai. xxix. 10.	-	Rom. xi. 8
Isai. xxix. 13.	-	Matt. xv. 8, 9. Mark vii. 6.
Isai. xxix. 14.	-	1 Cor. i. 19.
Isai. xxix. 16., and xlv. 9.	-	Rom. ix. 20, 21.
Isai. xlv. 23.	-	Rom. xiv. 11. Phil. ii. 10.
Isai. xlix. 8.		2 Cor. vi. 2.
Isai. lii. 5., with Ezek. xxxvi. 20.	-	Rom. ii. 24.
Isai. lii. 7., and Nahum i. 15.	-	Rom. x. 15.
Isai. lii. 11, 12.	-	2 Cor. vi. 17.
Isai. lii. 15.	-	Rom. xv. 21.
Isai. lvi. 7. and Jer. vii. 11.	-	Matt. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix 46.
Isai. lxi. 1, 2.	-	Luke iv. 18, 19.
Isai. lxv. 1, 2.	-	Rom. x. 20, 21.
Isai. lxvi. 1, 2.	-	Acts vii. 49, 50.
Jer. xxxi. 15.	-	Matt. ii. 17, 18.
Jer. xxxi. 33., and xxxii. 38., with 2 Sam. vii. 14.		2 Cor. vi. 18.
Hosea xi. 1.	-	Matt. ii. 15.
Hab. ii. 4.	-	Rom. i. 17.
Joel ii. 32.	-	Rom. x. 13.
Mal. i. 2, 3.	-	Rom. ix. 13.

It cannot escape observation, that by far the larger portion of the preceding passages is cited and adapted to the purpose of illustration by the apostle Paul. Dr. John Taylor[1] has some useful remarks (of which the following are an abstract) on the various designs with which St. Paul cited them:—

1. Sometimes his intention goes no further than using the *same strong expressions*, as being equally applicable to the point in hand. Thus, in Rom. x. 6—8., he uses the words of Moses (Deut. xxx. 12—14.), not to prove any thing, nor as if he thought Moses spoke of the same subject; but merely as intimating that the strong and lively expressions, used by Moses concerning the doctrine he taught, were equally applicable to the faith of the gospel. So, in Rom. x. 18., he quotes Psal. xix. 4., though it is not unlikely that those expressions were used by the ancient Jews in application to the Messiah, as the apostle applies them.

2. Sometimes the design of the quotation is only to show that the *cases are parallel;* or that what happened in his times corresponded with what happened in former days. See Rom. ii. 24., viii. 36., ix. 27—29., xi. 2—5, 8—10., and xv. 21.

3. Sometimes the quotation is only intended to *explain a doctrinal point.* See Rom. i. 17., iv. 7, 8, 18—21., ix. 20, 21., x. 15., and xv. 3.

4. Sometimes the quotation is designed to *prove a doctrinal point.* See Rom. iii. 4, 10—18., iv. 3—17., v. 12—14, ix. 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17., x. 5, 11, 13., xii. 19, 20., xiv. 11.

Lastly, when a passage of the Old Testament is quoted in the New, in order to prove a point of doctrine, the person or writer applies it, though not always in the precise words of the original, yet constantly according

[1] In his Paraphrase with Notes on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, p. 339., 4th edit. 1769.

to its genuine sense as it stands there. Examples of such application will be found in Deut. viii. 3. compared with Matt. iv. 4.; Deut. vi. 16. compared with Matt. iv. 7.; Deut. xxxii. 35. and Prov. xxv. 21, 22. compared with Rom. xii. 19, 20. The expression in Hos. vi. 6., *mercy and not sacrifice*, is applied to different purposes in Matt. ix. 13., and xii. 7., but to both properly.

In applying passages cited from the Old Testament by way of illustration, Turretin has suggested the three following rules, which claim the attention of the biblical student:—

1. In applications of this kind, we must not neglect the literal sense, which is the first and only genuine sense of Scripture.

2. Such applications ought not to be forced, or far-fetched; for those which were made by the apostles were simple, and easy to be apprehended.

3. Too much stress ought not to be laid on these applications; which, it should be considered, are merely illustrations adduced by the sacred writers further to explain the subjects under their discussion.

Such being the nature of these illustrative quotations, it follows that no doctrines—at least such as are necessary to salvation—either can or ought to be deduced from them.[1]

IV. *Of Quotations, and other Passages from the Old Testament, which are* alluded *to in the New.*

Besides the passages mentioned in the preceding class, as citations by the writers of the New Testament in the way of illustration, there is a fourth class, nearly allied to them, and comprising a few quotations, together with a larger number of other passages, not distinctly cited from the Old Testament; but which, on comparing them with the New Testament, appear most evidently to have been present to the minds of the sacred writers, who have *alluded* to them without expressly quoting them. A careful inspection of such passages, with reference to their scope and context, together with an application of the rules above suggested by Turretin, will readily enable the student to judge of the allusions which he may meet with in the New Testament; and in addition to those rules Dr. Gerard has remarked that, when the inspired writers quote a passage from the Old Testament, *merely in the way of allusion*, it is enough that the words which they borrow emphatically express their own meaning. It is not necessary that they be precisely the same with those of the passage alluded to, nor that they be there used, either of the same subject or of a similar subject.[2] The following table presents a list of the *principal* passages thus alluded to in the New Testament:—

Gen. i. 6. 9.	alluded to in	2 Pet. iii. 5.
Gen. i. 27.		Matt. xix. 4. Mark. x. 6. 1 Cor. xi. 7. James iii. 9.

[1] Turretin, De Sacr. Script. Interp. pars i. cap. iv. Op. 1775, tom. ii. p. 50.; see also pp. 46—50. The subject of Scripture quotations, which are made by way of illustration, is more fully discussed by Dr. Sharpe, Second Argument from Prophecy, chap. x. pp. 347—365.; Dr. Hey, Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 260—262.; Dr. Harwood, Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 279—291.; Rumpæus, Comment. Crit. ad Libros Nov. Test. pp. 443, 449, 450.; Bishop Kidder, in his Demonstration of the Messias, part ii. chap. iii.; Boyle's Lectures, vol. i. pp. 150—152.; Dr. Nicholls, Conference with a Theist, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 10—13. ed. 1698.; and especially by Dr. Sykes, On the Truth of the Christian Religion, chapters xiii. xiv. xv. pp. 206—296. edit. 1725. The reader will also find some excellent remarks on the different modes of quotation in Dr. Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, pp. 284—304.

[2] Institutes of Biblical Criticism, § 135. p. 422.

Gen. ii. 2, 3.	alluded to in	Heb. iv. 4.
Gen. ii. 7.	-	1 Cor. xv. 45.
Gen. ii. 21, 22.	-	1 Cor. xi. 8. 1 Tim. ii. 13.
Gen. ii. 24.	-	Matt. xix. 5. Mark x. 7. 1 Cor. vi. 16 Eph. v. 31.
Gen. iii. 6.	-	1 Tim. ii. 14.
Gen. iii. 4, 13.	-	2 Cor. xi. 3.
Gen. iii. 16.	-	1 Cor. xiv. 34.
Gen. iv. 4.	-	Heb. xi. 4.
Gen. iv. 8.	-	Matt. xxiii. 35. Luke xi. 51. 1 John iii. 12. Jude, verse 11.
Gen. v. 24.	-	Heb. xi. 5.
Gen. vi. vii.	-	Matt. xxiv. 37, 38. Luke xvii. 26, 27. Heb. xi. 7. 1 Pet iii. 19, 20. 2 Pet. ii 5., iii. 6.
Gen. xii. 1—4.	-	Acts vii. 3. Heb. xi. 8.
Gen. xiii. 15.	-	Rom. iv. 13.
Gen. xv. 13, 14.	-	Acts vii. 6, 7.
Gen. xvii. 10.	-	Acts vii. 8.
Gen. xviii. 3., xix. 2.	-	Heb. xiii. 2.
Gen. xviii. 10.	-	Heb. xi. 11.
Gen. xviii. 12.	-	1 Pet. iii. 6.
Gen. xix. 24.	-	2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude, verse 7.
Gen. xxi. 12.	-	Heb. xi. 18.
Gen. xlvi. 27.	-	Acts vii. 14.
Gen. xlvii. 31.	-	Heb. xi. 21.
Gen. l. 24.	-	Heb. xi. 22.
Exod. ii. 2, 11.	-	Heb. xi. 23—27. Acts vii. 20—29.
Exod. iii. 6.	-	Mark. xii. 26. Acts vii. 31, 32.
Exod. xii. 12, 18.	-	Heb. xi. 28.
Exod. xiii. 2. Numb. viii. 16, 17., xviii. 15, 17.	-	Luke ii. 23.
Exod. xiv. 22	-	1 Cor. x. 2. Heb. xi. 29.
Exod. xix. 12, 16, 18, 19.	-	Heb. xii. 18—20.
Exod. xx. 12—16. Deut. v. 16—20.	-	Matt. xix. 18, 19. Mark x. 19. Luke xviii. 20. Rom. xiii. 9. James ii. 11.
Lev. xiv. 3, 4, 10.	-	Matt. viii. 4. Mark i. 44. Luke v. 14.
Lev. xix. 12.	-	Matt. v. 33.
Lev. xix. 18.	-	Matt. v. 43. Gal. v. 14.
Numb. xi. 4.	-	1 Cor. x. 6.
Numb. xiv. 23, 29, 37., and xxvi. 64, 65.	-	Heb. iii. 16, 17. Jude, verse 5.
Numb. xxi. 4—6.	-	1 Cor. x. 9.
Numb. xxii. 23, 39.	-	2 Pet. ii. 15, 16. Jude, verse 11.
Deut. xviii. 1.	-	1 Cor. ix. 13.
Deut. xxiv. 1.	-	Matt. v. 31. Mark x. 4. Luke xvi. 18.
Josh. ii. 1., vi. 22, 23.	-	Heb. xi. 31. James ii. 25.
Josh. vi. 20.	-	Heb. xi. 30.
Judges, the whole book, generally	-	Acts xiii. 20. Heb. xi. 32.
1 Sam. viii. 5., and x. 1.	-	Acts xiii. 21.
1 Sam. xiii. 14., xv. 23., xvi. 12, 13.	-	Acts xiii. 22.
1 Kings xvii. 1., and xviii. 42—45.	-	James v. 17, 18.
1 Chron. xxiii. 13.	-	Heb. v. 4.
Psal. xc. 4.	-	2 Pet. iii. 8.
Prov. xxvii. 1.	-	James iv. 13, 14.
Isai. xii. 3.	-	John vii. 38.
Isai. lxvi. 24.	-	Mark ix. 44.
Jer. vi. 16.	-	Matt. xi. 29.
Lam. iii. 45.	-	1 Cor. iv. 13.
Dan. iii. 23—25.	-	Heb. xi. 34.
Dan. ix. 27., xii. 11.	-	Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.
Hos. xiii. 14.	-	1 Cor. xv. 55.
Hos. xiv. 2.	-	Heb. xiii. 15.
Amos v. 25, 26, 27.	-	Acts vii. 42, 43.

[It would not be becoming in an editor of Mr. Horne's book to interfere with the classification of quotations which he adopted after so much patient labour: the preceding tables are therefore preserved

as he arranged them. Other writers, as indeed is intimated above, have preferred arrangements in some respects different from that in the foregoing pages. It must suffice to refer briefly to one or two of these.

Dr. Davidson says that "citations from the Old Testament in the New may be referred to the following classes: —

"I. Citations of *primary* prophecies, in which the things predicted are said to be literally accomplished. These have but one exclusive reference to the gospel age.

"II. Citations of passages descriptive of symbolical persons or events.

"III. Quotations made in order to establish a doctrinal position or argument, by the authority of the Old Testament.

"IV. Citations made for the purpose of illustrating, beautifying, or adorning a discourse.

"V. Those in which the New Testament writers have *referred* to the Old without formally quoting it." [1]

Examples are given by the same writer under each of these respective heads.

Dr. Lee proposes the following arrangement of citations: —

I. The strictly prophetical.

II. Those in which the language of the Old Testament is incorporated with the body of Christian doctrine.[2]

It may be added, that there is a copious index of passages in which the writers of the New Testament have referred to the Old, without formally quoting it, in Knapp's Recensus Locorum, &c., appended to his edition of the Greek Testament. See also Passages cited from the Old Testament, &c., arranged by the junior class in the Theological Seminary, Andover, pp. 38, 39.; and Davidson, Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xi. pp. 510—512.

Besides establishing the general accuracy of the New Testament quotations, it is necessary to examine the mode in which they have been applied.

"Not a few of these citations," it is well observed by Fairbairn, speaking generally of both these points, "from the Old Testament are citations of the simplest kind: they appear merely as passages quoted in their plain sense from the previously existing canon of Scripture. Such, for example, are the passages out of the books of Moses, with which our Lord, after the simple notification 'It is written,' thrice met the assaults of the tempter in the wilderness; and such also are those with which Stephen, in his historical speech before the Jewish council, sought through appropriate references to the past to enlighten the minds and alarm the consciences of his judges. In examples of this description, there is nothing that can be said to wear even the semblance of a difficulty, unless it may be regarded as such, that occasionally a slight difference appears in the passages as quoted from what they are as they stand in the original scripture. But the difference is never more than a verbal one: the sense of the original is always given with substantial correctness by

[1] Sacr. Hermeneut. chap. xi. pp. 506, 507.

[2] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, lect. vii. pp. 334—339. This arrangement will be again referred to and illustrated. See below, p. 199.

the inspired writers in the New Testament; and, so far as the great principles of interpretation are concerned, there is no need for lingering about the discussion of a matter so comparatively minute."[1]

There are, however, some passages cited in the New Testament in a way apparently foreign to their original meaning; and critics have not been slow to fasten upon the apostles and evangelists the charge of unduly wresting the earlier revelation to maintain their own doctrines. As Olshausen, speaking of the use made of the Old Testament in the New remarks, "This has been for all more recent expositors a stone of stumbling, over which not a few of them have actually fallen. It has appeared to them difficult and even impossible to discover a proper unity and connection in the constructions put upon the passages by the New Testament writers, or to refer them to rules and principles. Without being able to refer them to these, they could not properly justify and approve of them; neither could they, on the other hand, altogether disapprove and reject them, without abandoning everything. So that, in explaining the passages of the Old Testament which pointed to the New, and again explaining the passages of the New Testament which expressly referred to and applied the Old, expositors for the most part found themselves involved in the greatest difficulties, and, on the one side or the other, resorted to the most violent expedients. But the explanation of the Old Testament in the New is the very point from which alone all exposition that listens to the voice of divine wisdom must set out. For we have here presented to us the sense of holy Scripture as understood by inspired men themselves, and are furnished with the true key of knowledge."[2]

It is a great principle, then, that the New Testament is the key to the Old; and many things which were dark to the comprehension of those who lived in the early church became clear as day when shone upon by the light of Christ's gospel. Through all revelation God acts on a settled plan, developing more and more his gracious purposes, and making that, which was well-nigh invisible in the bud, the ornament of the mature and opened flower. Even those who were employed to announce divine truth did not understand always its full and ultimate meaning (1 Pet. i. 10—12). Their office was to rouse the hopes of men, to place the church in an attitude of expectation. Those hopes would be more than realized; that expectant attitude exchanged for one of joyous triumph. If this be true, if the purposes of God were moving onward, if the prophets of the old law were successively taking up and enlarging the utterances of their predecessors, giving a significance and a definite precision to that great promise which was at first so vague, it is reasonable to conclude that we shall find the same kind of progress in the gospel; it is reasonable to expect that our Lord and his apostles would fill up the faint outlines and colour the former sketch, and thus show the living picture which those outlines were intended to embrace.

[1] The Typology of Scripture, 2nd edition, vol. i. Appendix B. p. 382.
[2] Ein Wort über tiefern Schriftsinn, pp. 7, 8.

If the New Testament writers had used the Old merely according to its letter, if they had discerned no deeper sense in it than the ancient fathers could have gathered, if mind had thus become crystallized, and, while magnificent events were occurring, their understanding had not advanced one jot, if when they ought to have been men they had still continued children, with only a carnal and earthly view of God's great mysteries, we might doubt whether they were adequate, whether they were authorized teachers of a new dispensation. If they cited the scriptures as the unbelieving Jews did, as critical worldly men of every age would, we might well disbelieve their inspiration. But we are expressly told that our Lord gave his apostles an insight into the meaning of the Old Testament which they had not before (Luke xxiv. 45.). The consequence of this "opening of their understanding" we see in the way in which they cite the elder writers.

But no one of God's gifts is in opposition to another. Revealed truth may be above reason, but it is not repugnant to it. From the apostles we may therefore expect the deeper sense, but not a discordant sense of the Old Testament. They will bring out the full meaning of the prophets, but they will not attribute to them a meaning which right reason repudiates. And this is a legitimate matter for investigation, Are the citations of the New Testament fairly made? Not, Do they bring out more than we might at first sight discover? but, Is it in harmony with what we *can* see?

There must be discrimination. The thoughts of the apostles and evangelists naturally clothed themselves in Old Testament language. It is perpetually borrowed—the Apocalypse furnishes multitudinous examples—with no purpose of formal citation, when its phrases are employed to describe things foreign to the mind of an Old Testament writer. But this is not the only use of it. Sometimes it would seem that a doctrine is supported by quotation, or a prophecy pointing specially to one person or event is said to be fulfilled in another.

It is necessary, then, to consider the force of the frequently-recurring formula *ἵνα* or *ὅπως πληρωθῇ*.[1] There has been much discussion whether *ἵνα* always denotes *final cause* or *purpose*, or whether it may not in some cases mean *effect* or *event*. Technical terms have been introduced to distinguish these different usages of the word. The former is called the *telic* (*τελικὴ*), the latter the *ecbatic* (*ἐκβατική*). And the phrase must be interpreted according rather to the first principle than to the other. The same meaning is to be given to the corresponding Hebrew word לְמַעַן, as has been shown by Gesenius, though Robinson objects. And the right view is admirably maintained by Rudelbach (in his treatise on Inspiration, to be found in his and Guericke's Zeitschrift). "The signification of the oft-recurring phrase," says he, "*ἵνα πληρωθῇ*, as involving a real connection between prophecy and its fulfilment, is no longer questioned by the more judicious expositors. The fact that grammar itself, against the will of those who handle it, is compelled to give at least formal

[1] It cannot be shown by any clear example of the New Testament that πληρόω is employed to signify accomplishment by mere similarity.

testimony to the faith, is not to be overlooked as an apologetic element of the Christian evidences; and, indeed, it has never, when the occasion offered, been overlooked by the ancients. The sense, however, of that formula (cf. *e.g.* in the first gospel, Matt. ii. 15., viii. 17., xii. 17., xiii. 35., xxi. 4., xxvi. 56., xxvii. 35.) is plainly nothing else than what lies in the expression itself, viz. that the fulfilment has taken place *in order to* display the truth of prophecy." [1]

There are many of the New Testament quotations which must be considered as strictly prophetical. Of these are such as refer to Messiah's personal history or character, and have an actual fulfilment in a definite fact. They are introduced with the words, "This was done that it might be fulfilled," and the like. There are also typical predictions, wherein the symbol was originally intended to point to that fact in which it is declared to be now realized. The same introductory words are here used as before. There are passages, further, quoted with such direct reference to a particular person or event, that it cannot be doubted that they were regarded as thus having a real fulfilment (comp. Matt. iii. 3. with Isai. xl. 3). And then these are quotations (*e.g.* Acts ii. 24, 25.), in which a causative particle connects the Messianic fact with the prediction, so as to give proof that the prophet's language aimed at this.

Besides those which have been called strictly prophetical, there are quotations incorporating Old Testament language into the body of Christian doctrine, as if both were parts of one whole: statements connecting predictions with historical facts, indicating either that the accomplishment was commencing, or that it was of a continuous character; and collective citations, showing that passages, having primarily some more special reference, are still regarded as combinedly pointing to one great truth. And thus the principle before laid down is shown to be exemplified. For "this review," says Dr. Lee, "of what are plain matters of fact of itself brings to light the principle which guided the sacred writers, under the gospel dispensation, in the use which they have made of the Old Testament. The Holy Spirit, when inspiring God's servants in former times, had infused a deeper significance into their words than the men who uttered them, or who committed them to writing, perceived. The depth of meaning conveyed could only be apprehended in the fulness of time by those who, like the authors of the New Testament, 'had the mind of Christ,' and who were thereby enabled to unfold the hidden mystery couched under the earlier form." [2]

This view has, however, by no means commanded general assent; and the application of Old Testament passages by the writers of the New has largely furnished material for attacking the doctrine of their inspiration. "The way in which all the writers of the New Testament," says Dr. Tholuck, "and especially the author of the

[1] Zeitschrift, 1840, H. i. s. 3. See Lee, The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, lect. vii. pp. 334, 335. The force of ἵνα and of πληρόω is discussed by Dr. Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. xi. pp. 474, &c. See also Journal of Sacred Literature, April, 1849, vol. iii. pp. 355, &c. An opposite view is maintained in the Biblical Repository, Andover, U. S., Jan. 1835, by Tittmann an Stuart, vol. v. pp. 84, &c.

[2] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, lect. vii. pp. 339, 340. Compare pp. 336 – 339.

epistle to the Hebrews, use the expressions of the Old Testament as proofs, is to us somewhat striking at the stage of development which exegesis has now reached; inasmuch as the passages of the Old Testament thus employed have frequently a sense which seems to make them inappropriate to the argument, and, indeed, for citation at all in the connection."[1] But it is a mere begging of the question to treat the authors of scripture as ordinary human writers, and, "applying the rules of criticism not only to the language of the document, where they are truly applicable, but to the supposed mind of the writer as the sole measure of its import," to "denounce every application as false and gratuitous where it lies beyond the primary or immediate occasion."[2]

It is needless to say that Tholuck has discussed the question with ability; but he has conceded far too much to be a safe guide in such an investigation. He considers that "a view of inspiration according to which a universal accuracy is ascribed to the words of scripture cannot be maintained."[3] He admits that in the discourses of the Redeemer there is "the profoundest insight into the spirit of the older scriptures," and that an interpreter will "never prove one exposition false, nor discover in a single passage a trace of rabbinical artifice."[4] Yet he seems hardly satisfied with Christ's exposition of Matt. xxiv. 15.; where Daniel's words are regarded as a direct prophecy. For Tholuck has doubts, it seems, whether the book of Daniel be genuine.[5] And as to the writers of the New Testament he says, "We have found greater hermeneutical imperfection in the evangelists than in Paul, and still greater in the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, who is not an apostle."[6] He considers that passages of the Old Testament are often used, not because they specially pointed to the truth which was to be urged, but because the New Testament writer merely made them the substratum for his own ideas. It is a fact, indeed, he admits, that there is an "organic parallelism existing between the Old Testament and New Testament economies, by virtue of which a certain degree of truth attaches to these several quotations of Old Testament passages."[7]

Dr. Tholuck makes another admission very note-worthy, but coupled with some notions which deserve the gravest censure. He is speaking of the epistle to the Hebrews, the Pauline origin of which, as has already appeared, he denies. "His [*i. e.* the author's] application of the Old Testament rests on the strictest view of inspiration; since passages, where God is not the speaker, are cited as words of God or of the Holy Ghost (i. 6, 7, 8., iv. 4, 7., vii. 21., iii. 7., x. 15.); so that the author seems to have shared in the conviction of the Alexandrians of the inspiration of their translators."[8] Then, after referring to St. Paul's scorn of the "enticing words of man's wisdom" (1 Cor. ii. 4.), he ventures to propound the question,

[1] Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament, § 1. This, in its remodelled form, has been translated and printed in the Bibliotheca Sacra, Andover, U. S., July, 1854, pp. 568—616. To this translation the references will be made. See p. 569.

[2] Dr. Mill, Christian Advocate's Publication for 1844, p. 414.

[3] P. 613. [4] P. 587. [5] P. 590.

[6] Pp. 613, 614. [7] Pp. 574, 575. [8] Pp. 612, 613.

"If, then, according to the present state of criticism, Apollos or an Alexandrian Christian like him is to be regarded author of the epistle to the Hebrews, have we not in this epistle a specimen of what Paul meant by the *σοφία ἀνθρώπων* in the epistles to the Corinthians, and of which in founding the Corinthian church he would keep his preaching free?"[1]

This is not the place to say what might be said in opposition to such views; let it suffice to warn the student against them, and to add that those who have carefully acquainted themselves with works like that which has been frequently referred to—Lee's Inspiration of Holy Scripture—will be well armed against teachings so unsound.

It is not needful to dispute Tholuck's position, that the use made by our Lord of the Old Testament writings evinced a knowledge more profound than that displayed by the apostles and evangelists. "He spake as never man spake." And it is no derogation to the disciples to be placed beneath their Lord. True, they were inspired by the Holy Ghost; so that God spake by them; still, there is this manifest difference: in respect to Christ, divine truth was uttered by a divine Person; in respect to the apostles, divine truth was conveyed through a human medium.[2]

If the writers of the New Testament are at all to be regarded as the authorized expounders of Christian doctrine, we must admit the principle before laid down. They clearly believed in something more than that parallelism which Tholuck allows; seeing that some of the adaptations of a parallel, as he would consider them (*e. g.* Matt. xiii. 35.), are introduced by the formula, "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet." Tholuck indeed, after stigmatizing the citation just mentioned as "failing to exhibit Paul's profound discernment," yet subsequently allows, with respect to it and other similar cases, that "it is most probable that some sort of objective connection of the fact with the expression of the Old Testament is supposed, a direct prophecy or a *ὑπόνοια*."[3] If the connection so supposed be not a reality, all the certainty of divine teaching is gone. The notion, then, that Old Testament facts and statements are used just by way of application or bald accommodation, or as illustrations founded on some general resemblance, is not to be entertained. There is a comprehensive significance in the ancient utterance, there is a deeper sense at the fitting time to be drawn out, a *ὑπόνοια*, as it has been fitly called, "implying that, under the obvious signification of the words, there lies not indeed a different, but the same signification again, more profoundly apprehended."[4]

There is no looseness in the mode of procedure. The New Testament writers are not of the class who see nothing but a naked, cold, and literal meaning in the earlier word of God; as little do they sympathize with those who dwell only on the mystical or allegorical

[1] P. 613.

[2] There are some sensible remarks on "the distinction between the words of our Lord and those of his inspired servants," made by Dr. Goulburn, Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, chap. i. pp. 1—20. Lond. 1857.

[3] Das Alte Test. ubi supr. pp. 600, 601.

[4] Lee, The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, lect. vii. p. 340. note 3. For disproof of the accommodation theory, see ibid. pp. 343, &c , and lect. ii. pp. 63—70.

sense. Their wisdom in dealing with the earlier Scriptures, falling into neither extreme of error, was certainly that which was bestowed upon them from above.

It will be necessary, in order to support the views above expressed, to examine some of those quotations against which the charge of unfairness, or mere fanciful accommodation, has been brought. A few only of the most prominent can be adverted to here; but, if a satisfactory explanation of these can be given, credit may not improperly be taken for a similar possibility of explaining the rest.

Much difficulty has been felt in the application of Isai. vii. 10—16., as cited by St. Matthew i. 22, 23.[1] Some have denied its real connection with Christ; and some who allow it a Messianic character believe that an event occurring in the time of Ahaz was the primary object of the prediction. Thus the virgin is regarded as Isaiah's wife, the son to be born one of the prophet's children, who actually received the name Immanuel. All this is gratuitous. If there was to be some immediate fulfilment to encourage those who were then alive, it seems not unreasonable to imagine that the child referred to (v. 16.) was Shear-Jashub, for whose presence (v. 3.) there is otherwise no adequate reason given. But this need not be insisted on. The main reason for some present fulfilment is that the birth of Messiah centuries after could not, it is supposed, be a sign to Ahaz. This, however, is to forget the fact that the mere utterance of a prophecy or promise is often regarded as a sign. Thus, when Moses first hesitates about undertaking the divine commission, he is told, "This shall be a token unto thee, that I have sent thee: when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain" (Exod. iii. 12.). It might equally be said that this could have been no encouragement to Moses to attempt the liberation of his people, since it was not to be fulfilled till that liberation had been accomplished. In Isaiah's own time there was a similar fact. When Hezekiah was alarmed by Sennacherib's declared intention to destroy Jerusalem, he was told that God would interpose to defend his chosen city, so that the Assyrian host should be consumed. Hezekiah's terror was great; for the danger was pressing, the foe at hand. But the sign given for his encouragement was comparatively distant. "This shall be a sign unto thee. Ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself; and the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof" (Isai. xxxvii. 30.). The sign would not be completed till after the invading enemy was discomfited.

There is no necessity, therefore, for placing the fulfilment of the prediction of Immanuel in the time of Ahaz. But, even if any such inferior fulfilment then occurred (of which Scripture is silent) adumbrating the future, it would not derogate from the grand purpose of announcing the wonderful birth of Him to whom the law and the prophets point.

There was reason for the announcement at that time: Syria and Israel were confederate against Judah. Their purpose was not to

[1] See No. 1. p. 114.

make an ordinary inroad, but to dethrone the heir of David, to bring to nought, that is, the Lord's covenant with that house. He that then filled David's throne was indeed unworthy of the honour; still God's counsel should stand. The confederate kingdoms should be put to shame; and, though on Ahaz and his people just punishment should be inflicted (vv. 17, &c.), and Judah be eventually laid waste, yet the design of Syria and Ephraim should be signally frustrated, and that glorious promise be fulfilled in establishing the sovereignty of David's awful Son, who should in special manner show that God, the covenant God of his people, would be with men. The evangelist takes up the prediction in its broadest meaning, and shows how it was accomplished. Before this every other interpretation is mean and inadequate: this was the mind of the inspiring Spirit, fully brought out alone in the incarnation of the Son of God. He only is the true Immanuel. And before His advent not just the kings whom Judah trembled at (v. 14.), but their very kingdoms had been swept away. There is no mere accommodation here: the event had come to pass for which the world had waited.

There is no occasion to discuss here the minuter parts of the phraseology employed: the student must for these be referred to other books. Let it only be said that a lucid view of this prophecy and its fulfilment is given by Dr. Fairbairn in his Hermeneutical Manual.[1]

In the case of Hos. xi. 1., cited in Matt. ii. 15.[2], it must be admitted that the words of the prophet are simply a historical statement. How, then, it is asked, can the evangelist have assumed that the incident he relates of our Lord's personal history was the fulfilment of a prediction? The reply is that, though the words were not, properly speaking, prophetical, yet the event they recorded was typical. There was a defined relationship between the literal Israel and the Messiah, strikingly indicated in the later chapters of Isaiah; just as there was a relationship between the son or progeny of David literally and that greater Son of his who was also David's Lord. The earlier promises had often to do with some person or event of their own times; starting from which they held onward to higher realizations and more glorious perfection. The greatest truths had thus, as it were, at once a body given them; and the marvellous wisdom of God was illustrated in the re-production in a more exalted form of what he had already carried through its inferior development. And, as Christ was the antitypical or true Israel, so what was done in the type must be done again in the antitype. We see this not only in the particular case before us, but in many remarkable circumstances of our Lord's history. "The removal of the infant Saviour for a time to an asylum in Egypt, and his recall thence when the season of danger was over, was substantially doing over again what had been done in the infancy of the national Israel, and thereby helping a weak faith to recognize in this remarkable Babe the new Israel, the Child of hope for the world. Of the same kind, again, was his withdrawal, through the Spirit, into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil, and his sojourn there for forty days; the number and the place, and the object, all pointing back to Israel's forty years' temptation in

[1] Part iii. sect. ii. pp. 416, &c.

[2] See No. 3. pp. 114, 115.

the desert; but, by the day for a year (instead of, as in their case, a year for a day), and by the baffling of the tempter in every assault, showing how infinitely superior the new was to the old, and that here at last was the Israel in whom God was to be fully glorified." [1] If this be so, and if there were utterances of the Spirit in old time based on the relationship of Israel to the Messiah, why should not the writers of the New Testament, guided by the same Spirit, recognize the connection, and point out the events which were the accomplishment of the typical foreshadowings? [2]

With respect to the prophecy of Jeremiah xxxi. 15., referred to by St. Matthew ii. 17, 18.[3], the explanation is of the same character; though the connection is not of the close kind with the case which has just been considered. We must look at the circumstances. After the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the band of Jewish captives seem to have been assembled at Ramah (Jer. xl. 1.), in preparation for their mournful march into Chaldea. Then was lamentation heard. Rachel, the ancestral mother, is poetically introduced as bewailing the utter destruction of her children. But a promise is given for consolation (Jer. xxxi. 16.). The captives should return. The king of Babylon had not finally destroyed the chosen seed. And so, when Herod, a new Nebuchadnezzar, arose, his intention was to crush the hope of Israel, to cut off in the slaughter the Child who was to sit on David's throne. A wail of anguish might well be raised. And, if the blow had been as successful as it was intended to be, all would have been lost: it would have been worse than the sweeping off of the last remnant of the Jews into Babylon. But again God was not unmindful of his covenant. The Light of Israel was not quenched. Amid certain points of diversity the evangelist seizes on the points of resemblance, and thus teaches the lesson, that help was no more now to be looked for from Herod, as his party (the Herodians) maintained, than heretofore the Jews would have expected it from Nebuchadnezzar. Life and hope would be manifested elsewhere.

Let us, again, take the citation in Matt. xxi. 42. of Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.[4] That psalm was probably composed on the laying afresh of the foundation of the temple after the return from Babylon. It was a season when the voice of joy and praise would naturally sound forth for deliverance from the grasp of heathen foes, and for the renewed assurance therein given that God's kingdom should be gloriously established. Why, then, was this expression of gratitude for an accomplished fact used by our Lord as if it were a prediction respecting himself? The reply must be based upon the principles already explained of the relation between Christ and Israel. The conflict had not ceased. Babylon's power was indeed broken; but

[1] Fairbairn, Herm. Man. part iii. sect. ii. pp. 428, 429.

[2] Dr. Alford says very well (on Matt. ii. 15.), "This citation shows the almost-universal application in the N. T. of the prophetic writings to the expected Messiah, as the general antitype of all the events of the typical dispensation. . . . It seems to have been a received axiom of interpretation (which has, by its adoption in the N. T., received the sanction of the Holy Spirit himself, and now stands for our guidance), that the subject of all allusions, the represented in all parables and dark sayings, was He who was to come, or the circumstances attendant on his advent and reign."

[3] See No. 4. p. 115.

[4] See No. 28. p. 128.

other enemies would arise. There would still be builders disposed to reject the stone of God's preparing; and it was only in Christ's manifested person and work that the divine counsels would be ultimately fulfilled. "It thus appears," says Dr. Fairbairn, "that, while the passage had a primary respect to Israel, it from the first included the divine purpose, with which Israel was more peculiarly identified—their election of God to be the instrument and channel of blessing to the world, and as such to have the chief place among men. But, as this purpose was to find its proper accomplishment in Christ, so to apply the passage personally to him was in perfect accordance with its original import and design."[1]

A remark upon some of the psalms which we find cited in the New Testament may not here be out of place. It is said that they simply narrate the circumstances of the writers, and that it is only by accommodation that they can be applied to Messiah. And even men like Hengstenberg see but the description of the suffering righteous person in general, which can be made to refer to Christ only in so far as he was peculiarly and preeminently a righteous sufferer. But, it has been already noted, as there is a relation between Christ and Israel, so is there a relation between Christ and the house of David. The psalmist may speak of his own griefs; but the expression has not its limit there. In the lineaments of the past the future is depicted; and the sorrows and experience of David have their intended counterpart in the deeper sorrows and fuller experience of a more innocent Sufferer, a nobler King. It is not just that there is a resemblance, an unconnected parallel, but a designed relation. The past foreshadowed the future: the future had its shape from the past. The informing Spirit, who guided the utterance of David as to the things which befel him, made that utterance significant for the history of Messiah who was to be born of David's seed. And it follows that in the New Testament the relation and the significance must be opened out and maintained. If this principle be kept in view, there will be no difficulty felt in the citations from such psalms as xxii., xl., xli., lxix., cix.

There is one case in which especially our Lord has been said to reason in an unsatisfactory way; when (Matt. xxii. 31, 32.) he alleges Exod. iii. 6. in proof of the resurrection.[2] But Christ's argument goes to the fundamental relationship that must subsist between God and those whom he deigns to take into fellowship with himself. He, the pure, the Ever-living One, cannot be allied to corruption and death. As the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and Jacob, he was not the God of those that had passed away, nor yet of the sentient spirits only, but of the entire man. Their mouldering bodies, therefore, he must re-animate: he will be to them all, and do all for them that a God who is *their* God can be and do. Body and soul in their essential perfection, they shall live to him. The argument is most conclusive; and a blessed truth is illustrated and enforced by it.

St. Paul has been charged with rabbinical subtlety for the stress he lays (Gal. iii. 16.) on the singular number of a word in Gen. xxii.[3]

[1] Herm. Man. part iii. sect. ii. p. 489.
[2] See No. 30. p. 130.
[3] See No. 60. p. 141.

18.: "He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." But the objection arises from a misconception of the apostle's meaning. From Abraham divers nations sprang; for he had many sons; but one alone was the child of promise. And in him, Isaac, and his descendants the blessing rested. The promise was not to *seeds*, not to Abraham's offspring indiscriminately, not to the various lines of the many who called him father; but to that one which combined the spiritual with the carnal bond of relationship to Abraham, the seed of which Christ was to be the representative. St. Paul does not mean Christ individually, but Christ collectively — Christ, it is true, personally first and chiefly, but also his body the church as gathered up in him. Tholuck acknowledges that "the prophecy had a *definite* posterity in view, namely, a *believing* posterity; but, had *seeds* been employed, it would have indicated that all the posterity of Abraham who sprang from him by natural descent were included."

It must be confessed that there are some peculiarities in the mode in which the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews applies Old Testament passages. About one half of his citations are taken from the psalms, and sometimes from such psalms (*e.g.* xcvii. and cii.) as do not appear to have a Messianic character. We must, however, remember that his object is not so much to prove that Jesus is the Messiah, as to convince those who admitted his Messiahship of the essential dignity of Him in whom they believed. By him God made the worlds—this was acknowledged; and, therefore, it was in point to cite declarations (Psal. cii. 25—27.) which exalted the majesty of the Creator infinitely above the highest created beings.[1] Besides, a future glory of Zion is described (vv. 13, 14.). She was to be re-built in splendour, when the time to favour her was come. She was to be the seat of a more powerful monarchy; and the kings of the earth would admire the chosen city (v. 15.). And who was to be the sovereign there? The next verse (16.) supplies the answer: "When the Lord shall build up Zion, he shall appear in his glory." It must follow that, when an appearance of the Lord is spoken of, he who should so "appear" could be none other than the King Messiah. The citation of Psal. viii. 4—6. in Heb. ii. 6—8. has been held to involve special difficulty.[2] But surely the psalmist, contemplating with surprise the honour God placed upon a creature whom he had formed out of dust, must have felt that the full significance of the prerogative conferred on him at creation, and debased by the fall, could be realized only by redemption in that ultimate state of honour and dignity which Messiah was to effectuate. "There is a reference to redeemed humanity in association with the Messiah—or the Messiah at the head of redeemed humanity. The humanity of Messiah joined to redeemed humanity is a glorious representation of the dignity belonging to man."[3]

The principle which has been used for the explanation of the

[1] See No. 159. pp. 167, 168. Dr. Owen, Expos. of the Hebrews, i. 10—12., urges that, as a redemption of the people (Psal. cii. 13.), a calling of the Gentiles (15, 21, 22.), and the creation of a new people (18.) are predicted, the psalm must necessarily be regarded as Messianic.

[2] See No. 135. pp. 161, 162.

[3] Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. xi. p. 506.

cases referred to may be advantageously employed in other cases. It is, however, manifestly impossible to pursue here the enquiry into further particulars. And it is the less necessary, as several authors have ably vindicated the New Testament writers from the charge of merely accommodating passages from the Old Testament, which ought not properly to be so employed. To them the student must be referred.[1]]

SECT. III.

OF APOCRYPHAL PASSAGES, SUPPOSED TO BE QUOTED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. — QUOTATIONS FROM PROFANE AUTHORS.

It was a practice of the ancient Hebrew divines not only to cite the Scriptures, as we have seen in the preceding sections, but also to quote histories, facts, and apophthegms or sayings of their early sages, which they had received by *oral tradition* from the time of Moses, in order to supply some facts not recorded in the Pentateuch. Of this method of quotation we have three supposed instances in the New Testament. The first is 2 Tim. iii. 8.; where we meet with the names of Jannes and Jambres as the two Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses. Schickard and some other learned men are of opinion that St. Paul, being deeply conversant in Jewish literature, derived his knowledge of these names from the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, on Exod. vii. 11. But, as there is reason to believe that this Targum is of too late a date to have been consulted by the apostle, it is most probable that he alluded to an ancient and generally received tradition relative to those men. What corroborates the latter conjecture is, that their names are mentioned by some ancient profane writers, as Numenius the Pythagorean[2], and Pliny.[3] The Jews affirm that they were princes of Pharaoh's magicians, and that they greatly resisted Moses.[4] Origen, 185-254., informs us that there was extant, in his time, an apocryphal book concerning these magicians, inscribed *Jannes et Mambres Liber*.[5] The other two instances alluded to are Jude 9.; which cites the story of Michael, the archangel, contending with Satan about the body of Moses, and v. 14. of the same epistle; in which it has been supposed that Jude quoted an apocryphal prophecy of Enoch.[6] But both these instances are borrowed from traditional accounts then received by the Jews, with whom the apostle argues from their own authors and concessions.[7] If, however, it could be proved that the apostle had quoted

[1] See, among others, Fairbairn, The Typology of Scripture (2d edit.), book ii. Append. B. vol. i. pp. 382—425., Hermeneutical Manual, part i. sect. v. pp. 88—103., part iii. sect. ii pp. 416—460.; Davidson, Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xi. pp. 486—506.

[2] Apud Origen. contra Celsum, Op. Par. 1733—59, lib. iv. 51., tom. i. p. 543.; and in Eusebius de Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 8.

[3] Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. cap. 2.

[4] Surenhusius, Βίβλος Καταλλαγῆς, pp. 589, 590.

[5] Tract 35. in Matt. cited by Dr. Whitby on 2 Tim. iii. 8.] In Matt. Comm. Ser., tom. iii. p. 916. Comp. Buxtorf, Lexicon Chald. Talm. et Rabb., cols. 945, &c.]

[6] See an account of the Apocryphal Book of Enoch the Prophet, in the Bibliog. List, vol. iv. sect. vii.

[7] Surenhusius, pp. 699—702., has given long extracts from the Jalkut Rubeni, which

a single passage from the apocryphal book of Enoch, such a quotation will no more prove *his* approbation of the whole book, than Paul's quotations from certain heathen poets prove that apostle's approbation of every part of the compositions to which he referred. On the subject of the supposed apocryphal quotations by Jude, see further, Vol. IV. pp. 620-622.

On a reference to the passages of the Old Testament, which are cited in the way of illustration by the evangelical writers[1], it will be observed that by far the greater number of such quotations has been made by St. Paul. But the same great apostle of the Gentiles, becoming all things to all men, and being deeply versed in the works of heathen authors, as well as in the sacred writings, did not confine himself *exclusively* to the inspired books; and, accordingly, we have three instances in the New Testament of the fine taste and ability with which he cited and applied passages from pagan authors when contending with the Gentiles, or writing to Gentile converts. The first is in Acts xvii. 28.; where he cites part of a verse from the *Phænomena* of Aratus.

..... *τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.*
..... for we his offspring are.

The passage was originally spoken of the heathen deity Jupiter, and is dexterously applied to the true God by Paul, who draws a very strong and conclusive inference from it.

The second instance alluded to is in 1 Cor. xv. 33.; in which passage the apostle quotes an iambic senarius, which is supposed to have been taken from Menander's lost comedy of Thaïs,

Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρῆσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί:

rendered, in our translation, *Evil communications corrupt good manners.*

The last instance to be noticed under this head is Titus i. 12.; where St. Paul quotes from Epimenides, a Cretan poet, the verse which has already been cited and illustrated in Vol. I. pp. 167, 168.; to which the reader is referred.

[The names Jannes and Jammr are found in the Egyptian Papyri, published in 1844 by the trustees of the British Museum, as translated by the Rev. D. I. Heath.[2]

Besides the three quotations here mentioned from profane writers, some others have been discovered or imagined. The most remarkable of these, first pointed out by Mr. T. H. Gill, is from Aristotle, Polit. lib. iii. cap. viii., *κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος*; which agrees literally with Gal. v. 23., *κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος.* For a list of all the quotations or coincidences between the New Testament and passages in apocryphal books, ancient Jewish writings, and Greek poets, &c., see Mr. Gough's New Testament Quotations, London, 1855, pp. 276, &c.]

detail the history of Michael's conflicts with the devil. The same author, pp. 708—712., has also referred to many rabbinical writers, who take notice of Enoch's prophecy.

[1] See before, pp. 191—194.

[2] There is an account of some interesting facts discovered by Mr. Heath in the Journal of Sacred Literature, No. xi., for April, 1854, pp. 254, 255.

CHAP. V.

ON HARMONIES OF SCRIPTURES.

Occasion and design of harmonies of the Scriptures.

THE several books of the holy Scriptures, having been written at different times and on different occasions, necessarily treat on a great variety of subjects, historical, doctrinal, moral, and prophetic. The sacred authors also, writing with different designs, have not always related the same events in the same order: some are introduced by anticipation; and others again which occurred first have been placed last. Hence seeming contradictions have arisen, which have been eagerly seized by the adversaries of Christianity, in order to perplex the minds and shake the faith of those who are not able to cope with their sophistries. These contradictions, however, are not real, for they disappear as soon as they are brought to the test of candid examination.

The manifest importance and advantage of comparing the sacred writers with each other, and of reconciling apparent contradictions, have induced many learned men to undertake the compilation of works, which, being designed to show the perfect agreement of all parts of the sacred writings, are commonly termed HARMONIES. A multitude of works of this description have, at different times, been issued from the press; the execution of which has varied according to the different designs of their respective authors. They may, however, be referred to three classes; viz.

1. Works which have for their object the RECONCILING OF APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS in the sacred writings. These, in fact, are a sort of commentaries.

2. HARMONIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. The design of these is to dispose the historical, poetical, and prophetical books in chronological order, so that they may mutually explain and authenticate one another. Our learned countryman, Dr. Lightfoot, in the year 1647, published a Chronicle or Harmony of the Old Testament; on the basis of which the Rev. Dr. Townsend constructed The Old Testament arranged in Historical and Chronological Order; but he has deviated from, and improved upon, the plan of Lightfoot very materially.

3. HARMONIES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT are of two sorts; viz.

(1.) Harmonies of the entire New Testament, in which not only are the four Gospels chronologically disposed, but the Epistles are also placed in order of time, and interspersed in the Acts of the Apostles. Dr. Townsend's New Testament arranged in Chronological and Historical Order is the most complete work of this kind in the English language.

(2.) Harmonies of the four Gospels, in which the narratives or memoirs of the four evangelists are digested in their proper chronological order.[1]

[1] For an account of these the reader may consult Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, vol. iii. part i. pp. 31—36., and part ii. pp. 29—49. See also Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Harmonics.

PART II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.[1]

BOOK I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE TERMS.

SECTION I.

ON WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICATION.

MAN, being formed for society, has received from his Creator the faculty of communicating to his fellow-men, by means of certain signs, the ideas conceived in his mind. Hence, his organs of speech are so constructed, that he is capable of forming certain articulate sounds, expressive of his conceptions; and these, being fitly disposed together, constitute discourse; which, whether it be pronounced or written, must necessarily possess the power of declaring to others what he wishes they should understand.

[The first object of investigation is, naturally, the meaning of terms: the student will then be properly prepared to examine the meaning of words united into sentences or propositions, and thus to arrive at the true sense of the sacred writers. On this principle the following observations and rules will be as far as possible arranged.]

The vehicles, or signs, by which men communicate their thoughts to each other, are termed WORDS: whether these are orally uttered, or described by written characters; the idea, or notion, attached to any word, is its SIGNIFICATION; and the ideas which are expressed by several words connected together—that is, in entire sentences and propositions, and which ideas are produced in the minds of others—are called the SENSE or proper meaning of words. Thus, if a person utter certain words, to which another individual attaches the same idea as the speaker, he is said to *understand* the latter, or to comprehend the *sense* of his words. If we transfer this to sacred subjects, we may define the *sense of Scripture* to be that conception of its meaning, which the Holy Spirit presents to the understanding of

[1] See some valuable remarks on the moral and other qualifications necessary in a good interpreter of Scripture, vol. i. pp. 466—468.; and Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. i. Some of the observations also of Cellérier on this topic are worth consulting, Manuel d'Herméneutique, part. i. pp. 57—71.

man, by means of the words of Scripture, and by means of the ideas comprised in those words.

EVERY WORD MUST HAVE SOME MEANING.

Although in every language there are very many words which admit of several meanings, yet in common parlance there is only *one true signification* attached to any word; which signification is indicated by the connection and series of the discourse, by its subject-matter, by the design of the speaker or writer, or by some other adjuncts, unless any ambiguity be purposely intended. That the same usage obtains in the sacred writings there is no doubt whatever. In fact, the perspicuity of the Scriptures requires this unity and simplicity of sense, in order to render intelligible to man the design of their Great Author, which could never be comprehended if a multiplicity of senses were admitted. In all other writings, indeed, besides the Scriptures, before we sit down to study them, we expect to find one single determinate sense and meaning attached to the words; from which we may be satisfied that we have attained their true meaning, and understand what the authors intended to say. Further, in common life, no prudent and *conscientious* person, who either commits his sentiments to writing or utters any thing, intends that a diversity of meanings should be attached to what he writes or says; and, consequently, neither his readers, nor those who hear him, affix to it any other than the true and obvious sense. Now, if such be the practice in all fair and upright intercourse between man and man, is it for a moment to be supposed that God, who has graciously vouchsafed to employ the ministry of men in order to make known his will to mankind, should have departed from this way of simplicity and truth? Few persons, we apprehend, will be found, in this enlightened age, sufficiently hardy to maintain the affirmative.[1]

SECT. II.

THE MEANING OF WORDS.

§ 1. *General rules for investigating the meaning of words.*

SINCE words compose sentences, and from these, rightly understood, the meaning of an author is to be collected, it is necessary that we ascertain the individual meaning of words before we proceed further to investigate the sense of Scripture. In the prosecution of this important work, we may observe, generally, that, as the same method and the same principles of interpretation are common both to the sacred volume and to the productions of uninspired man, consequently the signification of words in the holy Scriptures must be sought precisely in the same way, in which the meaning of words in other works usually is or ought to be sought. Hence also it follows, that the method of investigating the signification of words in the Bible is

[1] Keil, Elementa Herm. Nov. Test. p. 12. On this subject the reader may consult Winterberg, Prolusio de interpretatione unicâ, unicâ et certæ persuasionis de doctrinæ religionis veritate et amicæ consensionis causâ, in Velthusen's and Kuinöel's Commentationes Theologicæ, vol. iv. pp. 420—438.

no more arbitrary than it is in other books, but is in like manner regulated by certain laws, drawn from the nature of languages. And, since no term of Scripture has more than one meaning, we must endeavour to find out that *one true sense* in the same manner as we would investigate the sense of Homer or any other ancient writer; and in that sense, when so ascertained, we ought to acquiesce, unless, by applying the just rules of interpretation, it can be shown that the meaning of the passage had been mistaken, and that another is the only just, true, and critical sense of the place.[1] This principle, duly considered, would alone be sufficient for investigating the sense of Scripture; but, as there are not wanting persons who reject it altogether, and as it may, perhaps, appear too generally expressed, we shall proceed to consider it more minutely in the following observations.[2]

1. *Ascertain the* usus loquendi, *or notion affixed to a word by the persons in general, by whom the language either is now or formerly was spoken, and especially in the particular connection in which such notion is affixed.*

The meaning of a word used by any writer is the meaning affixed to it by those for whom he *immediately* wrote. For there is a kind of natural compact between those who write and those who speak a language; by which they are mutually bound to use words in a certain sense: he, therefore, who uses such words in a different signification, in a manner violates that compact, and is in danger of leading men into error, contrary to the design of God, "who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. ii. 4.). It may be observed in illustration of the present canon, that

(1.) *The books of the Old and New Testaments are, each, to be frequently and carefully read, and the subjects therein treated are to be compared together, in order that we may ascertain the meaning of what the authors thought and wrote.*

They, who wish to attain an accurate knowledge of the philosophical notions of Plato, Aristotle, or any other of the ancient Grecian sages, will not consult the later Platonic writers, or the scholastic authors who depended wholly on the *authority* of Aristotle, and whose knowledge of his works was frequently very imperfect, but will rather peruse the writings of the philosophers themselves: in like manner, the books of the Old and New Testaments are to be constantly and carefully perused and weighed by him, who is sincerely desirous to obtain a correct knowledge of their important contents. For, while we collate the expressions of each writer, we shall be enabled to harmonize those passages which treat on the same topics, and may reasonably hope to discover their true sense. Some foreign biblical critics, however (who, in their zeal to accommodate the immutable truths of Scripture to the standard of the present age, would divest the Christian dispensation of its most important doctrines), have asserted that, in the interpretation of the Old Testament, all reference to the New Testament is to be excluded. But, unless we consult the latter, there are passages in the Old Testament, whose meaning *cannot* be fully apprehended. To mention only one instance: In Gen. i. 26, 27. God is said to have created man after his own image: this passage (which describes man in his primeval state of spotless innocence, before he became corrupted by the fall), the divines in question affirm, must be interpreted according to the crude and imperfect notions entertained by the ancient heathen nations concerning the Deity![3] But, if we avail ourselves of the infor-

[1] [It may be well to observe that there is a distinction between the *sense* and the *signification of terms*. The words of one language may be rendered exactly into those of another, and yet the sense conveyed be perfectly different. The modes of ordinary familiar salutation will furnish a sufficient example. The phrases in use in France and Spain *literally* translated would not be understood in England. Hence the object must be to seek terms in one language equivalent to those employed in another. See Morus, On the Differences between the Sense and the Signification of Words and Phrases, translated in the (U.S.) Bible Repository, 1834. vol. iv. pp. 61., &c.]

[2] The following rules are chiefly drawn from Chladenius, Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 238—242.; Jahn, Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp 34.—39.; Langius, Hermeneutica Sacra, p. 16., &c.; Rambach, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, p. 53., &c.; and Semler, Apparatus ad Liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem, p. 179. *et seq.* See also J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. p 349., &c.

[3] How crude, imperfect, and erroneous these views of the heathens were respecting the

mation communicated in the New Testament (as we are fully warranted to do by the example of Christ and his inspired apostles), we shall be enabled to form a correct notion of the divine image intended by the sacred historian; viz. that it consisted in righteousness, true holiness, and knowledge. See Eph. iv. 24. and Col. iii. 10.

(2.) *It is also indispensable that we lay aside, in many instances, that more accurate knowledge which we possess of natural things, in order that we may fully enter into the meaning of different parts of the sacred writings.*

The ancient Hebrews being ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, many things, the nature of which is now well known, it were absurd to apply our more perfect knowledge to the explanation of things which are related according to their limited degrees of knowledge. Hence it is not necessary that we should attempt to illustrate the Mosaic account of the creation according to the Copernican system of the universe. As the Scriptures were composed with the express design of making the divine will known to man, the sacred authors might, and did, make use of popular forms of speech, then in use among the persons whom they addressed; the philosophical truth of which they neither affirmed nor denied.

2. *The received signification of a word is to be retained, unless weighty and necessary reasons require that it should be abandoned or neglected.*

We shall be justified in rejecting the received meaning of a word in the following cases; viz.

(1.) If such meaning clash with any doctrine revealed in the Scriptures.

Thus, according to our authorized version, Eli's feeble reproaches of his profligate sons served only to lull them into security, *because the Lord would slay them* (1 Sam. ii. 25.); the meaning of which rendering is, to make their continuance in sin the *effect* of Jehovah's determination to destroy them, and thus apparently support the horrid tenet, that God wills his creatures to commit crimes because he is determined to display his justice in their destruction. It is true that the ordinarily received meaning of the Hebrew particle כִּי is, *because*; but in this instance it ought to be rendered *therefore*, or *though*[1]; which makes their wilful disobedience the cause of their destruction, and is in unison with the whole tenor of the sacred writings. The proper rendering of this passage is, *Notwithstanding, they hearkened not unto the voice of their father. Therefore the Lord would slay them.*

(2.) If a certain passage *require* a different explanation from that which it appears to present: as Mal. iv. 5, 6. compared with Luke i. 17. and Matt. xi. 14.

(3.) If the thing itself will not admit of a tropical or figurative meaning being affixed to the word.

3. *Where a word has several significations in common use, that must be selected which best suits the passage in question, and which is consistent with an author's known character, sentiments, and situation, and the known circumstances under which he wrote.*

For instance, the word *blood*, which, variously used, is very significant in the sacred writings, denotes our *natural descent* from one common family, in Acts xvii. 26.; *death* in Heb. xii. 4.; *the sufferings and death of Christ*, considered as an atonement for the souls of sinners, in Rom. v 9. and Eph. i. 7.; and also as the procuring cause of our justification in Rom. v. 9., and of our sanctification in Heb. ix. 14.

4. *Although the force of particular words can only be derived from etymology, yet too much confidence must not be placed in that frequently-uncertain science; because the primary signification of a word is frequently very different from its common meaning.*

Almighty has been shown at great length by various writers; but no one has discussed it more elaborately than Dr. Leland, in his Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, as shown from the State of Religion in the Heathen World. 1768. 8vo. Reprinted at Glasgow in 1819, in 2 vols. A compendious notice of the heathen notions respecting the Deity is given in Vol. I. pp. 4—7. Alexander, in his Connection and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments (Lond. 1841.), has well shown the necessity of using the one for the interpretation of the other.

[1] Noldius, in his work on Hebrew particles, has shown that כִּי has the meaning of *therefore* in a number of instances, among which he quotes this passage. He has also adduced others, where it evidently means *though*. Purver adopts the latter signification, and thus translates the clause: *Notwithstanding they would not hearken to the voice of their father,* THOUGH *the Lord should slay* them.

5. ***The distinctions between words, which are apparently synonymous, should be carefully examined and considered.***

In the Latin language many words are accounted perfectly synonymous, which, however, only partially accord together. Thus, a person whose discourse is cut short is said to be *silent* (*silere*); and one who has not begun to speak is said to *hold his tongue* (*tacere*). Cicero, speaking of beauty, observes that there are two kinds of it; the one *dignified and majestic* (*dignitas*); *the other soft and graceful* (*venustas*); the latter to be considered proper to women, the former to men.[1] The same remark will apply to the language of Scripture. For instance, in Psal. cxix. there are not fewer than ten different words, pointing out the word of God; viz. Law, Way, Word, Statutes, Judgments, Commandments, Precepts, Testimonies, Righteousness, and Truth or Faithfulness. Now all these words are not *literally* synonymous, but refer to some distinguishing properties of the divine word, whose manifold excellences and perfections are thus illustrated with much elegant variety of diction. In the New Testament we meet with similar instances; as in Col. ii. 22.: ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας ἀνθρώπων, *the commandments and doctrines of men. Doctrines* in this passage include *truths* propounded to be believed or known; *commands* imply *laws*, which direct what is to be done or avoided: the latter depend upon and are derived from the former. The apostle is speaking of the *traditions taught* by the elders, and the *load of cumbrous ceremonies commanded* by them, in addition to the significant rites prescribed in the law of Moses. In Rom. xiv. 13. πρόσκομμα, a *stumbling-block*, means a slighter cause of offence, viz. that which wounds and disturbs the conscience of another; σκάνδαλον, *an occasion to fall*, means a more weighty cause of offence, that is, such as may cause any one to apostatize from the Christian faith. Similar examples occur in 1 Tim. ii. 1. and 1 Pet. iv. 3.[2]

6. ***General terms are used sometimes in their whole extent, and sometimes in a restricted sense, and whether they are to be understood in the one way or in the other must depend upon the scope, subject-matter, context, and parallel passages.***

Thus, in 1 Thess. iii. 8., St. Paul, speaking to the Thessalonians, says, *Now we live, if* (more correctly, *when*) *ye stand fast in the Lord.* The word *live* is not to be understood in its whole extent, as implying that the apostle's physical life depended on their standing fast in the Lord, but in a limited sense. It is as if he had said, "Your stedfastness in the faith gives me new life and comfort. I now feel that I live to some purpose, I relish and enjoy life, since my labour in the gospel is not in vain." That this is the true meaning of the apostle is evident from both the subject-matter and the context; for St. Paul, filled with anxiety lest the Thessalonians should have been induced to depart from the faith by their afflictions, had sent Timothy to comfort them. Having heard of their constancy in the faith, he exclaims, Now *we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord.*

§ 2. *Of Emphases.*

I. *Nature of emphasis;—its different kinds.*—II. Verbal emphases: 1. *Emphases of the Greek article*—2. *Emphases of other words*—3. *Emphatic adverbs.*—III. Real emphases.—IV. *General rules for the investigation of emphases.*

I. Nature of Emphasis:—its different kinds.

In the use of language, cases arise where the ordinary signification of a word receives a certain augment (*auctarium*) or idea, which such word has not of itself. This augment is of two kinds: "the one affects the dignity of the word itself; the other, the extent and weight of its signification. In the former case the word receives a sort of honour or dishonour from popular usage." Of this kind of augment

[1] Cum autem pulchritudinis duo genera sint, quorum in altero *venustas* sit, in altero *dignitas*; venustatem muliebrem ducere debemus; dignitatem virilem. Cicero de Officiis, lib. i. cap. xxxvi. Op. tom. xii. p. 57. (edit. Bipont.)

[2] On the subject of words commonly thought synonymous, see Dr. Campbell, Dissertation prefixed to his translation of the Gospels, vol. i. pp. 164—240. (edit. 1807.); Dr. Tittmann, Treatise de Synonymis in Novi Testamenti, or Mr. Craig's translation of it (Edinburgh, 1833–4, 2 vols. 12mo.); and especially Dr. Trench, Synonymes of the New Testament, Cambridge, 1854.

it would be irrelevant to treat in this place. The second class of words comprises those which receive an accession or augmentation in the *extent* or *force of meaning*. These constitute what may with propriety be called *emphatic words*. Emphasis, therefore, may be thus defined: *An accession or augment to the ordinary signification of a word, as either to the extent or force of its meaning.*

Thus, when the Jews speak of Moses, they simply term him *the Prophet*. In like manner, the ancient Greeks call Demosthenes *the Orator;* Plato, *the Philosopher;* Homer, *the Poet*, by way of eminence. These respective appellations are emphatic. The title of *the Prophet*, given by the Jews to Moses, signifies that he was the first of the Jewish prophets, and of such distinguished dignity, that there *arose* no subsequent *prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face*, and conversed with *mouth to mouth* (Deut. xxxiv. 10.; Numb. xii. 8.).[1]

Emphases are either *verbal*, that is, such as occur in *words* both separately and together, or *real*, that is, such as appear in the magnitude and sublimity of the *thing* described by words. The propriety of this division has been contested by Huet, Ernesti[2], and some others, who affirm that emphases subsist in words only, and not in things, and that in things grandeur and sublimity alone are to be found. On this classification, however, there is a difference of opinion; and Longinus himself, who has placed emphases among the sources of the sublime, seems to have admitted that they exist also in things. In the first instance, unquestionably, they are to be sought in words, sometimes in particles, and also in the Greek article; and, when their force is fully apprehended, they enable us to enter into the peculiar elegances and beauties of the sacred style. A few examples illustrative of this remark must suffice.

II. Verbal Emphases.

1. *Emphases of the Greek article.*

In Matt. xxvi. 28. our Saviour, having instituted the sacrament of the Lord's supper, after giving the cup to his disciples, adds, "For this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Almost every syllable of the original Greek, especially the articles, is singularly emphatic. It runs thus: *Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν* ΤΌ *αἷμά μου*, ΤΌ *τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης*, ΤΌ *περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*. The following literal translation and paraphrase do not exceed its meaning: "*For this is* [represents] THAT *blood of mine*, which was pointed out by all the sacrifices under the Jewish law, and particularly by the shedding and sprinkling of the blood of the paschal

[1] Ernesti, Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 40, 41.; Bp. Terrot's translation of Ernesti, vol. i. p. 52.; Morus, Hermeneut. Nov. Test. Acroases, tom. i. pp. 323, 324.; Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p. 27 (edit. 1822), p. 55 (edit. 1827).

[2] Ernesti, Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. p. 41.; and after him Bauer, Herm. Sacra, p. 232; and Morus, Hermeneut. Nov. Test. Acroases, tom. i. pp. 323—326., have distinguished emphases into *temporary* and *permanent*. The *former* is that which is given to a word at a certain time and place, and arises from the feelings of the party speaking, or from the importance of the subject requiring that the word used should be understood with some addition to its usual force. The *latter* or permanent emphases are those, in which a word receives from custom a greater signification than it has of itself, and which it retains in particular modes of speaking. The knowledge of both these is to be derived from a consideration of the context and subject-matter. But the examples adduced in defence of this definition concur to make it a distinction without a difference, when compared with the ordinary classification of emphases into verbal and real, which we have accordingly retained.

lamb; THAT BLOOD of the sacrifice slain for the ratification *of the new covenant;* THE *blood* ready to be *poured out for the multitudes*, the whole Gentile world as well as the Jews, *for the taking away of sins;* sin, whether original or actual, in all its power and guilt, in all its energy and pollution."[1] In Matt. xvi. 16. the following sentence occurs: Σὺ εἶ Ὁ Χριστὸς Ὁ υἱὸς ΤΟΥ Θεοῦ ΤΟΥ ζῶντος, "*Thou art* THE *Christ*, THE SON OF THE *living God.*" In this passage, also, every word is highly emphatic, agreeably to a rule of the Greek language, which is observed both by the sacred writers, as well as by the most elegant profane authors, viz. that, when the article is placed before a noun, it denotes a certain and definite object; but, when it is omitted, it in general indicates any person or thing indefinitely. The apostle did not say, "Thou art Christ, Son of God," without the article: but, "*Thou art* THE *Christ*, the Messiah, THE SON," that very Son, thus positively asserting his belief of that fundamental article of the Christian religion, the divinity and office of the Redeemer of the world, "of the *living God*, or *of God* THE *living one.*" Similar instances occur in John i. 21. Ὁ προφήτης εἶ σύ; "*Art thou* THAT *Prophet*" whom the Jewish nation have so long and so anxiously expected, and who had been promised by Moses (Deut. xviii. 15. 18.)? and also in John x. 11. Ἐγώ εἰμι Ὁ ποιμὴν Ὁ καλός, *I am* THAT *good Shepherd*, or *the shepherd*, THAT *good one*, of whom Isaiah (xl. 11.) and Ezekiel (xxxiv. 23.) respectively prophesied.

Another very important rule in the construction of the Greek article is the following, which was first completely illustrated by the late eminently-learned Granville Sharp; though it appears not to have been unknown to former critics and commentators.[2]

"*When two or more personal nouns of the same gender, number, and case, are connected by the copulative* καὶ (and), *if the first has the definite article and the second, third, &c. have not, they both relate to the same person.*"

This rule Mr. S. has illustrated by the eight following examples:—

1. Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. 2 Cor. i. 3.
2. Τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

These examples are properly rendered, in the authorized translation, and according to the preceding rule;

1. The God and Father of our Lord.
2. To God *even* the Father.

3. Ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ. Eph. v. 5.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
In the kingdom of Christ and of God.	In the kingdom of Christ, *even* of God.

4. Κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2 Thess. i. 12.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
According to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ.	According to the grace of Jesus Christ, *our God and Lord.*

5. Ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 1 Tim. v. 21.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
Before God and the Lord Jesus Christ.	Before Jesus Christ, *the God and Lord;* or, *our* God and Lord. (*For the definitive article has sometimes the power of a possessive pronoun.*)

6. Ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Titus ii. 13.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
The glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.	The glorious appearing *of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

7. Ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2 Pet. i. 1.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
Through the righteousness of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ.	Through the righteousness of Jesus Christ, *our God and Saviour.*

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[1] Dr. A. Clarke, Discourse on the Eucharist, pp. 61, 62.

[2] Venema, in an admirable dissertation on the true reading of Acts xx. 28. has adverted to it; see the passage in the British Critic (N. S.), vol. xi. p. 612.; and also Mr. De Gols, in his valuable, though now neglected, Vindication of the Worship of Jesus Christ. (London, 1726. 8vo.) p. 37.

8. Καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσπότην Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι. Jude 4.

Common Version.	*Corrected Version.*
And denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.	And denying our only *Master, God, and Lord Jesus Christ.*[1]

[The preceding examples are retained, though they illustrate rather the defining power than any emphasis of the Greek article.]

For further information on the subject the student may consult Bp. Middleton's work, or Mr. Boyd's supplementary researches on the Greek article, annexed to Dr. A. Clarke's commentary on Eph. vi. and on the epistle to Titus.

2. *Emphases of other words.*

Matt. ix. 36. *When Jesus saw the multitudes, he had compassion on them,* ἐσπλαγχνίσθη (from σπλάγχνον, a bowel); the ancients generally, and the Jews in particular, accounting the bowels to be the seat of sympathy and the tender passions, applied the organ to the sense.[2] The proper meaning, therefore, of this phrase is that our Lord was moved with the deepest sympathy and commiseration for the neglected Jews.

Heb. iv. 13. *All things are naked and opened,* τετραχηλισμένα, *to the eyes of him with whom we have to account.* The emphasis is here derived from the manner in which sacrifices were anciently performed.

3. *Emphatic adverbs.*

(1.) *Sometimes adverbs of time are emphatic; and a careful notation of the time indicated by them will materially illustrate the force and meaning of the sacred writings.*

Thus, in Mal. iii. 16., we read, *Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, &c.* The word *then* is here peculiarly emphatic, and refers to the time when the last of the prophets wrote, and when many bold infidels and impious persons were found among the Jews, who spake "stout words" against God, and vindicated them. They considered the time spent by them in his service as lost; they attended his "ordinances" with many expressions of humiliation, but they derived no benefit from them; and they concluded that those who cast off all religion, and tempted God by their presumptuous wickedness, were the most prosperous and happy persons (vv. 13—15.). *Then,* viz. *at this season of open wickedness,* there was a remnant of pious Jews, who "spake often one to another," met together that they might confer on religious subjects and animate each other to their duty. Of these persons, and their pious designs and discourses, Jehovah took especial notice; and "a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name."

(2.) *A knowledge of historical circumstances, however, is requisite; lest we ascribe the emphasis to a* wrong source; as in Acts ix. 31.

Then had the churches rest (εἰρήνην, literally, peace or prosperity). The cause of this peace has by some commentators been ascribed to the conversion of Saul, who had previously "made havoc of the church;" but this is not likely; as *he* could not be a cause of *universal* persecution and distress, whatever activity he might have previously shown. Besides, his own persecution (as the context shows) proves that the opposition to the gospel continued with considerable virulence three years after his conversion. The political circumstances of the Jewish nation at that time will show the true cause of this rest. Caligula had ordered his statue to be erected in the temple at Jerusalem; and Petronius, the president of Syria, was on his march with an army for that purpose. Filled with consternation, the Jews met him in vast multitudes in the vicinity of Ptolemais or Acre, and ultimately prevailed on him to abandon his design. It was this persecution of the Jews by the Romans which diverted the Jews from persecuting the Christians; and *then had the churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria;*" the terror occasioned by the imperial decree having spread itself throughout those regions.[3]

III. Real Emphases.

The knowledge of these can be derived only from an acquaintance with

[1] Sharp on the Greek Article, pp. xxxix. xl. 1—56.

[2] Kuinöel in loc., who has given illustrations from classical writers, and also from the Apocrypha.

[3] Dr. Lardner has collected and given at length various passages from Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. x. and Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. cap. ix.; and Philo, De Legat. ad Caium, p. 1024, &c.; which confirm the above statement. See his Credibility, book i. ch. ii. § 12.

the manners, customs, &c. of ancient nations, which are noticed by writers on biblical antiquities and by commentators, so far as they are necessary to illustrate the sacred writings. Two or three instances of these also will suffice to explain their nature.

1. Rom. xi. 17, &c. Here we have a very beautiful illustration taken from the ingrafting of trees. The point to be explained was the union of the Gentiles with the Jews under the gospel dispensation. The Jews were the olive tree: the grafts were both Gentiles and Jews; and the act of ingrafting was the initiation of both into the Christian religion. The Jews are informed that olive branches may with greater ease be ingrafted into their own original stock, which is more natural and congenial to them. The Gentiles are again reminded that, if the natural branches were not spared because of their unfruitfulness, much less would they be spared who were aliens to the Jewish stock, if they should prove unfruitful.

2. The *prize*, *βραβεῖον*, mentioned in 1 Cor. ix. 24., is the crown awarded to the victor in the Olympic games; whence *καταβραβεύειν*, rendered *beguile you of your reward* (Col. ii. 18.), means to deprive any one of a reward or prize, either by partial judgment or in any way impeding him in his Christian course. In 1 Cor. ix. 24., the apostle illustrates the necessity of being in earnest in the Christian race, by a beautiful allusion to the games of the heathen. As the racers and wrestlers in those games fitted themselves for their different exercises, and each strove zealously for the victory, so should the Christian prepare himself for his religious course, and strive for the victory in his great contest with the world.

3. 1 Cor. iv. 13. *We are made the filth of the earth*, *περικαθάρματα*, literally, a *purgation* or *lustrative sacrifice*: the allusion is to a custom common among heathen nations in times of public calamity, who selected some unhappy men of the most abject and despicable character. These, after being maintained a whole year at the public expense, were then led out crowned with flowers, as was usual in sacrifices, and were devoted to appease or avert the anger of their deities, being either precipitated into the sea, or burnt alive, after which their ashes were thrown into the sea.

[It must be added that some critics deny, and perhaps with reason, the existence of what are called real emphases.]

IV. General Rules for the investigation of emphases.

A consideration of the affections by which the sacred authors were animated, when they committed their inspired communications to writing, as well as the scope and context of the passage under consideration, together with the nature of its subject, will always enable us to ascertain the *true* emphasis of words; but, as ingenious minds are apt to fancy them where they do not actually exist, it may be well to offer a few leading hints respecting the particular investigation of emphases.

1. *No emphases are to be sought in refined explanations of passages, or from etymology, both of them uncertain guides at the best; and which are too often carried to extremes. Neither will prepositions always enlarge or give additional force to the meaning of a word, particularly in the Greek language.*

We may instance in 1 Cor. xiii. 6., where we read that true "charity rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth (συγχαίρει) in the truth." Some commentators have conceived that this word is emphatic, and have rendered the passage "*rejoiceth jointly* (with true believers) in the truth." But in this instance, as Schleusner has remarked from Hesychius, the Greek compound verb means no more than the simple verb χαίρω implies, viz. to be delighted or to rejoice in a thing. Our authorized version therefore fully expresses the apostle's meaning. But in Heb. xii. 2. the preposition is highly emphatic, and demands particular attention, in order to apprehend the full force and beauty of the passage, which is wholly *agonistical*, i. e. allusive to the ancient foot-races. Having in the first verse exhorted Christians to divest themselves of every incumbrance, and to run with patience their Christian course, St. Paul adds (v. 2.), *Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith.* The original word, here rendered *looking* (ἀφορῶντες)[1], literally means to *look off*

[1] This word occurs in Josephus precisely in the very same meaning as it is used by the apostle. Ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον, "*having the chief regard to Eleazar*, the governor

from every other object *to* some particular object placed full in view; as the reward destined to the victor in the Olympic foot-race was placed immediately in view of the candidates.[1]

2. *Further: emphases are not to be sought in* versions; *which, however excellent they may in general be, are yet liable to error; consequently the derivation of emphases from them may lead us not merely to extravagant, but even to false expositions of Scripture.*

One instance will suffice to illustrate this remark. In Col. ii. 6., according to the authorized English version, we read thus, *As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord,* so *walk ye in him.* From this rendering of the Greek text many persons have laid much stress on the words *as* and *so* (which last is not to be found in the original), and have deduced a variety of inferences from them, viz. *as* ye received Jesus Christ in a spirit of faith, *so* walk ye in him; *as* ye received him in a spirit of humility, *so* walk ye in him, &c. Now all these inferences, though proper enough in themselves, are derived from *false emphases,* and are contrary to the apostle's meaning, who intended to say no such thing. His meaning, as Dr. Macknight has well translated the passage, is simply this, *Since ye have received Christ Jesus the Lord, walk ye in him:* in other words, as the context plainly shows, "Since ye have embraced the doctrine of Christ, continue to hold it fast, and permit not yourselves to be turned aside by sophistical or Judaizing teachers."[2]

3. *No emphases are to be sought merely in the plural number of words.*

We must be cautious, also, that we do not deduce emphasis merely from the use of the plural number; supposing that, where the plural is put instead of the singular, it necessarily denotes emphases. Thus οὐρανός and οὐρανοί simply mean *heaven;* yet Origen, following the trifling distinctions of some Jewish writers, has attempted to distinguish between them, and has announced the existence of several heavens each above the other.

4. *No emphases are to be sought in words where the abstract is put for the concrete.*

In the Old Testament the abstract is very frequently put for the concrete; that is, substantives are necessarily put in the place of adjectives, on account of the simplicity of the Hebrew language, which has few or no adjectives. A similar mode of expression obtains in the New Testament. Thus, in Eph. v. 8., we read, *Ye were sometimes darkness, σκότος:* in the parallel place, in iv. 18., the metonymy is thus expressed: being *darkened, ἐσκοτισμένοι, in the understanding;* or, as it is rendered in our authorized version, "having the understanding darkened." Numerous examples, in which the abstract is put for the concrete, will be found, *infra,* Book II. Chap. I. Sect. II. § 4. p. 330.

5. *As every language abounds with* idioms, *or expressions peculiar to itself, which cannot be rendered verbatim into another language without violating its native purity, we should be careful not to look for emphases in such expressions.*[3]

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of the temple;" looking to him exclusively, by whom they had been instigated to those offensive measures. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xvii. § 2.

[1] See Braunius, Krebsius, Kypke, Ernesti, and also Drs. Doddridge, Macknight, and A. Clarke on Heb. xii. 1, 2., by whom every emphatic word in these two verses is particularly illustrated.

[2] See Drs. Macknight and A. Clarke on Col. ii. 6.

[3] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pars i. sect. ii. cap. iv. pp. 229—240.; Ernesti, Instit. Interp Nov. Test. pp. 40—45.; Morus, Acroases in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 321—336.; Aug. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. vi. §§ 16—23. Op. tom. ii. pp. 649—651.; Wetstein, Libelli ad Crisin et Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 120—139.; Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars iii. pp. 263—277.; Bishop Marsh, Lectures, lect. xv. pp. 43—49. Prof. Gerard has collected numerous valuable observations on the topics discussed here and in preceding and following sections, in his Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 293—369., particularly in sect. iii. pp. 300—314., on the signification of words; J. B. Carpzov, Primæ Lineæ Herm. Sacræ, pp. 23, 40—45. The subject of emphases is copiously treated by Langius in his Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 64—96.; by Rambach, in his Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, lib. ii. cap. 8. pp. 317—362.; by Jahn, in his Enchiridion Herm. Generalis, pp. 127—135.; by Chladenius, in his Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 310—322.; and by J. E. Pfeiffer, in his Institutiones Herm. Sacr. pp. 534—569.; Stuart, Elements of Interpretation, pp. 119—126 (edit. 1827).; Black, Exeget. Study of Orig. Script. p. 60.

"In the sacred books, and especially in the Hebraisms of the New Testament, we must take care not to seek for and recognize emphasis, merely in the idiom which is so very dissimilar to ours. Many persons, though acquainted with Hebrew, have often made this mistake; but nothing is more fallacious. In the oriental languages many things appear hyperbolical (if you translate them literally, that is, merely by the aid of common lexicons and etymology), which are not in reality hyperbolical."[1]

SECT. III.

PARTICULAR RULES FOR ASCERTAINING THE USUS LOQUENDI.

WORDS being the arbitrary signs of things, the meaning of them depends upon the *usus loquendi*, or the custom of expressing certain things by certain words. The meaning of a word must always be a simple matter of fact; and, of course, it is always to be established by appropriate and adequate testimony. This testimony is either direct or indirect.

DIRECT TESTIMONY is to be obtained, in the first place, from those writers to whom the language, which we investigate, was vernacular, either from the same authors whom we interpret, or from their contemporaries; next from ancient versions made by persons to whom the language was not vernacular, but who lived while it was a spoken language, and by individuals who were acquainted with it; thirdly, from Scholiasts and Glossographers; fourthly, from those who, though foreigners, had learned the language in question.

Where direct testimony fails, recourse must be had to INDIRECT TESTIMONY; under which head we may include the context, analogy of languages, &c.[2]

[It must not be forgotten, while engaged in this inquiry, that there are modifying circumstances which affect the usage of language, as the time, the religion, the sect or party, the habits of ordinary life, and the political institutions of a people. Bishop Terrot instances *καθαρισμός*, which, as he observes, has one meaning in ordinary life, another in pagan religion, another in Judaism, another in Christianity; and in Christianity, again, it has different significations, according as it occurs in dogmatic or moral treatises.[3] *Cunning* is an example in English of a word where the signification has been modified by time. It is now almost exclusively used in a bad sense. We are all familiar with the fact of a word's acquiring, from some circumstance or event, a technical meaning, and after a while retaining this alone. The converse, too, is frequently the case.]

[1] Stuart, Elements of Interpretation, part v. chap. vi. p. 124 (edit. 1827).

[2] Bauer, Herm. Sacr., pars i. sect. ii. pp. 77—79.; Morus, Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. i. pp. 75—77.; Stuart, Elements of Interpretation, part v. chaps. ii. iii. Comp. Stuart on Hebrew Lexicography in Biblical Repository (Andover, U. S.) for Oct. 1836, pp. 462., &c.

[3] Ernesti, Principles of Bibl. Interp. translated by Bp. Terrot, vol. i. part i. sect. i. chap. i. 13. pp. 27, 28.

§ 1. *Direct Testimonies for ascertaining the Usus Loquendi.*

I. *The testimony of the writer, or his contemporaries:*—1. *Definitions*—2. *Examples*—3. *Parallel passages.*—II. *Ancient versions;—their respective merits, rules for consulting them.*—III. *Scholiasts and Glossographers:*—1. *Nature of scholia*—2. *and of Glossaries*—3. *Rules for consulting them.*—IV. *Testimony of foreigners who have acquired a language.*

I. THE TESTIMONY OF THE WRITER OR HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

THE most important aid is afforded by those writers to whom the language to be investigated was vernacular; and where it is indubitable its evidence is abundantly sufficient. This testimony may be drawn from three sources, viz. I. From the definitions of words; II. From examples, and the nature of the subject; and, III. From parallel passages.

I. With regard to definitions, nothing more is necessary than to take good care that the definition be well understood, and to consider how much weight the character of the writer who defines may properly give to it.[1]

Morus has collected examples of definitions from profane writers, both Greek and Latin, which it is not necessary to adduce here; but the following definitions of certain words occurring in the New Testament are of importance for the right understanding of the sacred writers.

1. In Heb. v. 14., St. Paul says that he writes τοῖς τελείοις, to *the perfect;* and he there, with almost logical precision, defines the perfect to be *those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil;* that is, those who by long custom and conversation in the sacred writings have so exercised and improved their faculties, that they can discern between good and bad, true and false doctrines. In the whole of that passage, therefore, we are to understand who are the perfect, agreeably to St. Paul's definition.

2. If we were at a loss to understand, in the style of the same apostle, what he means by the *body of Christ*, we may learn it from Eph. i. 23.; where it is defined by the *church:* thus, ... *the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.*

3. Heb. xi. 1. contains a definition of *faith;* which is there said to be *the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen.*

II. Examples and the nature of the subject also show us the *usus loquendi* and force of words; but to judge correctly, and to make proper distinctions, a good understanding and considerable practice are necessary.

1. By *examples* is meant, that the writer who uses a particular word, though he does not directly define it, yet gives, in some one or more passages, an example of what it means, by exhibiting its qualities or showing the operation of it. Thus,

(1.) In order to explain the word δικαιοσύνη, *righteousness*, which is of very frequent occurrence in the New Testament, we must examine what *examples of righteousness* are added in each passage.

(2.) In Gal. iv. 3., St. Paul uses the term στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, elements of the world,

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[1] Stuart, Elements of Interpretation, part v. chap. ii. p. 64.; Morus, tom. i. pp. 79—81.

at first without an explanation; but afterwards we have an example of the meaning of it in Gal. iv 9.; where the expression is used of the observances of the Mosaic law which preceded the Christian dispensation, and includes the idea of incompleteness and imperfection.

2. The *nature of the subject*, in innumerable instances, helps to define which meaning of a word the writer attaches to it, in any particular passage.

For instance, χάρις, in our version usually rendered *grace*, denotes pardon of sin, divine benevolence, divine aid, temporal blessings, &c. Which of these senses it bears in any particular passage is to be determined from the nature of the subject.[1]

III. In order to ascertain the *usus loquendi*, and to investigate the meaning of a passage, recourse is next to be had to the comparison of similar or parallel passages; and, as much caution is requisite in the application of this hermeneutic aid, it becomes necessary to institute a particular inquiry into its nature, and the most beneficial mode of employing it in the interpretation of the Bible.

1. "When, in any ordinary composition, a passage occurs of doubtful meaning with respect to the sentiment or doctrine it conveys, the obvious course of proceeding is to examine what the author himself has in other parts of his work delivered upon the same subject, to weigh well the force of any particular expressions he is accustomed to use, and to inquire what there might be in the occasion or circumstances under which he wrote, tending to throw further light upon the immediate object he had in view. This is only to render common justice to the writer; it is necessary both for the discovery of his real meaning, and to secure him against any wanton charge of error or inconsistency. Now, if this may justly be required in any ordinary work of uninspired composition, how much more indispensable must it be when we sit in judgment upon the sacred volume; in which (if we acknowledge its divine original) it is impossible even to imagine a failure either in judgment or in integrity."[2]

The passages, which thus have some degree of resemblance, are termed "parallel passages;" and the comparison of them is a most important help for interpreting such parts of Scripture as may appear to us obscure or uncertain; for, on almost every subject, there will be found a multitude of phrases, which, when diligently collated, will afford mutual illustration and support to each other; the truth which is more obscurely intimated in one place being expressed with greater precision in others. Thus, a part of the attributes or circumstances, relating to both persons and things, is stated in one text or passage, and part in another; so that it is only by searching out several passages, and connecting them together, that we can obtain a just apprehension of them. More particularly, the types of the Old Testament must be compared with their antitypes in the New (as Numb. xxi. 9. with John iii. 14.); predictions must be compared with the history of their accomplishment (as Isai. liii., the latter part of v. 12. with Mark xv. 27, 28., and Luke xxii. 37., and the former part of Isai. liii. 12. with Matt. xxvii. 57., Mark xv. 43., Luke xxiii. 50.), and the portion of Scripture, in which any point is specifically

[1] Morus, Acroases, tom. i. pp. 81—84.; Stuart, Elements, p. 65 (edit. 1827).
[2] Bp. Vanmildert, Lectures, pp. 180, 190.

treated, ought to be chiefly attended to in the comparison, as Genesis, chap. i. on the creation, Romans, chaps. iii.—v. on the doctrine of justification, &c. &c.[1]

The *foundation* of the parallelisms occurring in the sacred writings is the perpetual harmony of Scripture itself; which, though composed by various writers, yet proceeding from one and the same infallible source, cannot but agree in words as well as in things. Parallelisms are either *near* or *remote:* in the former case the parallel passages are sought from the same writer; in the latter from different writers. They are further termed *adequate,* when they affect the whole subject proposed in the text; and *inadequate,* when they affect it only in part; but the most usual division of the analogy of Scripture, or parallelisms, is into *verbal,* or parallelisms of words, and *real,* or parallelisms of things.

2. A *verbal parallelism* or *analogy* is that in which, on comparing two or more places together, the same words and phrases, the same mode of argument, the same method of construction, and the same rhetorical figures, are respectively to be found. Of this description are the following instances:—

(1.) *Parallel words and phrases.* Thus, when the prophet Jeremiah, speaking of the human heart, says, that it is "deceitful above all things, and *desperately* wicked" (Jer. xvii. 9.), in order to understand the full import of the original word there rendered *desperately,* we must compare Jer. xv. 18. and Micah i. 9., where the same word occurs, and is rendered *desperate* or *incurable.* From which two passages it is obvious that the prophet's meaning was that the deceitful-

[1] On the importance and benefit of consulting parallel passages, Bishop Horsley has several fine observations in his comment on Psal. xcvii. "It should be a rule with every one, who would read the holy Scriptures with advantage and improvement, to compare every text which may seem either important for the doctrine it may contain, or remarkable for the turn of the expression, with the parallel passages in other parts of holy writ; that is, with the passages in which the subject-matter is the same, the sense equivalent, or the turn of the expression similar. These parallel passages are easily found by the marginal references in Bibles of the larger form."..........."It is incredible to any one, who has not in some degree made the experiment, what a proficiency may be made in that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation, by studying the Scriptures in this manner, without any other commentary or exposition than what the different parts of the sacred volume mutually furnish for each other. I will not scruple to assert that the most ILLITERATE CHRISTIAN, if he can but read his English Bible, and will take the pains to read it in this manner, will not only attain all that practical knowledge which is necessary to his salvation; but, by God's blessing, he will become learned in every thing relating to his religion in such degree, that he will not be liable to be misled either by the refined arguments or by the false assertions of those who endeavour to ingraft their own opinions upon the oracles of God. He may safely be ignorant of all philosophy, except what is to be learned from the sacred books; which indeed contain the highest philosophy adapted to the lowest apprehensions. He may safely remain ignorant of all history, except so much of the history of the first ages of the Jewish and of the Christian church, as is to be gathered from the canonical books of the Old and New Testament. Let him study these in the manner I recommend, and let him never cease to pray for the ILLUMINATION OF THAT SPIRIT by which these books were dictated; and the whole compass of abstruse philosophy, and recondite history, shall furnish no argument with which the perverse will of man shall be able to shake this LEARNED CHRISTIAN'S faith. The Bible, thus studied, will indeed prove to be what we protestants esteem it—a certain and sufficient rule of faith and practice, a helmet of salvation, which alone may quench the fiery darts of the wicked."—Sermons on the Resurrection, &c. pp. 221—228. The Bible with Biblical Commentary, Lond. 1858, 3 vols. 4to., may be mentioned as corroborating Bp. Horsley's observations.

ness and wickedness of the heart of man are so great that they cannot be healed or removed by any human art. Compare also Isai. xl. 11. and Ezek. xxxiv. 23. with John x. 11, 14, 15., Heb. xiii. 20., and 1 Pet. ii. 25. and v. 4.

(2.) *Parallel modes of arguing.* Thus the apostles, Paul and Peter, respectively support their exhortations to patience by the *example of Jesus Christ.* Compare Heb. xii. 2, 3. and 1 Pet. ii. 21. On the contrary, dissuasives from sin are more strongly set forth in the Old and New Testaments, by urging that sinful courses were the *way of* the *heathen nations.* Compare Levit. xviii. 24., Jer. x. 2., and Matt. vi. 32.

(3.) *Of parallel constructions and figures* we have examples in Rom. viii. 3., 2 Cor. v. 21., and Heb. x. 6.; in which passages respectively the Greek word ἁμαρτία, there translated sin, means *sacrifices or offerings for sin,* agreeably to the idiom of the Hebrew language, in which the same word elliptically signifies both *sin* and *sin offering,* which the Septuagint version invariably renders by ἁμαρτία in upwards of one hundred places. Dr. Whitby, on 2 Cor. v. 21., has pointed out a few instances; but Dr. A. Clarke, on the same text, has enumerated *all* the passages, which are, in fact, so many additional examples of verbal parallelisms. To this class some biblical critics refer those passages in which the same sentence is expressed not precisely in the same words, but in *similar* words, more full as well as more perspicuous, and concerning the force and meaning of which there can be no doubt. Such are the parallelisms of the sacred poets; which, from the light they throw on the poetical books of the Scriptures, demand a distinct consideration.

Verbal parallelisms are of great importance for ascertaining the meaning of words that rarely occur in the Bible, as well as of those which express peculiar doctrines or terms of religion, as *faith, repentance, new creature,* &c., likewise in explaining doubtful passages, and also the Hebraisms appearing in the New Testament.

3. A *real parallelism* or *analogy* is where the same thing or subject is treated of, either designedly or incidentally, in the same words, or in others which are more clear, copious, and full, and concerning whose force and meaning there can be no doubt. [These, however, will be more properly considered, when we come to examine the sense of scripture propositions.]

4. Besides verbal and real parallelisms, there is a third species partaking of the nature of both, and which is of equal importance for understanding the Scriptures: this has been termed a *parallelism of members:* it consists chiefly in a certain equality, resemblance, or parallelism, between the members of each period; so that, in two lines, or members of the same period, things shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure.

The nature of this kind of parallelism, which is the grand characteristic of the poetical style of the Hebrews, being fully considered in a subsequent chapter, only one or two examples of its utility as a hermeneutical aid will be necessary in this place.

In the poetical parts of the Old Testament, it sometimes happens

that, in the alternate quatrain, the third line forms a continuous sense with the first, and the fourth with the second. Bishop Lowth has given a striking example of this variety of parallelism in his nineteenth prælection, from Deut. xxxii. 42. But, as its distinguishing feature is not there sufficiently noted, Bishop Jebb adopts the following translation of Mr. Parkhurst:—

I will make mine arrows drunk with blood;
  And my sword shall devour flesh:
With the blood of the slain and the captive;
  From the hairy head of the enemy.

That is, reducing the stanza to a simple quatrain:—

I will make mine arrows drunk with blood;
With the blood of the slain and the captive:
And my sword shall devour flesh;
From the hairy head of the enemy.

Again:—

From without the sword shall destroy;
  And in the inmost apartments terror;
Both the young man and the virgin;
  The suckling, with the man of grey hairs.
Deut. xxxii. 25

"The youths and virgins," says Bishop Jebb, "let out of doors by the vigour and buoyancy natural at their time of life, fall victims to the sword in the streets of the city: while infancy and old age, confined by helplessness and decrepitude to the inner chambers of the house, perish there by fear, before the sword can reach them."

[The following instances will illustrate the use of parallelism in determining the meaning of words. In Psal. xvi. 9., כְּבוֹדִי, literally *my glory*, must mean, *my soul*, as לִבִּי, *my heart*, immediately precedes. So, in Isai. xlvi. 11., עַיִט, *a ravenous bird*, is explained by the following clause, אִישׁ עֲצָתִי, *the man of my counsel:* it evidently describes Cyrus. And, in the New Testament, 1 Cor. xv. 50., the phrase σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα cannot mean *carnal passions*, but *the natural body*, which consists of flesh and blood; since φθορὰ, *corruption*, is found in the parallel clause.]

5. As it requires attention and practice in order to distinguish the different species of parallelisms, especially the sententious or poetical parallelism, the following hints are offered to the biblical student in the hope of enabling him advantageously to apply them to the interpretation of the Scriptures:—

(1.) *Ascertain the primary meaning of the passage under consideration.*

In 1 Cor. iv. 5. we read, *Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts.* Now here is a parallelism of members; but the fundamental meaning is that *God judges the counsels of men;* he therefore judges without respect of persons, and with unerring impartiality. The apostle's design was to show that it is impossible for men to perceive and judge the counsels of one another. Thus, again, words are also construed with words, and things with things, in order that an enumeration may be made of the species, kinds, or parts of the whole; as in the divine ode of the Virgin Mary contained in Luke i. 46—55., in which the *specific* displays of divine power are enumerated. God *hath put down the proud*, but *exalteth them of low degree*, &c. The reader will observe that this place describes the power of God, in whose hands is the distribution of prosperity and adversity; and that all these parts or species are, in an exposition, to be joined together with the proposition exhibiting the genus or *kind*, viz. that prosperity and adversity are in the hands of the Almighty.

(2.) ***Although the sacred Scriptures, primarily coming from God, are perfectly consistent, and harmonize throughout; yet, as they were secondarily written by different authors, on various topics, and in different styles, those books and parts of books are, in the first instance, to be compared, which were composed by the same author, in the same language, and on a parallel subject.***

The propriety of this canon will particularly appear, if we compare the parallel passages of the same author, in preference to every other sacred writer. For instance, in Rom. iii. 24., St. Paul, when treating of our justification in the sight of God, says that we are justified freely by his grace; now that this is to be understood of the free favour of God towards us, and not of any quality wrought in us, is evident from Eph. ii. 4, 5., 2 Tim. i. 9., and Tit. iii. 5, 7.; in which passages our salvation by Jesus Christ is expressly ascribed to the *great love wherewith God loved us* — *to his own purpose and grace* — and *to his mercy and grace.*

(3.) ***Besides the kindred dialects, much assistance will be derived, in studying the parallelisms of Scripture, from a diligent comparison of the Greek Septuagint version with the New Testament; as the latter was very frequently cited by Jesus Christ and his apostles, and was constantly used in the synagogues during the apostolic age, as well as by the Gentile converts to Judaism.***

Thus, the force of our Saviour's expression in Luke xii. 42. (giving a *portion of meat, σιτομέτριον, in due season*) will best appear if we compare it with the Septuagint version of Gen. xlvii. 12.; where we are told that Joseph (when Pharaoh had constituted him intendant-general of Egypt) supplied his father and his brothers, and all his father's household, with a certain portion of corn for each person; ἐσιτομέτρει σῖτον, the very expression used by St. Luke. It was usual for the stewards of great families, in ancient times, to measure out to each slave his allotted portion of corn every month. Again, in Luke xv. 13., the younger son is said to *have taken his journey into a far country*, ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακρὰν, an expression, Grotius remarks, which is singularly appropriate; for in the Septuagint version of Psal. lxxiii. 27. those who have wilfully *cast* off the fear of God are said μακρύνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἑαυτούς, to withdraw themselves afar from God.

(4.) ***Whenever the mind is struck with any resemblance, in the first place consider whether it is a true resemblance, and whether the passages are sufficiently similar; that is, not only whether the same word, but also the same thing, answers together, in order to form a safe judgment concerning it.***

It often happens that *one* word has several distinct meanings, one of which obtains in one place, and one in another place. When, therefore, words of such various meanings present themselves, all those passages where they occur are not to be immediately considered as parallel, unless they have a similar power. Thus, if any one were to compare Jonah iv. 10. (where mention is made of the gourd which came up in a night, and perished in a night, and which in the original Hebrew is termed *the son of a night*) with 1 Thess. v. 5., where Christians are called, not children of the night, but *children of the day*, it would be a spurious parallel.

(5.) ***Where two parallel passages present themselves, the clearer and more copious place must be selected to illustrate one that is more briefly and obscurely expressed.***

The force and meaning of a word can never be ascertained from a single passage; but, if there be a second passage on the same subject, we have a criterion by which to ascertain the writer's meaning. Or, if we consider the subject discussed by him, we shall find that he has in one part touched very slightly on topics which are elsewhere more fully explained, and in which he has omitted nothing that could more copiously illustrate the former place. In availing ourselves, therefore, of a parallel passage to elucidate any part of the inspired writings, it is evident that the clearer places, and those which treat more fully on a subject, are to be considered as fundamental passages, by which others are to be illustrated. Thus, in Hosea xii. 4., there is an allusion to the patriarch Jacob's wrestling with an angel of God: now this place would be extremely obscure, if the whole history of that transaction were not more amply related in Gen. xxxii. 24—31. So Psal. cxii. 4. is illustrated by cxi. 4., and it is shown that in the first-named passage God is described.

(6.) *Other things being equal, a nearer parallel is preferable to one that is more remote.*

If a writer elsewhere repeat the same forms of speech, and also discuss in another part a subject which he has but slightly touched in one place, it is better to explain that place from the same writer, than from parallel passages collected from others. But, where a writer supplies nothing by which to illustrate himself, recourse must in that case be had to such as were contemporary with him, or nearly so; and from their compositions similar passages are to be collected. Thus Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Amos, having been nearly contemporary with each other, and having uttered predictions relative to nearly the same events, elucidate each other; as the prophecy of Ezekiel illustrates that of Jeremiah, and *vice versâ*. This rule will apply generally, unless the more remote writer define obscure places better, or continue and adorn the subject discussed.

(7.) *No assistance is to be derived from similar passages, the sense of which is uncertain.*

For, if such passages be cited to explain another that is obscure, they will be of no use whatever, however similar they may be, but equally obscure. It is to little purpose, therefore, to accumulate similar passages where the same name of a tree, plant, herb, &c. is mentioned, and especially where there is no note or mark attached to it; for several of the birds, beasts, fishes, trees, plants, precious stones, and musical instruments, mentioned in the Scriptures, are either unknown to us, or cannot now be precisely distinguished.[1]

(8.) *The exercise of comparison should be often repeated.*

"To the observance of the principles above stated, frequent practice must be added; so that the interpreter may *easily* discern what passages are similar, and how he may rightly compare them, and judge of them. It will be very useful, here, to consult good interpreters. not only of the Scriptures, but of profane authors; that, where they carry these principles into practice, and plainly make a right and skilful application of them, we may learn to imitate them, by attentively considering the manner in which they attain to the understanding of things which are obscure or ambiguous. By *frequently* renewing this exercise, we may learn to go in the same path in which they have travelled.

"The books of the New Testament present more inducement to repeat this exercise very frequently, than any other books. For (1.) They are of all books the most important. (2.) They are not only all of the same idiom in general, but they have reference to the same subject, viz. the development of Christianity. They originated, too, from contemporary writers, possessed of views, feelings, and language that were alike. Hence comparison has more force in illustrating the New Testament, than in the illustration of either Greek or Latin authors; many of whom, that agreed with each other in all the circumstances just stated, cannot be found. But (3.) To all who admit that the same Holy Spirit guided the authors of the New Testament, and that their views of religion, in consequence of this, must have been *harmonious*, the inducement to comparison of various parts and passages with each other, in order to obtain a correct view of the whole, must be *very great;* and the additional force of the evidence arising from comparison, on account of the really harmonious views of the writers, must make this exercise an imperious duty of every theologian."[2]

(9.) *Many parallel passages should be compared.*

"To compare one passage only is often insufficient, whether you are endeavouring to find the *usus loquendi* by the aid of parallel passages, or by testimony derived from the nature of the subject and from examples. Specially is this the case, when we are investigating the sense of words, that have a complex or generic meaning, made up of various parts. In this case, comparisons should be made from numerous passages, until we perceive that what we are seeking is fully and entirely discovered.

"Suppose the word πίστις occurs in a particular passage, where you are doubtful what sense should be applied to it. First, you call to mind that πίστις is a generic word, having several meanings related to each other, but still diverse, as species under the genus. You wish to determine how many *species* of meaning πίστις has; and, in order to accomplish this, *many* passages where it is used must be compared, in order that you may know whether all the species are found. This being done, you proceed to compare them with the passage under investigation, and see which will fit it. And in this way all generic words must be investigated, before the generic idea can be determined."[3]

[1] See some instances of this observation in Mr. Pilkington's Remarks on several Passages of Scripture, pp. 83—90.

[2] Stuart, Elements of Interpretation, part v. chap. ii. p. 70.

[3] Ibid. p. 71.

(10.) *It will be of great use to collect and reduce into alphabetical order all those similar passages in which the same forms of speech occur, and the same things are proposed in a different order of narration; but care must be taken to avoid the accumulation of numerous passages that are parallel to each other in forms of speech, or in things which are of themselves clear and certain;* for such accumulations of parallel places savour more of a specious display of learning than real utility.[1]

The best and most certain help by which to find out parallel passages is, unquestionably, the diligent and attentive perusal of the Scriptures, repeated after short intervals of time, and accompanied by the committal of the most difficult passages to writing, together with such other passages as are similar either in words or in things, and which tend to throw any light on obscure places. But, in instituting such parallelisms, care must be taken not to multiply references *unnecessarily* for mere show rather than for their practical utility, and also that they do not violate the analogy of faith. For instance, Rom. iii. 28. and James ii. 24. are not in every respect parallel to each other; because in the former passage St. Paul is treating of justification *in the sight of God*—a doctrine which numerous passages of Scripture most clearly testify to be by faith alone; whereas St. James is speaking of justification *in the sight of men*, who form their judgment of a man by his works.

The method here indicated is the only *effectual* way by which to ascertain parallel words and phrases, as well as parallelisms of things: it will indeed require a considerable portion of time and study, which *every one* may not perhaps be able to give; but individuals thus circumstanced may advantageously facilitate their researches by having recourse to editions of the Bible with parallel references, and to Concordances.

II. ANCIENT VERSIONS.

Of the ancient versions of the holy Scriptures, and their uses in sacred criticism, an account has already been given in pages 52—96, 103—105.; and it may here be remarked that, to those who are able to consult them, these versions afford a very valuable aid in the interpretation of the Bible; for they were the works of men, who enjoyed several advantages above the moderns, for understanding the original languages and the phraseology of Scripture. [The *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, words that occur but once, are frequently thus illustrated. The versions are useful, too, to confirm meanings otherwise deduced, and to show which of many meanings is to be preferred.] One or two instances will serve for illustration.

1. In the first promulgation of the gospel to mankind (Gen. iii. 15.), God said to the serpent that beguiled our first parents, *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed, and* IT (that is, the seed of the woman, as our authorized translation rightly expounds it) *shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* But in the Anglo-Romish version, after the Latin Vulgate (which has IPSA

[1] Morus in Ernesti Inst. Interpret. Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 97—110.; Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 163—174.; J. B. Carpzov, Primæ Lineæ Herm. Sacr. pp. 45—47.; A. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. c. xi. tom. ii. pp. 658, 659.; Francke, Prælect. Herm. pp. 95. *et seq.* 153. *et seq.*; Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacræ, pp. 362—384, 651—653.; also his Exercit. Herm. pp. 209—219.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 278—305.; Jahn, Enchiridion Herm. Generalis, pp. 81—94.; and Chladenius, Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 398—406.; Schæfer, Institutiones Scripturisticæ, pars ii. pp. 77—84.; Dr. Gerard, Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 148—157.; Arigler, Herm. Biblica, pp. 181—194.; Alber, Inst. Herm. Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 132—136.

conteret caput tuum), it is rendered, SHE *shall bruise his head;* as if a woman should do it; which the Romanists, interpreting of the Virgin Mary, ascribe to her this great victory and triumph over sin and Satan, and are taught to say in their addresses to her, *Adoro et benedico sanctissimos pedes tuos, quibus antiqui serpentis caput calcâsti;* that is, "I adore and bless thy most holy feet, whereby thou hast bruised the head of the old serpent." That this rendering of the Romanists is erroneous is proved by the Septuagint Greek version, by the Chaldee paraphrase, and by the Syriac version; all of which refer the pronoun *it* to the *seed* of the woman, and not to the woman herself.[1]

2. As the expression *breaking bread*, mentioned in Acts ii. 46., ordinarily means taking food in the Jewish idiom, some expositors have understood that expression in this sense; but the old Syriac version, executed towards the close of the first or early in the second century, renders it *breaking of the eucharist.* We are justified, therefore, in referring the term to the celebration of the Lord's supper among the first Christians (κατ' οἶκον) in a house appropriated to that purpose.

In applying ancient versions, as an auxiliary, to the interpretation of Scripture, it is material to observe that, since no version can be absolutely free from error, we ought not to rely implicitly on any one translation; but, if it be practicable, the aid of the cognate dialects should be united with reference to a version, in order that, by a comparison of both these helps, we may arrive at the knowledge of the genuine readings and meanings. From inattention to this obvious caution, many have at different times ascribed to particular versions a degree of authority to which they were not entitled. Thus, by many of the fathers, the Alexandrian interpreters were accounted divinely inspired, and consequently free from the possibility of mistake: a similar opinion was held by various modern critics, particularly by Isaac Vossius, who asserted the Septuagint to be preferable to the Hebrew text, and to be absolutely free from error! The church of Rome has fallen into the like mistake with respect to the Vulgate or Latin version, which the council of Trent declared to be the *only* authentic translation.

Further, *versions of versions*, that is, those translations which were not made *immediately* from the Hebrew Old Testament, or from the Greek New Testament, are of no authority in determining either the genuine text or meaning of the original, but only of that version from which they were taken. This remark applies particularly to the Anglo-Saxon, Old English, Spanish, French, and German translations, whether of the Old or New Testament; which, being made before the sixteenth century, were executed immediately from the Latin; and subsequently, even in those examples where they are unanimous in a reading, their united voices are of no more authority than that of the Latin version alone.[2] In cases, therefore, which require the aid of a version, for the purpose of criticism or interpretation, recourse must be had to those translations, which, being more ancient or better executed, are preferable to every other. And in this view the following will be found most deserving of attention,

[1] Bp. Beveridge, Works, vol. ii. p. 193. vol. ix. pp. 233, 234.; Agier, Prophéties concernant Jésus Christ et l'Eglise, pp. 243, 244.

[2] Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 3.

not only as uniting the two qualifications of antiquity and excellence, but also as being more generally accessible to students.

1. The *Alexandrian version* is confessedly the most ancient, and, with all its errors and imperfections, contains very much that is highly valuable, and on this account it has been used by nearly all the more ancient interpreters. With the Septuagint should be consulted the fragments of the translations executed by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and also the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions. The version of Aquila, in particular, exhibits a diction similar to that of the New Testament, as he was not very remote from the age of the apostles; and he has some things which may be of especial use in the interpretation of the New Testament. The version of Symmachus is also a valuable hermeneutic aid; as, by translating into pure Greek, he has facilitated the understanding of Hebrew.

2. The *Syriac Peshito,* whose fidelity as a version, independently of the excellence of its style, has received the highest commendations from Michaelis, is particularly serviceable for the interpretation of the New Testament.[1] Nor is its value inferior in the interpretation of the Old Testament. "Of all the ancient versions," says Holden, "the Syriac is the most uniformly faithful and accurate; and, as the language so nearly resembles the Hebrew, its value can scarcely be estimated too high."[2]

3. The *Latin Vulgate,* with the exception of the Psalms, deservedly claims the third place.

4. The *Targums,* or Chaldee paraphrases, though unequally executed, contain many things that are exceedingly useful, and necessary to be known, especially the paraphrases of Jonathan Ben Uzziel: they not only contribute essentially to the understanding of many difficult passages in the Old Testament, but also throw much light on the interpretation of the New Testament, as well as afford much advantage in arguing with the Jews, because they almost invariably view the prophecies in the same light as Christians do, as referring to the Messiah.[3] Extracts from them are to be found in all the larger commentaries, and also in the works of Dr. Lightfoot.

5. The *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus (of whose writings some account is given in pp. 278—280. *infra*) may be reckoned among the ancient versions; for, though on some occasions he followed the Septuagint, yet he derived his representations of sacred history chiefly from the Hebrew text, as is evident by his abandoning the sense of that version in very many places. "With regard to these he is an evidence of great authority; for he is more ancient than the other translators, except the Alexandrine or Septuagint; the Chaldee was his vernacular dialect; and, as he was a learned priest, and subsequently a commander of an army in Galilee during the war with the Romans, he was well versed in all ecclesiastical, civil, and military matters. His readers, however, will find it necessary, not rashly to give credence to all his statements, especially such as are warped in favour of

[1] On the critical use of the Syriac version, the reader may consult G. B. Winer, Commentatio de Versionis N. T. Syriacæ Usu Critico cautè instituendo. Erlangæ, 1824.
[2] Translation of the Book of Proverbs, p. cviii.
[3] Hamilton, Introd. to Heb. Script. p. 192.

his own nation, or even of the heathens, or such as represent the temple of Solomon by a description taken from that of Herod."[1] [Josephus is more serviceable for the illustration of customs than of diction.]

6. The other versions made immediately from the Hebrew and Greek originals follow next in order, particularly the Arabic translations of the Old Testament; but no certain dependence can be placed, as an authority, on the Latin translations of the oriental versions, which are printed in the Polyglott Bibles.

It will not however be *necessary* to consult ancient versions, except in passages that are really difficult, or unless a particular examination of them be instituted for some special object of inquiry. In this case not one or two versions merely should be consulted, but every version that is accessible should be referred to; and all such places should be compared together as are *parallel*, that is, those passages in which the same word or the same form of speaking respectively occurs; and, where any thing worthy of preservation offers itself, it will materially facilitate future studies to note it either in an interleaved Bible, or, which perhaps is preferable, in an interleaved lexicon. This practice will not only enable the biblical student to discover and correctly to appreciate the genius of a version, and the ability, or the reverse, with which it may be executed; but it will also supply many important helps for the interpretation of Scripture. As, however, some of the ancient versions have been altered or interpolated in many places, great care must be taken to distinguish the modern amendments from the genuine text of the original ancient translator. The various excellent concordances that are extant will afford great assistance in finding out such parallel words or phrases.

In order to ascertain how far the ancient versions represent correctly the meaning of Hebrew or Greek words, the following rules will be found useful:—

1. *That meaning is to be taken and received as the true one, which all the versions give to a word, and which is also confirmed by the kindred dialects.*

Because, the number of testimonies worthy of credit being as great as possible, there can be no room left for doubt.

2. *All those significations, formerly given to Hebrew words, are to be considered as correctly given, which the Septuagint or other Greek translators express by the same or similar Greek words, although no trace of such meaning appear in any oriental language.*

For, as no doubt can be entertained of the diligence and scrupulous learning of those translators, who can presume to measure the vast copiousness of the Arabic, Syriac, and other oriental languages by the few books which in our time are extant in those languages? since no one is so ignorant as to suppose that all the riches of the Greek and Latin languages are comprised in the very numerous remains of classical literature with which our age happily abounds.

3. *Where the versions differ in fixing the sense of a word, the more ancient ones, being executed with the greater care and skill, are in the first place to be consulted, and preferred to all others.*

[1] Jahn, Introduction, by Prof. Turner, part i. chap. iv. § 90, p. 105.; Muntinghe, Brevis Expositio Critices Vet. Fœd. pp. 126—129.

For, the nearer a translator approaches to the time when the original language was vernacular, with so much the greater fidelity may he be supposed to have expressed the true signification of words, both primary and proper, as well as those which are derivative and translated.

4. *A meaning given to a word by only one version, provided this be a good one, is by no means to be rejected; especially if it agree with the author's design and the order of his discourse.*

For it is possible that the force and meaning of a word should be unknown to all other translators, and no trace of it be discoverable in the kindred dialects, and yet that it should be preserved and transmitted to posterity by *one* version. This remark applies chiefly to things which a translator has the best opportunity of understanding from local and other circumstances. Thus the Alexandrian interpreters are the most ample testimony for every thing related in the Old Testament concerning Egypt; while others, who were natives of Palestine, and perhaps deeply skilled in Jewish literature, are the best guides we can follow in whatever belongs to that country.[1]

5. Lastly, "*Those versions*" *of the New Testament*, "*in which the Greek is rendered word for word, and the idioms of the original, though harsh and often unmeaning in another language, are still retained in a translation, are of more value in point of criticism than those which express the sense of the original in a manner more suitable to the language of the translator.*"

The value of the latter, as far as regards their critical application, decreases in proportion as the translator attends to purity and elegance, and of course deviates from his original; but their worth is greater in all other respects, as they are not only read with more pleasure, but understood in general with greater ease. By means of the former we discover the words of the original, and even their arrangement; but the latter are of no use in deciding on the authenticity of a reading, if the various readings of the passages in question make no alteration in the sense. No translation is more literal than the Philoxenian (or New) Syriac, and none, therefore, leads to a more immediate discovery of the text in the ancient manuscript whence that version was taken; but, setting this advantage aside, the Old Syriac is of much greater value than the New.[2] [For valuable explanation of the advantages offered by ancient versions, Jewish commentaries, &c., with examples of their use, Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xiii., may be consulted; particularly the rules given pp. 641, 642. Modern versions should not be neglected. A copious account of them may be found in the Bible of Every Land. It may be added, that perhaps no translation is more excellent and serviceable for exegesis than De Wette's.]

III. SCHOLIASTS AND GLOSSOGRAPHERS.

WE have already stated that scholiasts and glossographers afford direct testimonies for finding out or fixing the meaning of words: it now remains that we briefly notice the nature of the assistance to be derived from these helps.

1. SCHOLIA are short notes on ancient authors, and are of two kinds — *exegetical* or explanatory, and *grammatical.* The former briefly explain the *sense* of passages, and are, in fact, a species of commentary; the latter, which are here to be considered, illustrate the force and meaning of *words* by other words which are better known. Such scholia are extant on most of the ancient classics, as Homer, Thucydides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, &c. &c.

On the Old Testament, we believe, there are no ancient scholia ex-

[1] Jahn. Introduct. ad Vet. Fœd. pp 116—122.; Pictet, Théologie Chrêtienne, tom. i. pp. 151, 152.; Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 144—163. 301—309.; J. P. Carpzov, Prim. Lin. Herm. pp. 62—65.; Ernesti, Inst. Interp. N. Test. p. 57.; Morus in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 130, 131.; Gerard, Institutes, pp 107—111.; Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. i. pp. lxxxvii. —xc. 8vo. edit.; A. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sac. cap. xiv., Op. tom. ii. pp. 663, 664.; Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica, pp. 102—107.

[2] Michaelis, Introduction, vol. ii. p. 3.

tant; but on the New Testament there are several collections, which present themselves under three classes.

(1.) *Scholia taken from the writings of the Greek fathers,* who in their homilies and commentaries have often briefly explained the force of particular words.

The homilies of Chrysostom, in particular, abound with these scholia; and from his works, as well as those of Origen and other fathers, the more modern Greeks have extracted what those illustrious men had concisely stated relative to the meaning of words. Similar grammatical expositions, omitting whatever was rhetorical and doctrinal, have been collected from Chrysostom by Theodoret in a commentary on the fourteen epistles of Saint Paul; by Theophylact, in an indifferent commentary on the four evangelists; and, to mention no more, by Euthymius in a similar commentary executed with better judgment. There are extant numerous collections of this kind of explanations, made from the writings of the fathers, and known by the appellation of *Catenæ*, which follow the order of the books comprised in the New Testament. Many such scholia have been published by Matthæi in his edition of the New Testament.

(2.) *Scholia, written either in the margin, within the text, or at the end of manuscripts.*

Many of this description have been published separately by Wetstein in the notes to his elaborate edition of the Greek Testament, and particularly by Matthæi in his edition of the New Testament already noticed.

(3.) *Ancient scholia, which are also exegetical,* or explanatory; these, in fact, are short commentaries, and will be noticed hereafter.

2. A Glossary differs from a lexicon in this respect, that the former treats only of words that really require explanation, while the latter gives the general meaning of words. The authors of the most ancient glossaries are Hesychius, Suidas, Phavorinus, Photius, and Cyril of Alexandria. Ernesti selected from the three first of these writers, and also from the *Etymologicon Magnum,* whatever related to the New Testament, and published the result of his researches at Leipsic, in 1786, in two octavo volumes; from which Schleusner has extracted the most valuable matter, and inserted it in his well-known and excellent Greek lexicon to the New Testament.

3. In estimating the value of scholiasts and glossographers, and also the weight of their testimony, for ascertaining the force and meaning of words, it is of importance to consider, first, whether they wrote from their own knowledge of the language, and have given us the result of their own learning, or whether they compiled from others. Almost all the scholia now extant are compiled from Chrysostom, Origen, or some other fathers of the third and fourth centuries; if the scholiast have compiled from good authorities, his labours have a claim to our attention.

In proportion, therefore, to the learning of a scholiast (and the same remark will equally apply to the glossographer), he becomes the more deserving of our confidence; but this point can be determined only by daily and constant use. The Greek fathers, for instance, are admirable interpreters of the New Testament, being intimately acquainted with its language; notwithstanding they are sometimes mistaken in the exposition of its Hebraisms. But the Latin fathers, many of whom were but indifferently skilled in Hebrew and Greek, are less to be depended on, and are, in fact, only wretched interpreters of comparatively ill-executed versions.

Again, our confidence in a scholiast, or in the author of a glossary, increases in proportion to his antiquity, at least in the explanation of every thing concerning ancient history, rites, or civil life. But, in investigating the force and meaning of words, the antiquity of scholia and glossaries proves nothing; as their authors are liable to error, notwithstanding they lived near the time when the author flourished, whose writings they profess to elucidate. It not unfrequently happens that a more *recent* interpreter, availing himself of all former helps, perceives the force of words much better than one that is more ancient, and is consequently enabled to elicit the sense more correctly. The result, therefore, of our enquiry into the relative value of scholiasts and compilers of glossaries is that, in perusing their labours, we must examine them for ourselves, and form our judgment accordingly, whether they have succeeded, or failed, in their attempts to explain an author. [1]

IV. ON THE TESTIMONY OF FOREIGNERS WHO HAVE ACQUIRED A LANGUAGE.

THE testimony of those who, though foreigners, have acquired a language, is an important help for ascertaining the *usus loquendi.* Thus, the writings of Philo and Josephus, who were Jews, and also those of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, may be used to illustrate the meaning of Greek words; because, although foreigners, they well understood the Greek language. The productions of those writers, indeed, whom by way of distinction we commonly term *pagan writers*, are in various ways highly deserving the attention of the biblical student, for the confirmation they afford of the leading facts recorded in the sacred volume, and especially of the doctrines, institutions, and facts, upon which Christianity is founded, or to which its records indirectly relate. "Indeed it may not be unreasonably presumed, that the writings of pagan antiquity have been providentially preserved with peculiar regard to this great object, since, notwithstanding numerous productions of past ages have perished, sufficient remains are still possessed, to unite the cause of heathen literature with that of religion, and to render the one subservient to the interests of the other." [2]

Of the value of the heathen writings in thus confirming the credibility of the Scriptures, very numerous instances have been given in the preceding volume. We have there seen that the heathen writings substantiate, by an independent and collateral report, many of the events, and the accomplishment of many of the prophecies recorded by the inspired writers; and that they establish the accuracy of many incidental circumstances which are interspersed throughout the Scriptures. "Above all, by the gradually perverted representations which they give of revealed doctrines, and institutions, they attest the actual communication of such truth from time to time, and pay the tribute of experience to the wisdom and necessity of a written reve-

[1] Morus, Acroases, tom. i. pp. 110—130.; Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica, pp. 65, 66, 115—119.

[2] Bp. Gray, Connection of Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. p. 3.

lation." Valuable as these testimonies from the works of heathen authors confessedly are, their uses are not confined to the confirmation of Scripture-facts; they also sometimes contribute to elucidate the phraseology of the sacred writers.

Beck has furnished some cautions in applying the productions of the Greek and Latin writers to the ascertaining of the *usus loquendi.*[1] It is not, however, necessary to introduce them here, as they do not go beyond what an ordinary judgment would suggest.

Bishop Gray has illustrated the benefit which is to be derived from Jewish and heathen profane authors, in elucidating the Scriptures, in his

"Connection between the Sacred Writings and the Literature of Jewish and Heathen Authors, particularly that of the Classical Ages, illustrated." London, 1819, in 2 vols. 8vo.

Grotius and other commentators have incidentally applied the productions of the classical writers to the elucidation of the Bible; and Elsner, Raphelius, and Kypke have been diligent in this department of sacred literature.

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§ 2. *Indirect Testimonies for ascertaining the Usus Loquendi.*

I. *Of the context.* — II. *Analogy of languages* — 1. *Analogy defined* — 2. *Use of grammatical analogy* — 3. *Analogy of kindred languages* — 4. *Hints for consulting this analogy in the interpretation of Scripture* — 5. *Foundation of analogy in all languages.*

THE *usus loquendi* cannot always be found with sufficient certainty by those *direct* means which have just been discussed. Proper evidence is sometimes wanting; sometimes usage is variable or inconstant, even in the same age or in the same writer; or there is an ambiguity of language, or of grammatical forms; or an obscurity covers the thing or subject treated of; or novelty of language occurs; or a neglect of the *usus loquendi,* which sometimes happens even in the most careful writers. Other means must, therefore, be used, by which the true sense can be elicited. These *indirect* means it is now the object to state and to illustrate.

I. OF THE CONTEXT.

A most important assistance, for investigating the meaning of words and phrases, is the consideration of the CONTEXT, or the comparison of the preceding and subsequent parts of a discourse. [This has been already in some degree referred to; for the definitions and examples and parallelisms considered above all involve a reference to the context. But a few additional observations may be introduced here; while the fuller consideration of the context must be reserved till we have advanced to the investigating of the sense of Scripture propositions.]

[1] Beck, Monogrammata Hermeneutices Novi Test. pp. 148, 149.

1. If we analyze the words of an author, and take them out of their proper series, they may be so distorted as to mean anything but what he intended to express. Since, therefore, words have several meanings, and, consequently, are to be taken in various acceptations, *a careful consideration of the preceding and subsequent parts will enable us to determine that signification, whether literal or figurative, which is best adapted to the passage in question.*

A few instances will illustrate this subject, and show not only the advantage, but also the necessity, of attending to the context.

(1.) It has been questioned whether those words of the prophet Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 15.), *Go and prosper; for the Lord shall deliver* it (Ramoth) *into the hand of the king*, are to be understood affirmatively according to their apparent meaning, or are to be taken in an ironical and contrary sense. That they are to be understood in the latter sense, the consideration of the context will plainly show, both from the prophet's intention, and from the prophetic denunciation afterwards made by him. Hence it may be inferred that some sort of ironical gesture accompanied Micaiah's prediction; which circumstance ought to be borne in mind by the interpreter of Scripture.[1]

(2.) Further, there is a difference of opinion whether the address of Job's wife (Job ii. 9.) is to be understood in a good sense, as *Bless* (or ascribe glory to) *God, and die*, or in a different signification, *Curse God, and die*, as it is rendered in our authorized version. Circumstances show that the last is the proper meaning; because as yet Job had not sinned with his lips, and, consequently, his wife had no ground for charging him with indulging a vain opinion of his integrity.

[There are various ways in which light is thrown upon the meaning of a word by referring to the context. Thus the subject and predicate illustrate each other. An apposite example is found in John i. 10., where ἐγένετο is joined with κόσμος. The latter must be taken in the sense of the *material world;* and the verb must be interpreted as being literally *made.*

Again, the signification of words is often determined by the adjuncts. In Psal. xxvi. 6., we have אֶרְחַץ בְּנִקָּיוֹן כַּפָּי, "I will wash my hands *in innocency.*" It was not, therefore, a literal but a figurative washing that was intended. The following examples are selected from those given by Dr. Davidson: "In 1 Pet. ii. 2., τὸ λογικὸν γάλα, *the milk of the word.* Heb. xiii. 15., θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, sacrifice *of praise*, showing what kind of a sacrifice is meant. Col. iii. 1., *If ye then be risen with Christ:* τῷ Χριστῷ, joined with the verb συνηγέρθητε, points out the *nature* of the resurrection. It is a resurrection *of the soul, a spiritual rising.* Matt. v. 3., οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι: τῷ πνεύματι specifies wherein the poverty consists: it is *in spirit.*"[2]]

2. The epithets introduced by the sacred writers are also to be carefully weighed and considered; as all of them have either a declarative or explanatory force, or serve to distinguish one thing from another, or unite these two characters together.

The epithets of Scripture then are,—

(1.) *Exegetical*, or *explanatory*, that is, such as declare the nature and properties of a thing.

Thus, in Tit. ii. 11., the *grace of God* is termed *saving*, not indeed as if there were any other divine grace bestowed on man, that was not saving; but because the grace of God revealed in the gospel is the primary and true source of eternal life. Similar epithets occur in 2 Tim. i. 9., in which our *calling* is styled *holy*; in 1 Pet. iv. 3., where *idolatry* is

[1] See a further illustration of this passage in vol. i. p. 274, 275.

[2] Sacr. Herm. chap. viii. p. 239.; where many more examples may be found.

termed *abominable*; and in 1 Pet ii. 9., where the gospel is called the marvellous light of God, because it displays so many amazing scenes of divine wonders.

(2.) *Diacritical*, or *distinctive*, that is, such as distinguish one thing from another.

For instance, in 1 Pet. v. 4., the *crown* of future glory is termed a *never-fading crown*, ἀμαράντινος, to distinguish it from that *corruptible* crown which, in the Grecian games, was awarded to the successful candidate. In like manner, genuine faith, in 1 Tim. i. 5., is called *undissembled*, ἀνυπόκριτος: God, in the same chapter (v. 17.), is designated the *King incorruptible*, Βασιλεὺς ἄφθαρτος; and in Rom. xii. 1., the self-dedication of Christians to God is termed a *reasonable service*, λατρεία λογική, in contradistinction to the Jewish worship, which chiefly consisted in the sacrifice of *irrational creatures*.

(3.) *Both explanatory and distinctive.*

In Rom. ix. 5., Christ is called *God blessed for ever;* by which epithet both his divine nature *is declared*, and he is eminently *distinguished* from the Gentile deities. Similar examples occur in John xvii. 11. (compared with Luke xi. 11—13.), where God is termed *Holy Father;* in 1 John v. 20. where Christ is styled the *true God*, as also the *great God* in Tit. ii. 13.; and Heb. ix. 14 , where the Holy Spirit is denominated the *eternal Spirit.*

II. ANALOGY OF LANGUAGES.

1. Analogy of languages is an important aid in enabling us to judge of the signification of words.

Analogy means *similitude.* For instance, from the meaning attached to the forms of words, their position, connection, &c., in one, or rather in many cases, we agree to establish a similarity of meaning, where the phenomena are the same, in another. This analogy is the foundation of all the rules of grammar, and of all that is established and intelligible in language. The analogy of languages is of different kinds, viz. 1. the *analogy of any particular language* (that is, of the same language with that which is to be interpreted), the principles of which are developed by grammarians. This kind of analogy has been termed *grammatical analogy.* 2. The *analogy of kindred languages.*[1]

2. Use of Grammatical Analogy.

Grammatical analogy is not only useful in finding the *usus loquendi*, but is also applicable to some doubtful cases; for instance, when the kind of meaning, generally considered, is evident (by comparing other similar words, and methods of speaking concerning such things, appropriate to the language), we may judge of the especial force or power of the word, by the aid of grammatical analogy.

(1.) In Col. ii. 23., occurs the word ἐθελοθρησκεία, in our version rendered *will-worship.* As there is no example of this word, its meaning must be sought from analogy by ascertaining the import of words compounded with ἐθέλω. Of this description of words there are many examples. Thus, ἐθελοπρόξενος is one who takes upon him voluntarily to afford hospitality to strangers, in the name of a city: ἐθελόδουλος is one who offers himself to voluntary servitude; ἐθελουργός, one who labours of his own free will. From this analogy, we may collect that ἐθελοθρησκεία, in Col. ii. 23., means an affected or superstitious zeal for religion; which signification is confirmed by the argument of the apostle's discourse.

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[1] Stuart, Elements, part v. chap. iii. pp. 81, 82. (edit. 1827); Ernesti, Institutio Interpretis Nov. Test. p. 65.

(2.) In 1 Pet. v. 5., where many critics have attached an emphatic sense to ἐγκομβώσασθαι, we must compare the other Greek phrases which relate to clothing or investing; and thus we shall see that the prepositions περί, ἀμφί, and ἐν are used in composition without any accession of meaning to the verb thereby; for instance, ἱμάτιον περιβάλλειν, ἀμφιβάλλειν, or ἐμβάλλειν, simply means to *put on a garment*. Consequently, ἐγκομβώσασθαι means no more than ἐνδύσασθαι, with which it is commuted by Clemens Romanus.[1] The meaning, therefore, of the apostle Peter's expression *be clothed with humility*, is to *exhibit a modest behaviour*.

3. Analogy of Kindred Languages.

Another analogy is that of kindred languages, either as descended from one common stock, as the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic; or derived the one from the other, as Latin and Greek.

Besides the critical use to which the cognate or kindred languages[2] may be applied, they afford very considerable assistance in interpreting the sacred writings. They confirm by their own authority a Hebrew form of speech, already known to us from some other source: they supply the deficiencies of the Hebrew language, and make us fully acquainted with the force and meaning of obscure words and phrases, of which we must otherwise remain ignorant, by restoring the lost roots of words, as well as the primary and secondary meanings of such roots; by illustrating words, the meaning of which has hitherto been uncertain; and by unfolding the meanings of other words that are of less frequent occurrence, or are only once found in the Scriptures. Further, the cognate languages are the most successful, if not the only means of leading us to understand the meaning of phrases, or idiomatical combinations of words found in the Bible, the meaning of which cannot be determined by it, but which, being agreeable to the genius of the cognate languages, are preserved in books written in them. Schultens, in his Origines Hebrææ[3], has illustrated a great number of passages from the Arabic; from whose work Bauer[4] and Dr. Gerard[5] have given many examples which do not admit of abridgment. Schleusner has also availed himself of the cognate dialects to illustrate many important passages of the New Testament. Of the various *modern* commentators on the Bible, no one perhaps has more successfully applied the kindred languages to its interpretation than Dr. Adam Clarke.

4. In consulting the cognate languages, however, much care and attention are requisite, lest we should be led away by *any* verbal or *literal* resemblance that may strike the mind, and above all by *mere* etymologies, which, though in some instances they may be advantageously referred to, are often uncertain guides. The resemblance or analogy must be a *real* one. We must, therefore, compare not only similar *words* and *phrases*, but also similar *modes of speech*, which, though perhaps differing as to the etymology of the *words*, are yet

[1] Epist. i. 30. p. 108. (edit. 1838); Morus, Acroases, tom. i. pp. 171, 172.; Stuart, Elements, p. 82. (edit. 1827).

[2] See a notice of the Cognate Languages in pp. 16—18. of the present volume.

[3] Albert Schultens, Origines Hebrææ, sive Hebrææ Linguæ antiquissima Natura et Indoles, ex Arabiæ penetralibus revocata. Lugduni Batavorum, 1761, 4to.

[4] Bauer, Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 96—144.

[5] Gerard, Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 52—70.

evidently employed to designate the *same idea.* The following examples will serve for illustration:—

[וַיְגַל אֵת מָסַךְ יְהוּדָה, Isai. xxii. 8. Here the meaning is obscure; but a reference to Arabic writers will explain the phrase.[1] Thus in the history of Timur we find وكشفوا غطاء المسترات, "they stripped off the veils of the damsels."[2] And in Abul-Pharajius, Hist. Dynast., قبل ان ينكشف الغطا, "before the veil be stripped off[3];" the intention evidently being to express the deep ignominy and wretchedness that would be suffered. The phrase, as used by Isaiah, therefore, describes the extreme misery endured by Judah.

יָד לְיָד, Prov. xi. 21. The Syriac phrase ܐܝܕܐ ܒܐܝܕܐ (Castell. Lex.) signifies "one after the other;" and therefore the meaning of the passage may be taken to be that the wicked shall be punished from generation to generation. Reiske hence illustrates Job xx. 10., supposing that by יָדָיו children are there intended[4]; an interpretation which best preserves the parallelism of the two members of the verse.

Many similar examples may be seen in Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. xiv.]

5. Foundation of Analogy in all Languages.

"No one can doubt that men are affected in nearly the same way, by objects of sense. Hence, those who speak of the same objects, perceived and contemplated in the same manner, although they may use language that differs in respect to etymology, yet must be supposed to have meant the same thing; and, on this account, the one may be explained by the other.

"Men are physically and mentally affected in the same manner by very many objects; and, of course, it may be presumed that they entertain and mean to express the same ideas concerning these objects, however various their *language* may be. Besides, *modes* of expression are often communicated from one people to another.

"In general, this principle is of great extent, and of much use to the interpreter, in judging of the meaning of tropical language, and in avoiding fictitious emphasis. Accordingly, we find it resorted to, now and then, by good interpreters, with great profit. But it needs much and accurate knowledge of many tongues to use it discreetly; whence it is not to be wondered at, that its use is not very common among interpreters."[5]

The following general cautions, on the subject of comparing words and languages with each other, may be of some utility: they are abridged from Dr. H. C. A. Eichstädt's notes to Morus's Acroases Academicæ.

1. The meaning in each or any language is not to be resolved into the authority of lexicons, but that of good writers.

[1] Schultens, De Defect. Hod. Ling. Hebr. ad calc. Orig. Hebr. pp. 427, 428.
[2] Ahmed. Arabsiad. Vit. Timuri (S. H. Manger), tom. ii. cap. viii. p. 127.
[3] Dyn. x. p. 529.
[4] Conject. in Job. et Proverb. Sal. Lips. 1779, p. 74.
[5] Stuart, Elements, part v. chap. iii. pp. 84, 85.

2. Words, phrases, tropes, &c. of any ancient language are to be judged of by the rules of judging among those who spoke that language, and not by those which prevail in modern times, and which have originated from different habits and tastes.

3. Guard against drawing conclusions as to the meaning of words, in the same or different languages, from fanciful etymology, similarity or metathesis of letters, &c.

4. When the sense of words can be ascertained in any particular language, by the ordinary means, other languages, even kindred ones, should not be resorted to, except for the purpose of increased illustration or confirmation.

5. Take good care that *real* similitude exists, whenever comparison is made.[1]

CHAP. II.

INVESTIGATION OF THE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.

[ATTENTION having been paid to the mode of ascertaining the signification of words and phrases, we may proceed to examine the meaning of propositions and sentences, in other words, to the investigation of the sense of the sacred writers.

This investigation must be conducted on principles similar to those adopted in ascertaining the meaning of terms. The passage itself must be examined, and additional light must be sought from the context, from parallels, and other less immediate sources.[2]

It is obvious that the first step is to settle the right construction of a sentence. A sentence is not merely a number of words in juxta-position: it has parts and members more or less closely united, the dependence of which on each other, and relation of each to the whole, must be carefully inquired into. Hence we must attend to the punctuation: we must see whether there are ellipses to be supplied, whether or no the sentence is interrogative, and must make a careful adjustment of the various parts. One or two illustrative examples shall be given to show the importance of determining the construction of sentences.

John vii. 21, 22. Here it has been proposed to punctuate *θαυμάζετε διὰ τοῦτο.* "I have done one work; and ye all marvel on account of it." But it is doubtful whether such a sense would not require *αὐτό*; and, besides, the meaning of the passage is much better brought out, as Dean Alford has shown[3], by preserving the ordinary punctuation of placing the stop after *θαυμάζετε.*

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[1] Morus, Acroases, tom. i. pp. 182—184.; Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Nov. Test. pp. 65—70., and his Opera Philologica, pp. 171., &c., and 277. The subject of the analogy of languages is also discussed at considerable length by G. G. Zemisch in his Disputatio Philologica de Analogia Linguarum Interpretationis Subsidio (Lipsiæ, 1758, 4to.), reprinted in Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum, vol. vii. pp. 185—221.

[2] There are some valuable remarks on the interpretation of Scripture passages in Fairbairn, Herm. Man. part i. sect. iv. pp. 63, &c.

[3] The Greek Testament, not. in loc.

Rom. ix. 5. It has been proposed to place a full stop at either σάρκα or πάντων, thus converting the latter clause into a doxology. But this cannot be admitted, because the predicate, εὐλογητός, should then have preceded the name of God; because the ὤν would be superfluous; because a doxology here would be unmeaning; and because the expression εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας is twice elsewhere used by Paul (Rom. i. 25.; 2 Cor. xi. 31.), in both cases as an assertion regarding the subject of the sentence.[1]

Prov. xxx. 15. Our authorized version supplies a word, as if there were an ellipse. But this very much weakens the sense. "Give, give," are the names of the "two daughters" of the horse-leech.

Rom. viii. 33, 34. Here there should be an interrogation: "God that justifieth?" "Christ that died?"[2]

Many illustrative examples will be found in Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics.[3]

It is, moreover, necessary to ascertain the proper construction of a period, its syntactical principles, the relation between the subject and the predicate, with the due dependence of the subordinate clauses on the main part of the sentence.

The subject and predicate of a proposition are in general readily distinguished. The subject for the most part precedes the predicate. The first has the article in Greek; not so the other. In Hebrew, if a substantive is the predicate, it follows the subject, which stands after the verb: if an adjective is the predicate, it has no article and comes first. There are of course exceptions; but an attentive examination of a passage in its connection will usually lead to a right understanding.[4]

A few examples may be given: —

2 Kings viii. 13. The predicate is not הַכֶּלֶב which, as the article shows, belongs to the subject עַבְדְּךָ, but מָה. The signification is, What is thy servant, who is in the most abject condition? What power has he ever to accomplish so great a thing, to attain so exalted a object?

Rom. viii. 23. υἱοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν: "Waiting for the redemption of our body as the adoption." "The two accusatives," says Prof. Scholefield, in his Hints for an improved Translation, "following the participle in apposition with one another, the one having the article prefixed and the other not, make it clear that ἀπολύτρωσιν is the object to which υἱοθεσίαν is subjoined as its explanation."

1 Tim. vi. 5. πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Here εὐσέβειαν is the subject, and we must translate *that godliness is a source of gain.*

Many examples are given in Black's Exegetical Study of the original Scriptures.[5]]

[1] The Greek Testament, not. in loc.

[2] See August. Op., Par. 1679—1700, De Divers. Quæst. ad Simpl. Lib. ii. Quæst. v. tom. vi. col. 118.

[3] Chap. viii. pp. 253, &c.

[4] See Lee, Heb. Gram., lect. xiv. 226, &c.

[5] Pp. 32, &c.

SECTION I.

THE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE DEFINED AND ILLUSTRATED.

I. *The literal sense of Scripture;*—II. *The spiritual or mystical sense;*—III. *The moral sense of Kant destitute of foundation;*—IV. *The declarations of Jesus Christ and his apostles not an accommodation to popular opinion;*—V. *The sense of Scripture not to be dictated by the church;*—VI. *Internal revelations, boasted of by some, no criterion of the sense of Scripture;*—VII. *Every sense which the words could bear not to be put upon Scripture;*—VIII. *General rules—province of reason.*

I. The LITERAL SENSE of any place of Scripture is that conception which, according to the purpose of the Holy Spirit, is conveyed to the reader immediately by the words of Scripture, taken either properly or figuratively.[1]

Gen. i. 1. We read that *God created the heaven and the earth.* These words mean what they literally import, and are to be interpreted according to the letter. So, in John x. 30., we read, *I and the Father are one;* in which passage the deity of Christ, and his equality with God the Father, are so distinctly and unequivocally asserted, that it is difficult to conceive how any other than its proper and literal meaning could ever be given to it.

The literal sense has also been termed the *grammatical* sense; the term *grammatical* having the same reference to the Greek language as the term *literal* to the Latin; both referring to the elements of a word. Words may also be taken properly and physically, as in John i. 6., *There was a man whose name was John:* this is called the proper literal sense. When, however, words are taken metaphorically and figuratively, that is, are diverted to a meaning which they do not *naturally* denote, but which they nevertheless intend under some figure or form of speech—as when the properties of one person or thing are attributed to another—this is termed the *tropical* or *figurative* sense.[2]

"Thus, when hardness is applied to *stone*, the expression is used literally, in its proper and natural signification: when it is applied to the *heart*, it is used *figuratively*, or in an improper acceptation. Yet the sense, allowing for the change of subject, is virtually the same, its application being only transferred from a physical to a moral quality."[3] [The sense of a proposition, therefore, may be literal, while the terms used in it are figurative or tropical.[4]] An example of this kind occurs in Ezek. xxxvi. 26., and xi. 19., where the *heart of stone* denotes a hard obdurate heart, regardless of divine admonitions, and the *heart of flesh* signifies a tender heart, susceptible of the best and holiest impressions. In like manner, in Zech. vii. 12., the

[1] Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacr., Jenæ, 1743, lib. i. cap. iii. 7. p. 62.

[2] "The *tropical* sense is no other than the *figurative* sense. As we say, in language derived from the Greek, that a trope is used when a word is turned from its literal or grammatical sense; so we say, in language derived from the Latin, that a *figure* is then used, because in such cases the meaning of the word assumes a new *form*. The same opposition, therefore, which is expressed by the terms *literal* sense and *figurative* sense, is expressed also by the terms *grammatical* sense and *tropical* sense." Bishop Marsh's Lect. part iii. p. 67.

[3] Bishop Vanmildert, Bamp. Lect. p. 222.

[4] See Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pars i. sect. i. § 6. p. 14.

obdurate Jews are said to have made their hearts as ***an adamant stone.*** Numerous similar expressions occur in the New as well as in the Old Testament; as in Luke xiii. 32.; John i. 29., and xv. 5.; where Herod, for his craftiness and cruelty, is termed a *fox;* the Saviour of the world is called the ***Lamb of God,*** because to his great atoning sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, the lamb, which was offered every morning and evening, had a typical reference; he is also called a ***vine,*** as all true Christians are designated the ***branches,*** to intimate that Christ is the support of the whole church, and of every particular believer, that, in the language of the New Testament, they are all implanted and grafted into him, that is, united to him by true faith and sincere love, and that they all derive spiritual life and vigour from him. It is unnecessary to multiply examples of this kind.

Further, the literal sense has been called the HISTORICAL SENSE, as conveying the meaning of the words and phrases used by a writer at a certain time.

Thus, in the more ancient books of the Old Testament, the word ***isles*** or ***islands*** signifies every inhabited region, particularly all the western coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and the seats of Japhet's posterity, viz. the northern part of Asia, Asia Minor, and Europe, together with some other regions. Of this sense of the word we have examples in Gen. x. 5.; Isai. xi. 11., xx. 6., xxiii. 6., xxiv. 15., xlii. 15., lxvi. 19.; Ezek. xxvi. 15, 18., xxvii. 3—7, 15, 35. But, in a later age, it denotes islands properly so called, as in Esther x. 1., and, perhaps, Jer. xlvii. 4. (marginal rendering).[1] Again, the phrase, to ***possess*** or ***inherit the land,*** which is of very frequent occurrence in the Old Testament, if we consider it ***historically,*** that is, with reference to the history of the Jewish nation, means simply to hold the secure and undisturbed possession of the promised land; and, in the New Testament, the phrase to ***follow Christ*** must in like manner be understood ***historically*** in some passages of the Gospels; implying no more than that the persons there mentioned followed the Lord Jesus Christ in his progresses, and were auditors of his public instructions, precisely as the apostles followed him from place to place, and heard his doctrine.[2]

Interpreters now speak of the true sense of a passage by calling it the Grammatico-Historical Sense; and exegesis, founded on the nature of language, is called Grammatico-historical. The object in using this compound name is to show that both grammatical and historical considerations are employed in making out the sense of a word or passage.

II. Where, besides the direct or immediate signification of a passage, whether literally or figuratively expressed, there is attached to it a more remote or recondite meaning, this is termed the MEDIATE, SPIRITUAL, or MYSTICAL SENSE[3]; and this sense is founded, not

[1] Jahn, Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Generalis, pp. 23, 24., who cites Michaelis, Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebreæ Exteræ, part i. pp. 131—140., and also his Supplementum ad Lexica Hebraica, pp. 68, 69.

[2] The reader, who is desirous of fully investigating the *historic sense* of Scripture, will derive much solid benefit from Dr. Storr's Disquisition de Sensu Historico, in vol. i. pp. 1—88. of his Opuscula Academica ad Interpretationem Librorum Sacrorum pertinentia, 8vo. Tubingen, 1796.

[3] "Dicitur mysticus," says a learned and sensible writer of the Romish communion, "a μύω, *claudo;* quia licet non semper fidei mysteria comprehendat, magis tamen occultus, et clausus est, quam literalis, qui *per verba rite intellecta* facilius innotescit." Adam Viser, Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti, pars ii. pp. 51, 52. See also Jahn, Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Generalis, pp. 41, 42.; and Bishop Vanmildert, Bampton Lectures, p. 222.

on a transfer of words from one signification to another, but on the entire application of the matter itself to a different subject.

Thus, what is said *literally* in Exod. xxx. 10. and Levit. xvi., concerning the high priest's entrance into the most holy place on the day of expiation, with the blood of the victim, we are taught by St. Paul to understand *spiritually* of the entrance of Jesus Christ into the presence of God with his own blood (Heb. ix. 7—20.).

[It is, perhaps, not easy properly to illustrate and classify the different forms of the spiritual sense. The definition of Rambach is as good as can be given. "By the mystical sense is to be understood that conception which is conveyed by the Holy Spirit, not immediately by words, but by things or persons described in words."[1] This is clear enough, and is not improved by Jahn's more minute specification. The last-named writer, however, observes well, that, if we choose to be exact, we must acknowledge that this symbolical signification of things should not be called a *sense*, which is not of things but of words and sentences.[2]

Now, then, what forms are there of this spiritual signification? The following division has been proposed:—

(1.) Where the narrative is purely fictitious.

(2.) Where the events or things described have a symbolical meaning.

(3.) Where they are prefigurative.

(1.) The parables of our Lord will supply examples of the first kind. They formed a large part of his public teaching, and were intended symbolically to convey religious and moral instruction, and sometimes to predict coming events. This sense has consequently been called the parabolical sense; also by some writers the moral or tropological sense.

The parable of the talents is a good illustration; its design being to show that the duties which men are called to perform are suited to their situations, and the talents they severally receive; that whatever a good man possesses he has received from God, together with the ability to improve such gift; and that the grace and temporal mercies of God correspond with the power a man has of improving them.

(2.) There are in Scripture many narratives of real transactions and accounts of instituted rites, which were intended to teach by visible representations. Lessons of divine truth were thus communicated in the most lively and impressive manner; they were acted out before those who beheld them; and the record is intended similarly to convey instruction to our minds. Indeed, some of these symbolical acts are still to be performed by us, as the sacraments which Christ has instituted in his church; which are both means of grace and pregnant with symbolical meaning.

(3.) Some of the facts and institutions just referred to, besides their present signification, had respect to the future evolution of God's purposes. There was a prophetic as well as a doctrinal element in them. And this is the typical sense of Scripture. It

[1] Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacr. lib i. cap. iii. 10. p. 67.
[2] Enchir. Herm. cap. i. § 14. p. 42.

will be observed that the same institution might be regarded in two points of view. It might have lessons for those living at the time when it was prescribed, for the inculcation of principles, and for a test of obedience, and it might point forward to the development of a future age, and unfold perhaps still more weighty truths to men who witnessed the accomplishment in the antitype of all that the type prefigured. Hence a symbolical act or institution might, though not necessarily, be also typical. The eucharist is symbolical, the passover symbolical and typical.[1]]

III. The MORAL SENSE or interpretation, advocated by the late Professor Kant of Berlin (whose philosophical system has obtained many followers on the continent), consists in setting aside the laws of grammatical and historical interpretation, and attributing a moral meaning to those passages of Scripture, which, agreeably to grammatical interpretation, contain nothing coincident with the moral dictates of unassisted reason. According to this hypothesis, nothing more is necessary, than that it be *possible* to attach a moral meaning to the passage; it is of little moment how forced or unnatural it may be. Against this mode of interpretation (which is here noticed in order to put the student on his guard) the following weighty objections have been urged:—

(1.) Such a mode of explaining Scripture does not deserve the name of an interpretation; for this moral interpreter does not inquire what the Scriptures actually *do* teach by their own declarations, but what they *ought* to teach, agreeably to his opinions.

(2.) The principle is incorrect, which is assumed as the basis of this mode of interpretation; viz. that a grammatical sense of a passage of Scripture cannot be admitted, or at least is of no use in ethics, whenever it contains a sentiment which reason alone could not discover and substantiate.

(3.) Such a mode of interpretation is altogether unnecessary; for the Bible is abundantly sufficient for our instruction in religion and morality, if its precepts are construed as applying directly or by consequence to the moral necessities of every man. And, although there are passages of difficult explanation in the Bible, as might naturally be expected from the antiquity and peculiar languages of the Scriptures, yet in most instances these passages do not relate to doctrines; and, when they do, the doctrines in question are generally taught in other and plainer passages.

(4.) As, on this plan, the mere possibility of attaching a moral import to a text is regarded as sufficient for considering it as a true

[1] See Biblical Review and Congregational Magazine, vol. iv. pp. 73—94.; from which several hints have been borrowed for this part of the work. See also Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 13—44.; Viser, Herm. Sacr., Nov. Test. pars ii. pp. 1—150.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Institutiones Herm. Sacr. pp. 122—133.; Aug. Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. cap. iii. Op. tom. ii. pp. 633—638.; Ernesti, Institutio Interpretis Novi Test. pp. 14—30. (4th edit.); Morus, Acroases Academicæ super Herm. Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 27—73; J. B. Carpzov, Primæ Lineæ Herm. Sac. p. 24.; Alber, Institutiones Herm. Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 44—46.; Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 580—590.; Bishop Marsh, Lect. part iii. lectt. xv. and xvi. pp. 42—78.; and Bishop Vanmildert. Bampton Lectures, serm. vii. pp. 217—232. and notes, pp. 385—396. The spiritual interpretation of Scripture is discussed below, book ii. chap. iii.

signification, almost every passage must be susceptible of a multitude of interpretations; as was the case during the reign of the mystical and allegorical mode of interpretation, which has long since been exploded. This must produce confusion in religious instruction, want of confidence in the Bible, and, indeed, a suspicion as to its divine authority; for this must be the natural effect of the moral interpretation on the majority of minds.

(5.) Lastly, if such a mode of interpreting the doctrines of Christianity should prevail, it is not seen how insincerity and deceit, on the part of interpreters, are to be detected and exposed.[1]

IV. Equally untenable is the hypothesis of some modern critics, that the interpretation of certain passages of the Old Testament relative to the Messiah, given by Jesus Christ and his apostles, is a doctrinal ACCOMMODATION TO THE OPINIONS AND PREJUDICES OF THE JEWS.[2]

Since the time of Semler, about the middle of the eighteenth century, an opinion has prevailed widely in the protestant churches of Germany, that the Old Testament contains very few passages, or none at all, which treat literally and properly of Jesus Christ; and that all or most of the passages cited in the New Testament are used in the way of accommodation. In support of this theory, its advocates have offered the following reasons: The Jews, at the time of Christ, were very much given to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. Even after the time of the Babylonish captivity, when the expectation of a Messiah had become universal among them, they had eagerly searched the Old Testament for every thing which in the least favoured this expectation; and, by the help of their allegorical interpretation, they had succeeded in making their Scriptures seem to contain predictions respecting a Messiah. Jesus and the apostles (these theorists affirm) were, therefore, compelled to pursue the same method, and to use it as a means of gradually bringing the Jews to a better knowledge of religion.

But in this statement we must carefully distinguish between what is true, and what is erroneous and exaggerated; for,

(1.) The allegorical interpretation of the sacred Scriptures cannot be historically proved to have prevailed among the Jews from the time of the captivity, or to have been common with the Jews of Palestine at the time of Christ and his apostles.

Although the sanhedrim and the hearers of Jesus often appealed to the Old Testament, yet they give no indication of the allegorical interpretation; even Josephus has nothing of it. The Platonic Jews of Egypt began in the first century, in imitation of the heathen Greeks, to interpret the Old Testament allegorically. Philo of Alexandria was distinguished among those Jews who practised this method; and he defends it as something new and before unheard of, and for that reason opposed by the other Jews.[3] Jesus was not, therefore, in a situation in which he was compelled to comply with a prevailing

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[1] Schmucker, Elementary Course of Biblical Theology, vol. i. pp. 272, 273. (Andover, North America, 1827); Alber, Institutiones Hermeneut. Nov. Test. vol. i. pp. 90—93.

[2] Knapp, Lectures on Christian Theology, vol. ii. pp. 157—159. (New York, 1833); Schmucker, Biblical Theology, vol. i. pp. 229, 230. Dr. Tittmann has examined and refuted at considerable length the theory of accommodation, and has most convincingly shown, that it is a mode of interpretation altogether unexampled, deceptive, and fallacious, manifestly uncertain, and leading to consequences the most pernicious. See the Preface to his Meletemata Sacra, sive Commentarius in Evangelium Johannis, pp. xiv.—xxi.

[3] [See Alexander, Connection and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments, lect. iv. (edit. 1841) pp. 188, &c., and App note H.; where reasons are adduced for modifying the statement made above.]

custom of allegorical interpretation; for this method did not prevail at that time among the Jews, certainly not in Palestine, where Jesus taught. Moreover, the representations contained in the works of Philo and Josephus differ, in a variety of respects, from the doctrines of the New Testament. If, however, some of the instructions of Jesus Christ and his apostles did coincide with the popular opinion of the Jews, it will by no means follow that they must therefore have been erroneous. So far as these Jewish opinions were correct, they were worthy of the approbation of Jesus; and the providence of God may, by previous intimations of them, have paved the way for the reception of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity.

(2.) The writers of the New Testament themselves make a clear distinction between the allegorical and literal interpretation of the Old Testament.

When they do use the allegorical method, they either say expressly, "These things may be allegorized" (Gal. iv. 24.); or they show it by the context, or by prefixing some particle of comparison; for instance, ὥσπερ or καθὼς (as), in John iii. 14. and Matt. xii. 40. But they express themselves very differently in texts which they quote as literal prophecy for the purpose of proof.

(3.) If the apostles did not allude to the Old Testament in the instructions which they gave to the Gentiles, it does not follow either that they believed the Old Testament to be of no use to them, or that they did not seriously consider the passages which they cited as predictions in their instruction to the Jews, to be really such. The reason why the apostles omitted these allusions in the commencement of the instruction which they gave to the heathen is the same as leads the wise missionary at the present day to omit them in the same circumstances. Their Gentile hearers and readers knew nothing of the Bible, and could not, of course, be convinced from an unknown book. The apostles, however, gradually instructed their Gentile converts in the contents of this book, and then appealed to it as frequently before them as before Jews or converts from Judaism. This is proved by the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. Thus Peter says to the *heathen* centurion, Cornelius, after the latter had become acquainted with the prophets, *To him* (Jesus) *give all* the prophets witness, &c. (Acts x. 43. compared with Acts viii. 26—35. and the epistles of Saint Paul).

(4.) It cannot be shown in general that Jesus Christ and his apostles, in compliance with the current prejudices of their contemporaries, ever taught any thing, or seemingly affirmed any thing to be true, which they themselves considered as false. Their moral character renders such a supposition inadmissible. Neither can it be shown, in particular, that they adopted and authorized any explanations of the Old Testament, which they themselves considered as invalid, merely because they were common among their contemporaries.

Such compliance is entirely contrary to their usual course of action (see Matt. v. 19, 23.); nor can it be at all justified on pure moral principles. When therefore Christ says distinctly in Matt. xxii. 43. that David by divine revelation called the Messiah Lord (Psal. cx. 1.), he must have believed exactly as he said; and consequently must have admitted a divine prediction respecting the Messiah in this psalm.

Hence it follows that, whenever Jesus and his apostles expressly assent to the Jewish explanations of the Old Testament, or build proofs upon them, they themselves must have considered these explanations as just.

(5.) The hypothesis of the theory of accommodation, that Jesus and his apostles propagated falsehoods under the garb of truth, is overturned by the fact, that miracles attested their high authority as teachers.

(6.) No sure criteria can be given, which shall enable us to distinguish between such of their declarations as they believed themselves, and those in which they accommodated themselves to the erroneous notions of the Jews. The Scriptures nowhere make a distinction between what is universally true, and what is only local or temporary. The theory of accommodation involves the whole of revelation in uncertainty.

[There are other untenable modes of interpretation, which it may be desirable briefly to notice.[1]

V. That of the Romanists, who hold that no other sense of sacred Scripture can be allowed than that which the church holds. By the church they understand the traditions which have been handed down in it, the decrees of councils, the decisions of popes, the opinions of fathers, all which they would have regarded as an infallible rule of interpreting Scripture.[2]

This is the rule laid down by the council of Trent, where men are forbidden to put any sense on Scripture against that sense which mother church has held and does hold, since it is her province to judge of the true sense and interpretation of sacred Scripture.[3]

Now it is obvious that, if this rule were strictly carried out, all hermeneutical disquisition would be precluded. The right of private judgment is disallowed; and the only question for a theological student would be, What has the church decided? No wise man will carelessly cast away the opinions of learned and pious fathers, nor will he think lightly of the authority of such as have rightly occupied the teacher's chair. But it is one thing to yield honour to those to whom honour is due, it is quite another implicitly to receive all that they may promulgate.

If the universal consent of fathers and councils be necessary to establish the sense of Scripture, few can, to any considerable extent, possess the ability, or find the leisure, for gathering their judgment. The church, therefore, speaking by its visible organs in our own days, must be regarded by modern Roman catholics as the director of their faith.

(1.) Now, to pass by the fact that the voice of the church is not always in all places the same, it is a pertinent question: Whence is the assumed authority to determine the sense of Scripture derived? If Scripture be appealed to, the reasoning is in a circle. The argument cannot be sound which professes to gather from Scripture the right to decide what Scripture says.

(2.) Again, if the claim of dictating the sense of Scripture were well founded, the commands, expressed and implied, to search the Scriptures and to prove doctrines thereby, would be nugatory. Our Lord himself when disputing with the Jews frequently referred them to the Old Testament. He treated them as men competent to form an intelligent judgment of what the sacred writers said. Those, too, were commended who tested the doctrine of the apostles by what the Scripture said (Acts xvii. 11.); and St. Paul repeatedly appealed to the common sense of the persons to whom he wrote (1 Cor. x. 15., xi. 13.).

(3.) Further, if this claim were a just one, there could be no variety of interpretations in different ages. But Turretin produces an example to the contrary; and others might readily be added. It was held for long in

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[1] [For a further account of various systems of interpretation—the "Moral," the "Psychologico-historical," the "Accommodation System," the "Mythic," the "Rationalistic," and the "Pietist"—the student is referred to Davidson's Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. vii. See also some sensible observations on the rationalistic and mystic modes of biblical interpretation in L. A. Sawyer's Elements of Biblical Interpretation, chap. iv. Newhaven: 1836; and a very able paper, by the Bishop of Cork (Fitzgerald), in Cautions for the Times, 1853, No. xxix. especially pp. 510, &c.]

[2] Turretin. De Sacr. Script. Interp. pars i. cap. i.

[3] Concil. Trid. Sess. iv. Decret. de Edit. et Us. Sacr. Libr.

the church, from John vi. 53., that infants must receive the eucharist; and accordingly they did receive it. Nevertheless, afterwards the passage was otherwise interpreted, and the custom dropped. Let it be particularly observed here that it was not merely a custom that was changed, but a sense put upon Scripture that was afterwards abandoned; and this is irreconcilable with the authority assumed.[1]

(4.) Again, there are expositions given of different passages of Scripture, by councils, popes, and fathers, which are evidently untenable. Thus some of the notable Scripture arguments adduced in the second Nicene Council to authorize image-worship may be instanced, and various preposterous interpretations put upon texts in the Roman canon law: *e. g.*, Gen. i. 1., The words are *In principio*, not *In principiis;* therefore there is but one supreme authority, that is the sacerdotal: Gen. i. 16., The greater light intends the sacerdotal, the lesser light the regal, power: 1 Cor. ii. 15., The pope is to be judged by no man, &c. &c.[2] It may further be remarked that the fathers cannot be implicitly followed as interpreters. Very few of them understood Hebrew; and their habits of thought and associations were not, in many instances, such as to qualify them for expounders of the sacred word. They, themselves, too, by no means require an implicit deference to their judgment.

(5.) When, also, it is remembered that the interpretation of Scripture is affected by the fact that a version (the Vulgate) has been declared the standard to which appeal must be made, it must be allowed that the claim of the Roman church to be the authorized expounder of the sense of Scripture cannot be sustained.

It must be sufficient to add, that the student will find in Turretin an examination of the arguments on which the Romanists defend their position. He may also be referred to Bp. Marsh's Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome.

VI. There is another objectionable mode of interpretation pursued by such as maintain that the internal word, as they call it, that is to say, peculiar revelations of which they boast, is not only a chief part of God's word, but a criterion for the sense of sacred Scripture.[3]

It is very true that he that would rightly understand the Bible must seek divine help; since the Spirit who inspired it alone teaches the mind by his enlightening power savingly to know and embrace the truth therein contained. But the humble seeking of spiritual guidance is a different thing from the presumption which practically makes the individual a judge over the holy book; and the reasons, if they may be so called, which are adduced for this presumption will not bear discussion. It is not possible, or indeed desirable, to examine them here. The subject is investigated at large by Turretin.[4]

VII. There is yet one more mode of interpreting Scripture which it is well to notice, viz., that which puts upon its words every sense they can be made to bear, and which, consequently, supposes that in the plainest parts of historical narrative deep mysteries are intended to be conveyed.

[1] Attempts have been made by the Romanists to evade this argument. But for a sufficient answer the student may be referred to Bingham, Antiquities of the Christian Church, book xv. chap. iv. sect. 7, who shows that the doctrinal error was really entertained.

[2] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624, Extrav. Comm. lib. i. cap. 1. cols. 211, 212.; Decretal. Gregor. IX. lib. i. tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. col. 426.

[3] Turretin. De Sacr. Script. Interp. pars i. cap. i

[4] Id. ibid. cap. iii.

There is much to be said for the original principle on which this hypothesis is grounded. It is true that God has repeatedly taught doctrines by facts and examples. It is true that, as his purposes are ripening, the same things that had occurred before occur in higher development; so that there is a certain relation between the fortunes and privileges and conduct of the earlier church, and those fuller manifestations when the shadows have departed, and God's people walk in the *light* of his countenance. Hence the theory of types. Rites, for example, were prescribed, through which God was to be approached and worshipped; and at the same time these were to figure other and more perfect modes of approach to him, which should be enjoyed under a covenant stablished upon better promises. Under certain limitations, therefore, such a mode of interpretation, as has been acknowledged before[1], is legitimate. Thus the literal sense must not be disregarded and made merely the vehicle of the allegory; nor must violent and far-fetched meanings be put upon a passage; neither must a doctrinal argument be grounded on such a secondary meaning: a text, that is, so interpreted may be used for illustration, but not for proof.

But many are not content with such concessions. They have given the rein to their imagination, and have deduced all kinds of doctrines from the signification of persons' names, from the numerical value which the letters of words bear, &c. &c.; as if they would carry out to the full the old Jewish maxim, that there is not a point in Scripture which does not contain deep mysteries. It is not intended here to trace the history of this mode of interpretation: suffice it to say that some — and the race of such expositors is not extinct — would find the whole scheme of Christian doctrine in Josh. xv. 14.: "And Caleb drove thence the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai, the sons of Anak."

The objections to such a system are obvious.

(1.) It is bound by no rule; but is vague and random, depending just upon the liveliness of a man's fancy.

(2.) Any thing that the interpreter pleases may in this way be deduced from Scripture; which may thus be made to contradict itself; for different persons might expound the same place differently, and draw from different parts opposing conclusions.

(3.) The same process might be applied to other books, and Christian mysteries be deduced from pagan writers.

(4.) The Bible would hence be a book of riddles, closed to the ordinary reader, and yielding its instruction only to the quick-witted.

Reasons of this kind are sufficient for warning here; where only a brief compendium can be given.[2]]

VIII. The following rules may be useful in investigating the sense: —

1. *Of any particular passage the most simple sense, — or that which most readily suggests itself to an attentive and intelligent reader, possessing competent knowledge — is in all probability the genuine sense or meaning.*

This remark is so obvious as to require no illustrative example. Where, indeed two

[1] See pp. 243, 244.

[2] For the history and further discussion of this kind of interpretation, see Turretin, De Sacr. Script. Interp. pars i. cap. iv. Comp. Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. iv.

meanings or senses present themselves, without doing any violence to the words or to their scope and connection, and to the subject-matter, &c., in such case the different arguments for and against each meaning must be carefully discussed, and that meaning which is supported by the most numerous and weighty arguments, and is found to be the most probable, must be preferred, as being the genuine sense. Yet, simple as this canon confessedly is, it is perpetually violated by the modern school of interpreters in Germany; at the head of which stand the names of Semler, Bauer, Paulus, Wegscheider, Eichhorn, and others; against whose tenets the unwary student cannot be sufficiently put upon his guard, on account of the great celebrity which some of them have justly acquired for their profound philological attainments. The teachers of this school assert that there is no such thing as a divine revelation in the sense attached to this word by Christians; and that the miracles recorded in the Scriptures are merely natural occurrences, exaggerated and embellished by those who have related them. According to them, the whole of the doctrines of Scripture consist either of the precepts of nature clothed in obscure expressions, or of absolutely false doctrines invented by the sacred writers, who were men subject to error like ourselves, and (what they say is still worse) who were deprived of that mass of knowledge which constitutes the glory of our age. To confirm the preceding observations by a few examples:—

(1.) According to Eichhorn, the account of the creation and fall of man is merely a poetical, philosophical speculation of some ingenious person, on the origin of the world and of evil.[1] So, in regard to the offering up of Isaac by Abraham, he says: "The Godhead could not have required of Abraham so horrible a crime; and there can be no justification, palliation, or excuse for this pretended command of the Divinity." He then explains it: "Abraham *dreamed* that he must offer up Isaac, and, according to the superstition of the times, regarded it as a divine admonition. He prepared to execute the mandate which his dream had conveyed to him. A lucky accident (probably the rustling of a ram who was entangled in the bushes) hindered it; and this, according to ancient idiom, was also the voice of the Divinity."[2] But "what is there in the character of Abraham which will justify taking such a liberty with it, as to maintain that he was not raised above the superstitions of the merest savages; or, who can show that he understood nothing of the nature of dreams? And then, whence the approbation of God, of Christ, and of the holy apostles, bestowed on a horrible act of mere superstition? For horrible it was, if superstition only dictated it. This is a *nodus*, to solve which something more than witty conjectures and brilliant declamation is needed."[3]

(2.) The same writer represents the history of the Mosaic legislation, at Mount Sinai, in a curious manner. Moses ascended to the top of Sinai, and kindled a fire there (how he found wood on this barren rock, or raised it to the top, Eichhorn does not tell us), a fire consecrated to the worship of God, before which he prayed. Here an unexpected and tremendous thunder-storm occurred. He seized the occasion to proclaim the laws which he had composed in his retirement, as the statutes of Jehovah; leading the people to imagine that Jehovah had conversed with him. Not that he was a deceiver; but he really believed that the occurrence of such a thunder-storm was a sufficient proof of the fact, that Jehovah had spoken to him, or sanctioned the work in which he had been engaged.[4] The prophecies of the Old Testament are, according to this writer, patriotic wishes, expressed with all the fire and elegance of poetry, for the future prosperity, and a future deliverer, of the Jewish nation.[5]

(3.) In like manner, C. F. Ammon, formerly professor of theology at Erlangen, tells us, in respect to the miracle of Christ's walking on the water, that "to walk on the sea is not to stand on the waves, as on the solid ground, as Jerome *dreams*, but to walk through the waves so far as the shoals reached, and then to swim."[6] So, in regard to the miracle of the loaves and fishes[7], he says that Jesus probably distributed some loaves and fishes which he had to those who were around him; and thus excited, by his example, others among the multitude, who had provisions, to distribute them in like manner.[8]

(4.) Thiess, in his commentary on the Acts, explains the miraculous effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost[9] in the following manner: "It is not uncommon," says he, "in those countries, for a violent gust of wind to strike on a particular spot or house. Such a gust is commonly accompanied by the electric fluid; and the sparks of this are scattered all around. These float about the chamber, become apparent, and light upon the disciples. They kindle into enthusiasm at this, and believe the promise of their Master is now to be performed. This enthusiasm spectators assemble to witness; and,

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[1] Urgeschichte, passim.
[2] Bibliothek., Band i. s. 45, &c.
[3] Stuart, Hebrew Chrestomathy, p. 164.
[4] Bibliothek., Band i. Theil 1. s. 76, &c.
[5] Propheten, Bibliothek., Einleit. passim.
[6] Pref. to edit. of Ernesti, Inst. Interpret. p. 12.
[7] Matt. xiv. 15.
[8] P. 16.
[9] Acts ii.

instead of preaching as before in Hebrew, each one uses his own native tongue to proclaim his feelings."

(5.) The same Thiess represents the miraculous cure by Peter, of the man who was lame from his birth, in a very singular way. "This man," says he, "was lame only according to report. He never walked at all; so the people believed he could not walk.... Peter and John being more sagacious, however, *threatened* him. 'In the name of the Messiah,' said they, 'stand up.' The word *Messiah* had a magical power. He stood up. Now they saw that he could walk. To prevent the compassion of men from being turned into rage (at his deceit), he chose the most sagacious party, and connected himself with the apostles." [1]

(6.) The case of Ananias falling down dead is thus represented by the same writer: "Ananias fell down terrified; but probably he was carried out and buried while still alive." Heinrichs, however, who produces this comment of Thiess, relates another mode of explaining the occurrence in question; viz. that *Peter stabbed Ananias*; "which does not at all disagree with the vehement and easily exasperated temper of Peter." It is, however, but just to Heinrichs to state that he has expressed his decided disapprobation of this pretended interpretation.[2]

(7.) De Wette, in his treatise *De Morte Christi Expiatoria* (on the atonement of Christ), represents Christ as disappointed that the Jews would not hearken to him as a moral teacher simply; which was the first character he assumed. Christ then assumed the character of a prophet, and asserted his divine mission, in order that the Jews might be induced to listen to him. Finding that they would not do this, and that they were determined to destroy him, in order not to lose the whole object of his mission, and to convert necessity into an occasion of giving himself credit, he gave out that his death itself would be *expiatory!*[3]

2. ***Since it is the design of interpretation to render in our own language the same discourse which the sacred authors originally wrote in Hebrew or Greek, it is evident that our interpretation or version, to be correct, ought not to affirm or deny more than the inspired penmen affirmed or denied at the time they wrote; consequently we should be more willing to take a sense from Scripture than to bring one to it.***

This is one of the most ancient laws of interpretation extant, and cannot be sufficiently kept in mind, lest we should *teach for doctrines the commandments of men*, and impose our *narrow* and *limited* conceptions instead of the *broad* and *general* declarations of Scripture. For want of attending to this simple rule, many forced and unnatural interpretations have been put upon the sacred writings, interpretations alike contradictory to the *express* meaning of other passages, as well as derogatory from every idea we are taught to conceive of the justice and mercy of the Most High. It will suffice to illustrate this remark by one single instance: In John iii. 16, 17. we read that "*God so loved the* WORLD *that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him shall not perish but have everlasting life; for God sent not his Son to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.*" The plain, obvious, and literal sense of this passage, as well as of its whole context, is, that the whole of mankind, including both Jews and Gentiles, without any exception in favour of individuals, were in a ruined state, about to perish everlastingly and utterly without the power of rescuing themselves from destruction; that God provided for their rescue and salvation by giving his Son to die for them; and that all who *believe* in him, that is, who believe what God has spoken concerning Christ, his sacrifice, the end for which it was offered, and the way in which it is to be applied in order to become effectual; that *all who thus believe* shall not only be exempted from

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[1] Comm. on chap. iii.

[2] Nov. Test. Koppianum, vol. iii. Partic. ii. pp. 355—357, &c.

[3] For the preceding examples, the absurdity and extravagance of which are too obvious to require any comment, the author is indebted to the researches of Professor Stuart in his letters to the Rev. W. E. Channing, Lett. v. in Miscellanies. Andover (North America), 12mo. 1846. pp. 178—182. On the topic above discussed, the reader will find some painfully interesting details in Mr. Jacob's Agricultural and Political Tour in Germany (London, 1820, 4to.), pp. 208—212.; in the Magasin Evangélique (Genève, 1820, 8vo.), tome ii. pp. 26—32.; in Dr. J. P. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. ii. part. ii. pp. 634, 635.; and Mr. Rose's State of Protestantism in Germany. It is proper to add, that the system of obscurity and impiety above noticed has met with able refutations; and Kuinoel, whose commentary on the historical books of the New Testament was composed principally for Germans, has given abstracts of these refutations.

eternal perdition, but shall also ultimately *have everlasting life*, in other words, be brought to eternal glory. Yet how are these "good tidings of great joy to all people" narrowed and restricted by certain expositors, who adopt the hypothesis that Jesus Christ was given for the *elect alone!* How then could God be said to love *the world?* Such expositors are compelled to do violence to the passage in question in order to reconcile it to their pre-conceived notions. They interpret that comprehensive word, the *world*, by a synecdoche of a part for the whole; and thus say that it means the nobler portion of the world, namely, the *elect*, without calling to their aid those other parallel passages of Scripture, in which the above consolatory truth is explicitly affirmed in other words. A similar instance occurs in Matt. xviii. 11., where Jesus Christ is said to have "come to save that which was lost," τὸ ἀπολωλός; which word, as its meaning is not restricted by the Holy Spirit, is not to be interpreted in a restricted sense, and consequently must be taken in its most obvious and universal sense. In this way we are to understand Deut. xxvii. 26. and Isa. lxiv. 6.

3. ***Before we conclude upon the sense of a text, so as to prove any thing by it, we must be sure that such sense is not repugnant to natural reason.***

If such sense be repugnant to natural reason, it cannot be the true meaning of the Scriptures; for God is the original of natural truth, as well as of that which comes by particular revelation. No proposition, therefore, which is repugnant to the fundamental principles of reason can be the sense of any part of the word of God; and that which is false and contrary to reason can no more be true and agreeable to the revelations contained in the sacred writings, than God (who is the author of one as well as the other) can contradict himself. Whence it is evident that the words of Jesus Christ, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood* (Matt. xxvi. 26. 28.), are not to be understood in that sense which makes for the doctrine of transubstantiation; because it is impossible that contradictions should be true; and we cannot be more certain that anything is true, than we are that *that* doctrine is false.

[It has been thought difficult to adjust the respective claims of reason and faith. By many they have been considered as antagonistic: one or the other has consequently been rejected; and men have either sunk into the depths of dreary superstition, or wandered into the extravagance of ignorant presumption. But, as it is a "reasonable service" that God requires of his creatures, an unchecked ascendency must not be allowed to either principle. Reason must not supersede faith; nor must faith encroach on reason. "It is only," says Mr. Rogers, "by the mutual and alternate action of these different forces that man can safely navigate his little bark through the narrow straits, and by the dangerous rocks, which impede his course; and if Faith spread not the sail to the breeze, or if Reason desert the helm, we are in equal peril."[1]

It is impossible to traverse here the wide field of inquiry which such a subject offers; but the brief statement of one or two fundamental principles is required for the just process of hermeneutical inquiry.

The conditions of intelligent faith are well stated by the writer just referred to: "The conditions of that intelligent faith which God requires from his intelligent offspring may be fairly inferred to be such . . . . that the evidence for the truths we are to believe shall be, first, such as our faculties are competent to appreciate, and against which, therefore, the mere negative argument, arising from our ignorance of the true solution of such difficulties as are perhaps insoluble because we are finite, can be no reply; and, secondly, such an amount of this evidence as shall fairly overbalance all the objections which we *can* appreciate."[2]

[1] Reason and Faith; their Claims and Conflicts (4th edit.), p. 19.
[2] Ibid. p. 24.

It is on principles like these that we act in common things. We receive propositions and assent to statements which we are unable to account for or to explain. The evidence is sufficient to satisfy us that it is more reasonable to believe than to reject them. So that, though there may be some difficulties that we cannot solve, yet the preponderance of proof is so great as to preclude hesitation in forming our judgment. It is in this respect that Bishop Butler has called "probability" "the very guide of life." The difficulties may be greater or less, and the evidence may be more or less convincing. And accordingly our persuasion may vary from the highest degree of moral certainty to the lowest and least presumption. Reason is to be exercised on this. It is to weigh the proofs, to consider the objections, and to balance the one against the other, in order to a right decision.

In regard to a record like the Bible the office of reason is two-fold: it must test the authority of the record, and, when this is satisfactorily established, it must investigate the meaning of the contents. With the first we have little to do here: it belongs to the department of Christian evidence, the proofs and arguments of which are addressed to men as reasonable creatures. But, when there is proof enough to show that God speaks to us in the Bible, then must our faith be called into exercise. All that he speaks is true, and must be humbly believed. He may reveal mysteries which heart of man hath not conceived; nevertheless faith will embrace them: he may promise unlikely things, as he did to Abraham; but faith will expect the accomplishment. Reason might have questioned the intrinsic likelihood or possibility of the patriarch's becoming the father of many nations; but Abraham, having evidence to satisfy an intelligent mind that God had actually spoken it, believed; and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Reason, then, is not to have the supremacy over Scripture, or to measure God's dealings by a finite standard. Such a process is in the highest degree unreasonable.

It is further within the legitimate province of reason to investigate the real meaning of the divine utterances. The signification of the terms, the connection in which they are found, their figurative or literal intention—all must be tried on the principles of reason. For want of this men have misapplied and wrested the divine word, and have imputed to God assertions and promises which he never made.

Reason and faith then are not in opposition. Each has its peculiar province, and thus they are in harmony. Faith may receive that which reason cannot explain; but faith is never called on to accept that which contradicts reason. Special illustrations of this we are not required to bring. For, in truth, the whole of hermeneutical research is a continued illustration. To the intelligent mind every rule of interpretation must appeal; while that which such interpretation establishes becomes the reasonable object of faith.[1]]

[1] There are some valuable observations, on the subject here touched, made by Dr. Chalmers, Evidences of Christianity, book iv. chap. iv. 10. pp. 513, 514 (edit. 1855).

SECTION II.

OF THE SUBJECT-MATTER.

As there are words that have various meanings, some degree of uncertainty may exist as to which of their different senses is to be preferred in the particular paragraphs in which they occur; yet the ambiguity in such cases is not so great but that it may in general be removed, and the proper signification of the passage in question may be determined; for the SUBJECT-MATTER—that is, the topic of which the author is treating—plainly shows the interpretation that must be given.

Some parts of the Bible are written in a responsive or dialogue form; as Psal. xxiv., Isai. vi. 3., and Rom. iii. 1—9. And the sense of a text is frequently mistaken, by not observing who is the speaker, and what is the specific topic of which he treats; and also by not attending to the frequent and very elegant changes and successions of persons occurring in the Scriptures, and especially in the prophetic writings. One or two examples will illustrate the necessity of considering the subject-matter.

1. The Hebrew word בָּשָׂר literally signifies the *skin*; by a metonymy, the *flesh* beneath the skin; and by a synecdoche it denotes *every animal*, especially man considered as infirm or weak, as in Jer. xvii. 5., *Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm*: There are also several other meanings derived from these, which it is not material now to notice. But that the word *flesh* is to be understood of *man* only in Gen. vi. 12., Psal. lxv. 2., and Job x. 4., will be evident on the slightest inspection of the subject-matter. *All flesh had corrupted his way*—that is, all men had wholly departed from the rule of righteousness, or had made their way of life abominable throughout the world. And, in the psalm above cited, who can doubt but that by the word *flesh* men are intended; *O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh*, that is, all mankind, *come*. In like manner, also, in Job x. 4., it is evident that *flesh* has the same meaning: if, indeed, the passage were at all obscure, the parallelism would explain it: *Hast thou the eyes of a man* (Heb. *of flesh*)? or, *seest thou as man sees?*

2. The first chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah affords an apposite elucidation of attending to the changes and successions of persons occurring in the Scriptures. Jehovah is there represented as impleading his disobedient people, Israel. The prophet, with a boldness and majesty becoming the herald of the Most High, begins with summoning the whole creation to attend when Jehovah speaks (ver. 2.). A charge of gross insensibility is in the next verse brought against the Jews, whose guilt is amplified (ver. 4.); and their obstinate wickedness highly aggravated the chastisements and judgments of God, though repeated till they had almost been left like Sodom and Gomorrah (5—9.). The incidental mention of these places leads the prophet to address the rulers and people of the Jews, under the character of the princes of Sodom and Gomorrah, in a style not less spirited and severe, than it is elegant and unexpected (10.). The vanity of trusting to the performance of the external rites and ceremonies of religion is then exposed (11—15.), and the necessity of repentance and reformation is strongly enjoined (16, 17.), and urged by the most encouraging promises, as well as by the most awful threatenings (18—20.). But, as neither of these produced the proper effect upon that people, who were the prophet's charge, he bitterly laments their degeneracy (21—23.), and concludes with introducing the Almighty himself, declaring his purpose of inflicting such heavy judgments as would entirely cut off the wicked, and excite in the righteous, who should pass through the furnace, an everlasting shame and abhorrence of everything connected with idolatry, the source of all their misery (24—31.). The whole chapter, in loftiness of sentiment and style, affords a beautiful example of this great prophet's manner, whose writings, like his lips, are touched with hallowed fire.[1]

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[1] Bp. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. pp. 4—27. 8vo. edit. Vitringa, in his comment on the same prophet, eminently excels in pointing out the rapid transitions of persons, places, and things. Van Til, in his celebrated *Opus Analyticum*, has ably noticed various similar transitions in the Scriptures generally, and in the psalms in particular, though in the last-

But it is not merely with reference to the meaning of particular passages that a consideration of the *subject-matter* becomes necessary to the right understanding of Scripture. It is further of the greatest importance in order to comprehend the various dispensations of God to man, which are contained in the sacred writings. For, although the Bible comprises a great number of books, written at different times, yet they have a mutual connection with each other, and refer, in the Old Testament, with various but progressively increasing degrees of light and clearness, to a *future* Saviour, and in the New Testament to a *present* Saviour. With reference, therefore, to the several divine dispensations to man, the subject-matter of the whole Bible ought to be attentively considered; but, as each individual book embraces a particular subject, it will also be requisite carefully to weigh its subject-matter, in order to comprehend the design of the author. An analysis of each book not only will materially assist a reader of the Scriptures in forming a comprehensive view of its chief subject-matter, but will also show the methodical and orderly coherence of all the parts of the book with one another. "Books," says an old writer, "looked upon *confusedly*, are but darkly and confusedly apprehended; but considered *distinctly*, as in these distinct analyses or resolutions into their principal parts, must needs be distinctly and much more clearly discerned."[1]

SECTION III.

THE CONTEXT.

I. *The context defined and illustrated.* II. *Rules for investigating the context.*

I. THE context has been already referred to for the purpose of discovering the meaning of words; it must be now considered as illustrating the meaning of a proposition.

1. *The context of a discourse or book in the Scriptures may comprise either one verse, a few verses, entire periods or sections, entire chapters, or whole books.*

Thus, if 1 Cor. x. 16. be the passage under examination, the preceding and subsequent parts of the epistle, which belong to it, are the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters. If Isai. li. be the chapter in question, the reader must not stop at the end of it, but continue his perusal to the twelfth verse of chap. lii.; for these together form one subject or argument of prediction, in which the prophet is announcing to his countrymen the certainty of their deliverance and return from the Babylonish captivity. This entire portion ought, therefore, to be read at once, in order to apprehend fully the prophet's meaning. In like manner, the verses from v. 13. of chap. lii. to the end of chap. liii. form a new and entire section relative to the sufferings of the Messiah. Here, then, is a wrong division of chapters, to which no regard should be paid in examining the context of a book. Chap. li. ought to

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mentioned book he has sometimes unnecessarily multiplied the speakers introduced. The value of Dr. Macknight's version and paraphrase of the epistle to the Romans is enhanced by his distinguishing between the objections brought by the Jew, whom St. Paul introduces as arguing with him, and the replies and conclusive reasonings of the apostle.

[1] Roberts' Key to the Bible, p. (37.) edit. 1648. See also Rambach, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 108—111.; and Chladenius, Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 532., &c.

include v. 12. of chap. lii.; and chap. lii. ought to commence at v. 13. and be continued to the end of chap. liii. In like manner, the first verse of the fourth chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Colossians ought to be joined to the third chapter: the slightest attention to this point will enable a diligent student to add numerous other examples.

2. *Sometimes a book of Scripture comprises only one subject or argument; in which case the whole of it must be referred to precedents and subsequents, and ought to be considered together.*

Of this description is St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, which consists of two parts, doctrinal and practical. The design of the doctrinal portion is to show that, although there was a difference between Jewish and Gentile believers, inasmuch as the former enjoyed a priority of time in point of expecting and acknowledging Christ, and through the free grace of God they were a church or congregation of believers before the Gentiles; yet that, *now*, the latter are become partakers of the same grace with them; so that, as they are thus admitted to this communion of grace, every *real* distinction between them is abolished; and, therefore, both Jews and Gentiles together form one body of the church under one Head, even Jesus Christ. Other special doctrines, indeed, are incidentally mentioned; but either these are adduced to explain and enforce the principal doctrine, or they are derived from it. The practical part or exhortation, which naturally flows from the doctrine inculcated, is concord and peace between Jew and Gentile, which the apostle enforces with great beauty and energy.[1]

To this head may also be referred the Psalms, each of which, having no connection with the preceding or following psalm, for the most part comprises a distinct and entire subject. That some of the psalms have been divided, which ought to have remained united, and to have formed one ode, is evident as well from the application of sacred criticism as from the subject-matter. The *number* of the psalms by no means corresponds, either in manuscripts or in the ancient versions. Thus, in some manuscripts, the first and second psalms are not reckoned at all, while in others the former is considered as part of the second psalm: that they are two distinct compositions is evident from a comparison of the subject-matter of each psalm. In the first psalm the characters of the pious man and the sinner, as well as their respective ends, are contrasted: the second psalm is prophetic of the Messiah's exaltation. The ninth and tenth psalms are united together in the Septuagint version; while the hundred and sixteenth and hundred and forty-seventh are each divided into two. The argument which pervades the forty-second and forty third psalms plainly shows that they are properly but one divine ode, and are, therefore, rightly joined together in many manuscripts, although they occur as separate compositions in all our printed editions.[2]

II. In examining the context of a passage, it will be desirable,

1. *To investigate each word of every passage; and, as the connection is formed by particles, these should always receive that signification which the subject-matter and context require.*

The Hebrew Concordances of Noldius and Taylor, and also Glassius's Philologia Sacra[3], will materially assist in ascertaining the force of the Hebrew particles; as will the elaborate work of Hoogeveen on the subject of the Greek particles.[4] Further, where particles are wanting, as they sometimes are, it is only by examining the argument and context that we can rightly supply them. For instance, the conditional conjunction is sometimes wanting, as in Gen. xlii. 38., *and* [if] *mischief befall him by the way*[5]; in Exod. iv.

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[1] Moldenhawer, Introductio ad Libros Vet. et Nov. Fœderis, pp. 307, 308.; Professor Francke, Guide to the Reading of the Scriptures, translated by Mr. Jacques, pp. 173. &c. (edit. 1815).

[2] They are considered, and translated, as *one* psalm, by Bishop Horsley. See his Version of the Psalms, vol. i. pp. 110—114. and the notes.

[3] See particnlarly, lib. i. tractt. v.—viii. on adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections, tom. i. pp. 361—555. edit. Dathii.

[4] Hoogeveen, Doctrina Particularum Græcarum, 2 vols. 4to. 1769; a work which incidentally illustrates a great number of passages in the New Testament. A valuable abridgment of it, with the notes of various literati, was published by Professor Schutz at Leipsic in 1806, which has been handsomely reprinted at Glasgow, 1813. See also Dr. Macknight on the Epistles, vol. i. essay 4. § 74., to the end of that essay.

[5] Purver rightly supplies it, and renders the passage thus, *and should death befall him in the way:* in the authorized English version the conjunction *and* is omitted, and the conditional *if* is properly supplied.

23., *and* [if] *thou refuse to let him go.* Particles of comparison also are frequently wanting, as in Gen. xvi. 12., *he will be a wild man*; literally, *he will be a wild ass man*, that is, [like] *a wild ass.* How appropriately this description was given to the descendants of Ishmael will readily appear by comparing the character of the wild ass in Job xxxix. 5—8. with the wandering, lawless, and freebooting lives of the Arabs of the desert, as portrayed by all travellers. Psal. xi. 1., *Flee* [as] *sparrows to your mountain.* Psal. xii. 6., *The words of the Lord are pure words* [as] *silver tried in a furnace of earth.* Isai. ix. 18., *They shall mount up* [as or like] *the ascending of smoke.* Similar examples occur in the New Testament; as in John v. 17., *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work*; that is, as my Father worketh hitherto, so also do I work together with him. Sometimes particles are wanting both at the beginning and end of a sentence: thus Job xxiv. 19., [As] *drought and heat consume the snow*; so doth *the grave* those which *have sinned.* Jer. xvii. 11., [As] *the partridge sitteth* on eggs, *and hatcheth not*; [so] *he that getteth riches, and not by right*, &c. Numerous similar instances occur in the book of Job, and especially in the Proverbs; where it is but justice to our admirable authorized version to add that the particles omitted are properly supplied in Italic characters, and thus complete the sense.

2. *Examine the entire passage with minute attention.*

Sometimes a single passage will require a whole chapter, or several of the preceding and following chapters, or even the entire book, to be perused, and that not once or twice, but several times. The advantage of this practice will be great; because, as the same thing is frequently stated more briefly in the former part of a book, which is more fully explained in the subsequent portion, such a perusal will render every thing plain. For instance, that otherwise difficult passage, Rom. ix. 18., *Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth*, will become perfectly clear by a close examination of the context, beginning at verse 18. of chapter viii., and reading to the end of the eleventh chapter; this portion of the epistle being most intimately connected. Disregarding this simple canon, some expositors have explained 1 Pet. ii. 8. as meaning that certain persons were *absolutely appointed* to destruction; a notion contradicting the whole tenor of Scripture, and repugnant to every idea which we are there taught to entertain of the mercy and justice of God. An attentive consideration of the context and of the proper punctuation of the passage alluded to (for the most ancient manuscripts have scarcely any points) would have prevented them from giving so repulsive an interpretation. The first epistle of Peter (it should be recollected) was addressed to believing *Jews.*[1] After congratulating them on their happiness in being called to the glorious privileges and hopes of the gospel, he takes occasion to expatiate upon the sublime manner in which it was introduced, both by the prophets and apostles; and, having enforced his general exhortations to watchfulness, &c., by an affecting representation of our relation to God, our redemption by the precious blood of Christ, the vanity of all worldly enjoyments, and the excellence and perpetuity of the gospel dispensation (chap. i. throughout), he proceeds (ii. 1—12.) to urge them, by a representation of their Christian privileges, to receive the word of God with meekness, to continue in the exercise of faith in Christ as the great foundation of their eternal hopes, and to maintain such an exemplary conduct, as might adorn his gospel among the unconverted Gentiles. *Wherefore*, says he, in consideration of the everlasting permanency and invariable certainty of the word of God, *laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil-speakings*, which are so contrary to its benevolent design, with all simplicity, *as new-born babes*[2] (or infants), who are regenerated by divine grace, *desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby* (*unto salvation*)[3], *since* (or *seeing* that) *you have tasted that the Lord is gracious. To whom coming* as unto *a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God*, and *precious, ye also* (who believe) *as living stones are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer*

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[1] See this proved, Vol. IV. pp. 599, 600.

[2] This expression very emphatically denotes those who are newly converted or regenerated, as the apostle had said (1 Pet. i. 23.) the believing Jews were, through the *incorruptible word of God.* It is well known that the ancient Jewish rabbis styled new proselytes to their religion, *little children* and *new-born babes*; and Peter, who was a Jew, very naturally adopts the same phraseology, when writing to Jewish converts to the gospel.

[3] These words (*unto salvation, εἰς σωτηρίαν*), though omitted in the common printed editions, are, by Griesbach and Tischendorf, inserted in the text, *of which they form an integral part.* This reading is undoubtedly *genuine*, and is of great importance. It shows the reason *why* the believing Jews were regenerated, and also why they were to desire the unadulterated doctrines of the gospel, viz. that they *might thereby increase*, or *grow up, unto salvation.* This was the *end* they should always have in view; and nothing could so effectually promote this end, as continually receiving the pure truth of God, praying for the fulfilment of its promises, and acting under its dictates.

up spiritual sacrifices, by Jesus Christ. (*Wherefore also it is contained in the Scripture, Behold I lay in Sion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on it* (confideth in it) *shall not be confounded,* or ashamed.) *Unto* you, *therefore,* who believe, *he is* precious; *but unto them that* disbelieve, ἀπειθοῦσιν[1], *the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is become the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence. They,* disbelieving the word (τῷ λόγῳ ἀπειθοῦντες), that is, the word of the gospel, which contains this testimony, *stumble* at this corner-stone, *whereunto they were appointed. But* ye (believers, who rest your salvation on it) are *a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people,* &c. &c. Hence, it is evident that the meaning of 1 Pet. ii. 8. is not, that God had *ordained* them to disobedience (for in that case their obedience would have been impossible, and their disobedience would have been no sin), but that God, the righteous judge of all the earth, had appointed, or decreed, that destruction and eternal perdition should be the punishment of such disbelieving persons, who wilfully rejected all the evidences that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, the Saviour of the world. The mode of pointing above adopted is that proposed by Drs. John Taylor, Doddridge, and Macknight, and recognized by Griesbach in his critical edition of the Greek Testament, and is manifestly required by the context.

3. ***A verse or passage must not be connected with a remote context, unless the latter agree better with it than a nearer context.***

Thus, Rom. ii. 16., although it makes a good sense if connected with the preceding verse, makes a much better when joined with verse 12. (the intermediate verses being read parenthetically as in the authorized version); and this shows it to be the true and proper context.

4. ***Examine whether the writer continues his discourse, lest we suppose him to make a transition to another argument, when, in fact, he is prosecuting the same topic.***

Rom. v. 12. will furnish an illustration of this remark. From that verse to the end of the chapter St. Paul produces a strong argument to prove that, as all men stood in need of the grace of God in Christ to redeem them from their sins, so this grace has been afforded equally to all, whether Jews or gentiles. To perceive the full force, therefore, of the apostle's conclusion, we must read the *continuation* of this argument from verse 12. to the close of the chapter.

5. ***The parentheses which occur in the sacred writings should be particularly regarded; but no parentheses should be interposed without sufficient reason.***

Sometimes the grammatical construction, with which a sentence begins, is interrupted, and is again resumed by the writer after a longer or shorter digression. This is termed a parenthesis.

Parentheses, being contrary to the genius and structure of the Hebrew language, are, comparatively, of rare occurrence in the Old Testament. In fact, as there is no sign whatever for the parenthesis in Hebrew, the sense only can determine when it is to be used.

The prophetic writings, indeed, contain interruptions and interlocutions, particularly those of Jeremiah; but we have an example of a real parenthesis in Zech. vii. 7. The Jewish captives had sent to inquire of the prophet, whether their fasting should be continued on account of the burning of the temple, and the assassination of Gedaliah: after a considerable digression, but closely connected with the question proposed, the prophet at length replies, in chap. viii. 19., that the season formerly devoted to fasting should soon be

[1] The verb ἀπειθέω (whence the participle ἀπειθοῦντες) and its derivative substantive ἀπείθεια signify such a *disbelief* as constitutes the party guilty of obstinacy, or wilful refusal to credit a doctrine or narrative. In the New Testament, it is *specially* used concerning those who obstinately persist in rejecting the doctrine of the gospel, regardless of all the evidences that accompanied it. Thus, in John iii. 36., ἀπειθῶν τῷ υἱῷ, *he that disbelieveth the Son* is opposed to *him that believeth on the Son,* τῷ πιστεύοντι εἰς τὸν υἱόν. Compare Acts xiv. 2., xvii. 5., xix. 9.; Rom. xi. 30, 31., xv. 31.; 1 Pet. iii. 1. (Gr.). Suidas (as cited by Schleusner, *in voce,* to whom we are chiefly indebted for this note) considers ἀπειθεῖν as synonymous with ἀπιστεῖν: Ἀπειθεῖν δοτικῇ ἀπιστεῖν. For examples, in which the derivative substantive ἀπείθεια means *disbelief,* or contempt of the Christian doctrine, see Schleusner, Lexicon, *sub voce.*

spent in joy and gladness. The intermediate verses, therefore, from chap. vii. 4. to chap. viii. 17., are obviously parenthetical, though not marked as such in any of the modern versions which we have had an opportunity to examine.

A remarkable instance of complicated parenthetic expression occurs in Dan. viii. 2, 3. *And I saw in vision (and when I saw I was in Shushan), and I saw (I was then by the waters of Ulai), and I lifted up my eyes, and saw and behold*, &c. See other instances in Gen. xxiv. 10.; 2 Chron. xxxii. 9.; Exod. xii. 15.; Psal. xlv. 6.; Isai. lii. 14.[1]

In the New Testament, however, parentheses are frequent, especially in the writings of St. Paul; who, after making numerous digressions (all of them appropriate to, and illustrative of, his main subject), returns to the topic which he had begun to discuss. They are generally introduced in the following manner:—

(1.) *Where the parenthesis is* short, *it is inserted without hesitation between two clauses which are grammatically connected; and then, after the conclusion of the parenthesis, the latter clause proceeds, as if no interruption had taken place.* Thus:—

i. In Acts i. 15. *Peter......said (the number of names together was about an hundred and twenty, ἦν τε ὄχλος,* &c.), *Men* and *brethren*, &c.

ii. Rom. viii. 19—21. The application of the parenthesis will render this very difficult passage easy. *The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God: (for the creation, γὰρ......ἡ κτίσις......was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it) in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.*[2]

iii. 1 Cor. xv. 52. *At the last trump: (for the trumpet shall sound......and we shall be changed; σάλπιγγι· σαλπίσει γάρ,* &c.) *for this corruptible must put on incorruption*, &c.

Similar parentheses occur in 2 Cor. vi. 2., x. 3, 4.; Gal. ii. 8. A parenthesis of considerable length is in this way inserted in Rom. ii. 13—16. In cases of this kind the parenthesis is commonly indicated by the particles τε, γάρ, &c. at its commencement. See the examples above adduced, and Rom. i. 20., xv. 3.; and Heb. vii. 20, &c. [Sometimes the apostle does not return to the train of thought he had quitted. Thus, in 2 Thess. ii., both the construction and the sense are twice broken off, and not resumed, at the end of v. 4. and v. 7. The nature of the subject will account for this.]

(2.) *When the parenthesis is* longer, *the principal word or words of the preceding clause are repeated, with or without variation, after the parenthesis.*

i. 1 Cor. viii. 1—4. *Now as touching things offered unto idols (we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up; but charity edifieth, &c. ...... as concerning those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols) we know that an idol is nothing*, &c. Similar instances occur in John vi. 22—24.; Eph. ii. 1—5., 12—19.; and Rev. iii. 8—10.: and the *observant* student of the New Testament will easily be enabled to supply other examples.[3]

Another instance of the parenthesis we have in Phil. i. 27. to chap. ii. 16. inclusive; in which the apostle discusses a subject, the proposition of which is contained in chap. i. 27.; and afterwards in chap. ii. 17. he returns to the topic which he had been treating in the preceding chapter. "In conformity with this statement we find (chap. i 23.), that St. Paul says he is influenced by two things — a desire both of life and death; but he knows not which of these to choose. Death is the most desirable to himself; but the welfare of the Philippians requires rather that he may be spared a little longer; and, having this confidence, he is assured that his life will be lengthened, and that he shall see them again in person. Then, after the interruption which his discourse had received, he proceeds (chap. ii. 17.) as follows: 'Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.' The intervening charge is happily and judiciously introduced by the apostle, in order that the Philippians might not remit their exertions until his arrival, but contend for the faith of the gospel with unity and humility; as will be evident to those who examine the point with attention and candour."[4]

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[1] Stuart, Heb. Gram. § 244. p. 335.

[2] Those who are acquainted with the original language will, on consideration, easily perceive the justice of the above translation. For the reasons on which it is founded, and for an able elucidation of the whole passage, see Sermons preached at Welbeck Chapel, by the Rev. Thomas White, sermon xx. pp. 363—380. Griesbach, and after him Vater, has printed in a parenthesis only the middle clause of verse 20. ("not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it"); which certainly does not materially contribute to clear up the difficulty of this passage.

[3] Winer, Grammar to the Gr. Test. p. 164. Some observations on Parentheses will be found in Francke, Guide to the Scriptures, pp. 182—185. (Mr. Jacques's Translation.) edit. 1815. [Compare Black, Exegetical Study of the Original Scriptures, pp. 50. &c.]

[4] Francke, Guide, pp. 183—185.

ii. To this class we may refer the following beautiful example of the parenthesis, in 2 Tim. i. 16—18. The apostle acknowledging the intrepid affection of Onesiphorus—who, when timorous professors deserted him, stood by him and ministered to him—begins with a prayer for the good man's family: *The Lord grant mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain, but, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me.* St. Paul then stops his period, and suspends his sentence, to repeat his acknowledgment and prayer with renewed fervour and gratitude — (*The Lord grant that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day*), *and in how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus, thou knowest very well.* If we peruse the choicest authors of Greece and Rome, we shall scarcely find, among their many parentheses and transpositions of style, one expressed in so pathetic and lively a manner, nor for a reason so substantial and unexceptionable.[1]

Additional instances might be offered, to show the importance of attending to parentheses in the examination of the context; but the preceding will abundantly suffice for this purpose.[2]

6. *No explanation must be admitted, but that which suits the context.*

In direct violation of this self-evident canon of interpretation, the church of Rome expounds Matt. xviii. 17., *If a man neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican*, of the infallibility and final decisions of all doctrines by the (Roman) catholic church. But what says the evangelist? Let us read the context. *If*, says our Lord, *thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But, if he will not hear, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of one or two witnesses every word may be established. And, if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but, if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican* (verses 15—17.). That is, if a man have done you an injury, first admonish him privately of it; if that avail not, tell the church; not the universal church dispersed throughout the world, but that particular church to which you both belong. And, if he will not reform upon such reproof, regard him no longer as a true Christian, but as a wicked man with whom you are to hold no *religious* communion, though, as a fellow-man, you owe him earnest and persevering good-will and acts of kindness. Through the whole of this context there is not one word said about disobeying the determination of the catholic church concerning a disputed doctrine, but about slighting the admonition of a particular church concerning known sin; and particular churches are owned to be fallible.[3]

7. *Where no connection is to be found with the preceding and subsequent parts of a book, none should be sought.*

This observation applies solely to the Proverbs of Solomon, and chiefly to the tenth and following chapters, which form the second part of that book, and are composed of separate proverbs or distinct sentences, having no real or verbal connection whatever, though each individual maxim is prĕgnant with the most weighty instruction.[4]

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[1] Blackwall, Sacred Classics illustrated, vol. i. pp. 68, 69. 3d edit.

[2] On the subject of parenthesis, the reader is referred to the very valuable treatise of Christopher Wollius, De Parenthesi Sacrâ, Leipsic, in 1726, 4to. The same subject has also been discussed in the following works; viz. Joh. Fr. Hirt, Dissertatio de Parenthesi, et generatim, et speciatim Sacrâ, 4to. Jena, 1745; Joh. Gottl. Lindner, Commentationes Duæ de Parenthesibus Johanneis, 4to. 1765; Ad. Bened. Spitzner, Commentatio Philologica de Parenthesi, Libris Sacris V. et N. T. accommodata, 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1773. [For further remarks on parentheses and digressions, which not unfrequently occur in Scripture, especially in the writings of the apostle Paul, see Davidson, Sacr. Hermeneut. chap. viii. pp. 272—276.]

[3] Whitby on Matt. xviii. 15—17.; Bishop Porteus, Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome, pp. 13, 14.

[4] J. B. Carpzov, Prim. Lin. Herm. pp. 36, 37; Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 192—200.; Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. cap. x. Op. tom. ii. pp. 656—658.; Franzius, De Int. Sacr. Script. Pref. pp. 8—11. Tract. pp. 48—51.; Morus, in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 160—163.; Viser, Herm. Nov. Test. Sacr. pars iii. pp. 189—194.; Wetstein et Semler de Interpret. Nov. Test. pp. 116—190.; Francke, Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, pp. 61—94.; Rambach, Inst. Herm. pp. 197—216.; Jahn, Enchirid. Herm. Generalis, pp. 51—71.; Chladenius, Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 366—374.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Institutiones Herm. Sacr. pp. 464—468., 507—534.; Schæfer, Institutiones Scripturisticæ, pars ii. pp. 56—62.; Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica, pp. 148—165.

From the preceding remarks it will be evident, that, although the comparison of the context will require both labour and unremitting diligence, yet these will be abundantly compensated by the increased degree of light which will thus be thrown upon otherwise obscure passages. The very elaborate treatise of Franzius, already referred to, will supply numerous examples of the holy Scriptures, which are rendered perfectly clear by the judicious consideration of the context. [There are some useful remarks on the use of the context, illustrated with many examples, in Davidson, Sacr. Hermeneut. chap. viii. pp 231—246.]

SECTION IV.

OF PARALLEL PASSAGES.

1. *Historical parallelism.* 2. *Didactic or doctrinal parallelism.*

[PARALLELS have been referred to before, and applied to the explication of terms. They have, however, a further use. They may illustrate the meaning of propositions, and throw light upon historical narratives. They must, therefore, be carefully studied by those who would attain an intelligent knowledge of Scripture.

Parallels were shown to be properly divided into verbal and real. It is with these last that we have now specially to do. A *real parallelism* or *analogy* is when the same thing is treated of, designedly or incidentally, in the same words, or in others more clear and copious.]

In comparing two passages, however, we must ascertain whether the same thing *is* really expressed more fully as well as more clearly, and also without any ambiguity whatever; otherwise little or no assistance can be obtained for illustrating obscure places. Real parallelisms are twofold—historical, and didactic or doctrinal.

(1.) *A historical parallelism of things* is where the same thing or event is related: it is of great and constant use in order to understand aright the four Gospels, in which the same things are for the most part related more fully by one evangelist than by the others, according to the design with which the Gospels were respectively written.

Thus, the account of our Saviour's stilling the tempest in the sea of Gennesareth is more copiously related by St. Mark (iv. 36—41.) and St. Luke (viii. 22—25.), than it is by St. Matthew (viii. 24—26.). By comparing the several narratives of the evangelists together, harmonies are constructed from their separate histories. In like manner, the historical books of the Old Testament are mutually illustrated by comparing together the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. For instance, many passages in the book of Genesis are parallel to 1 Chron. i.—ix.; many parts of the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers are parallel to the book of Deuteronomy, as Numb. xiii. 1—3. to Deut. i. 22., Numb. xxxv. 9—34. to Deut. xix. 4—13.; the books of Samuel and Kings, to the two books of Chronicles; and, lastly, 2 Kings xviii. 13—37. and 2 Chron. xxxii. are parallel with Isai. xxxvi. Dr. Lightfoot and Dr. Townsend have compiled very valuable harmonies of the Old Testament, in which the historical and prophetical passages are interwoven in the order of time.

(2.) A *didactic or doctrinal parallelism of things* is where the same thing is *taught:* this species of parallel is of the greatest importance for comprehending the doctrines inculcated in the Bible; which we should otherwise be liable to mistake or grossly pervert.

We have examples of it in all those psalms which occur twice in the book of Psalms, as in Psal. xiv. compared with liii. 1—6.; xl. 13—17. with lxx. 1—5.; lvii. 7—11. with

cviii. 1—5.; lx. 5—12. with cviii. 6—13.; and cxv. 4—8. with cxxxv. 15—18. Sometimes also a hymn of David, which occurs in the book of Psalms, is to be found in some one of the historical books, as Psal. xcvi. 1—13. compared with 1 Chron. xvi. 23—33.; Psal. cv. 1—15. with 1 Chron. xvi. 8—22.; and Psal. cvi. 47, 48. with 1 Chron. xvi. 35, 36.

In like manner, in the New Testament, the same thing is taught nearly in the same words, as in the epistle of Jude compared with 2 Pet. ii. Frequently also the same doctrine is explained more fully in one place, which had been more concisely stated in another; such, for instance, are the superseding of the Mosaic dispensation by that of the gospel, and all those passages which are parallel as to the thing or subject discussed, though different in words; so that, by comparing them, the scope of the doctrine inculcated will readily be collected. On the other hand, where the same subject or doctrine is delivered with more brevity, all the various passages must be diligently collated, and the doctrine elicited from them. Of this description are the numerous predictions, &c., relative to the future happiness of mankind, connected with the removal of the Jewish economy, and the conversion of the Gentiles to the Christian religion.

But the use of this parallelism will more fully appear from one or two instances. Let us then compare Gal. vi. 15. with Gal. v. 6., 1 Cor. vii. 19., 2 Cor. v. 17., and Rom. ii. 28, 29. In the former passage we read, *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature*, or rather [there is] *a new creation*. In Gal. v. 6., the apostle had briefly delivered the same doctrine in the following terms, *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love.* 1 Cor. vii. 19., *Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.* 2 Cor. v. 17., *Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature*, or, more correctly, [there is] *a new creation: old things are passed away; behold! all things are become new.* Rom. ii. 28, 29., *He is not a Jew which is one outwardly*, i.e. he is not a genuine member of the church of God who has only an outward profession: *neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew*, a true member of the church of God, *which is one inwardly; and circumcision* is that *of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God.* From these passages it is evident that, what St. Paul, in Gal. vi. 15. terms *a new creature* or *creation*, he in Gal. v. 6. denominates *faith* that worketh by love; and in 1 Cor. vii. 19. *keeping the commandments of God.* From this collation of passages, then, we perceive that what the apostle intends by a *new creature* or *new creation* is the entire conversion of the heart from sin to God; and, as creation is the proper work of an All-wise and Almighty Being, so this total change of heart, soul, and life, which takes place under the ministration of the gospel, is effected by the power and grace of God, and is evidenced by that faith and obedience which are indispensably necessary to all Christians in order to salvation.

Again: in 2 Cor. i. 21., God is said to have *anointed us*: the parallel passage, where this expression is so explained as to give an idea of the thing intended, is 1 John ii. 20.; where true Christians are said *to have an unction from the Holy One, and to know all things*; and in v. 27. *the same anointing* is said to *teach all things.* Now, if the effect of this unction be that we should know all things, the anointing will be whatever brings knowledge to us, and therefore *teaching.* From this comparison of passages, therefore, we learn that by unction and anointing is intended the Holy Spirit, whose office is to teach all things, and to guide us into all truth (John xiv. 26. and xvi. 13.); and whose gifts and graces are diffused throughout the church of Christ, and imparted to every *living* member of it. For his assistances are equally necessary to all, to the learned as well as to the unlearned, to teachers as well as to hearers: he it is that enlightens our minds, purifies our hearts, and inclines our wills, not only beginning but carrying on and perfecting a new and spiritual life in our souls. The expression in v. 20., *and ye know all things*, is not to be understood in the largest sense, but must be limited to those things which are necessary to salvation. These every true Christian not only knows speculatively—that is, he not only has a notion of them in his mind—but he has also a practical and experimental knowledge and taste of them, which is productive of holy obedience. This inestimable gift was purchased by the sufferings and death of Christ, who is here styled the *Holy One.* The words in v. 27., *and ye need not that any man should teach you*, cannot be intended to set aside all outward teaching; but their meaning is, either that ye need not the teaching of any of those antichrists and false teachers mentioned in various parts of this epistle, or that ye need not that any one should teach you how to judge of those deceivers and their doctrines.[1]

[When the study of parallels is prudently pursued, the results in facilitating a right interpretation of the Bible are very important. It

[1] Morus, Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. i. pp. 95, 96. See also Macknight and Scott on the texts above cited.

is in this way that we gain a full view of historical facts by comparing the various narratives, as for example, those of the Gospels, each of which may probably supply some particulars omitted or less largely given in the others. In this way, too, the doctrinal teachings of the inspired writers are brought into a consistent whole, when we compare the way in which a truth is exhibited under different aspects, with diversities of detail. Perhaps, also, this method of interpretation may not be without a bearing on the relative importance of the matters delivered to us in holy writ. One clear declaration indeed is sufficient to establish the truth of any fact or doctrine; but, if we find, on a comparison of various parts of Scripture, that a truth is again and again enunciated with clearness and illustrated in various ways, the student will not fail to observe the high importance of teaching so inculcated.

But, if supposed parallels are taken at random, if they are not carefully and accurately classified, little advantage can result. As a guide in this respect certain rules have been laid down to indicate the varying degrees of probability that a real parallelism exists.

1. The lowest attaches to parallel passages indiscriminately collected, unless indeed some great fundamental truth be in question.

2. The next belongs to parallels gathered generally from the Old Testament.

3. There is a yet higher probability to be ascribed to such as come from contemporary writers, as those of the New Testament;

4. And it is increased if the contemporary authors were similarly situated.

5. Passages selected from different productions of the same author stand in a higher place;

6. And those still higher which come from the same work;

7. While the very highest are those from the same portion of the same work.[1]

Useful lists of parallel passages have been constructed, and may be found in various works; as in Bauer, Critica Sacra, § 37. distributed under four heads,—1. Genealogies; 2. Histories; 3. Laws, poems, prophecies; 4. Maxims and proverbs: also in De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 187, 188., and elsewhere.

A few additional cautions may not perhaps be without their use. Care must be taken not to lay stress on those which are apparent rather than real parallels. An example of this fault has before been given (p. 226.), where merely the same words occurred, but in a different sense; and too many of the parallels indicated in common reference Bibles are liable to the same objection; *e. g.* when Psal. xlv. 1, 6, 7. is supposed parallel to Isai. xxxii. 1, 2. Care also must be taken that the same event, narrated by two different writers, should not be considered as more than one, and made a parallel to itself; and the opposite fault, of regarding two histories as referring to the same circumstances, must also be avoided. It will be well, too, when gathering parallels from the Old Testament to the New, to bear in mind the progressive character of revelation. There is, indeed,

[1] Cellérier, Manuel d'Herméneutique, part iv. sect. ii. § 119. pp. 209, 210.

a substantial unity in the Bible, complete and entire: the various parts, if dissimilar, are yet in harmony, each in its fitting measure contributing to make up that *whole* which the master mind of God intended from the beginning. Yet the full understanding of his great plan was not at once communicated. Fresh lessons, as time flowed on, were taught the church of God. The new things never contradicted the old; but they were the further developments of them. So that we must beware of forcing the measure of the knowledge and faith of Old Testament personages to the measure of the knowledge and faith of those who lived in New Testament times. Kings and prophets desired to see what in its entire exhibition was reserved for evangelists and apostles.]

SECTION V.

OF THE SCOPE.

I. The scope defined.—Importance of investigating the scope of a book or passage of scripture.—II. Rules for investigating it.

I. A CONSIDERATION of the SCOPE, or DESIGN, which the inspired author of any of the books of Scripture had in view, essentially facilitates the study of the Bible; because, as every writer had some design which he proposed to unfold, and as it is not to be supposed that he would express himself in terms foreign to that design, it therefore is but reasonable to admit that he made use of such words and phrases as were every way suited to his purpose. To be acquainted, therefore, with the scope of an author is to understand the chief part of his book. The scope, it has been well observed, is the soul or spirit of a book; and, that being once ascertained, every argument and every word appears in its right place, and is perfectly intelligible; but, if the scope be not duly considered, every thing becomes obscure, however clear and obvious its meaning may really be.

The scope of an author is either *general* or *special;* by the former we understand the design which he proposed to himself in writing his book; by the latter we mean that design which he had in view, when writing particular sections, or even smaller portions, of his book or treatise.

The means, by which to ascertain the scope of a *particular* section or passage, being nearly the same with those which must be applied to the investigation of the *general* scope of a book, we shall briefly consider them together in the following observations.

II. The *scope* of a book of Scripture, as well as of any particular section or passage, is to be collected from the writer's express mention of it, from its known occasion, from some conclusion expressly added at the end of an argument, from history, from attention to its general tenor, to the main subject and tendency of the several topics, and to the force of the leading expressions, and especially from repeated, studious, and connected perusals of the book itself.

1. ***When the scope of a whole book, or of any particular portion of it, is expressly mentioned by the sacred writer, it should be carefully observed.***

Of all criteria this is the most certain, by which to ascertain the scope of a book. Sometimes it is mentioned at its commencement, or towards its close, and sometimes it is intimated in other parts of the same book, rather obscurely, perhaps, yet in such a manner that a diligent and attentive reader may readily ascertain it. Thus the scope and end of the whole Bible, collectively, is contained in its manifold utility; which St. Paul expressly states in 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17., and also in Rom. xv. 4. In like manner, the royal author of Ecclesiastes announces pretty clearly, at the beginning of his book, the subject he intends to discuss, viz. to show that all human affairs are vain, uncertain, frail, and imperfect; and, such being the case, he proceeds to inquire, *What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun* (Eccl. i. 2, 3.)? And towards the close of the same book (xii. 8.) he repeats the same subject, the truth of which he had proved by experience. So, in the commencement of the book of Proverbs, Solomon distinctly announces their scope (i. 1—4, 6.), *The Proverbs of Solomon, the Son of David king of Israel; to know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding; to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, judgment, and equity; to give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion; to understand a proverb, and the interpretation, the words of the wise, and their dark sayings.* St. John, also, towards the close of his gospel, announces his object in writing it to be, *That ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have life through his name.* Therefore, all those discourses of our Lord, which are recorded almost exclusively by this evangelist and apostle, are to be read and considered with reference to this particular design; and, if this circumstance be kept in view, they will derive much additional force and beauty.

Of the application of this rule to the illustration of a *particular* section, or the ascertaining of a *special* scope, the seventh chapter of St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians will supply an example. In that chapter, the object of which is to show that *it was not good to marry*, the apostle is replying to the queries proposed to him by the Corinthian converts; and his reply is continued through the whole chapter. But did he mean *absolutely* that matrimony in itself was not good? By no means: on the contrary, it is clear from the scope of this section, given by St. Paul in express words, that his design was not, in general, to prefer a state of celibacy to that of marriage: much less was it to teach that the living unmarried was either more holy or more acceptable to God; or that those who vow to lead a single life shall certainly obtain eternal salvation, as the church of Rome erroneously teaches from this place. But he answered the question proposed with reference to the then existing circumstances of the Christian church The apostle thought that a single life was preferable on account of the *present distress*—that is, the sufferings to which they were *then* liable. The persecutions to which they were exposed, when they came upon them, would be more grievous and afflictive to such as had a wife and children who were dear to them, than to those who were single; and, therefore, under such circumstances, the apostle recommends celibacy to those who had the gift of living chastely without marriage.

2. ***The scope of the sacred writer may be ascertained from the known occasion on which his book was written.***

Thus, in the time of the apostles, there were many who disseminated errors, and defended Judaism: hence it became necessary that the apostles should frequently write against these errors, and oppose the defenders of Judaism. Such was the occasion of St. Peter's second epistle; and this circumstance will also afford a key by which to ascertain the scope of many of the other epistolary writings. Of the same description also were many of the parables delivered by Jesus Christ. When any question was proposed to him, or he was reproached for holding intercourse with publicans and sinners, he availed himself of the occasion to reply, or to defend himself, by a parable. Sometimes, also, when his disciples laboured under any mistakes, he kindly corrected their erroneous notions by parables.

The inscriptions prefixed to many of the psalms, though some of them are evidently spurious, and consequently to be rejected, frequently indicate the occasion on which they were composed, and thus reflect considerable light upon their scope. Thus the scope of Psalms iii., xviii., and xxxiv. is illustrated from their respective inscriptions, which distinctly assert upon what occasions they were composed by David. In like manner, many of the prophecies, which would otherwise be obscure, become perfectly clear when we understand the circumstances on account of which the predictions were uttered.

3. ***The express conclusion, added by the writer at the end of an argument, demonstrates his general scope.***

Thus, in Rom. iii. 28., after a long discussion, St. Paul adds this conclusion: *Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.* Hence we perceive with what design the whole passage was written, and to which all the rest is to be referred. The conclusions interspersed through the epistles may easily be ascertained by means of the particles, "wherefore," "seeing that," "therefore," "then," &c., as well as by the circumstances directly mentioned or referred to. The principal conclusions, however, must be separated from those which are of comparatively less importance, and subordinate to the former. Thus, in the epistle to Philemon, our attention must chiefly be directed to verses 8. and 17.; whence we collect that St. Paul's design or scope was to reconcile Onesimus (who had been a runaway slave) to his master, and to restore him to the latter, a better person than he had before been. In the epistle to the Ephesians, the principal conclusions are, ii. 11, 12. and iv. 1, 3. The subordinate or less principal conclusions are, i. 15., iii. 13., iv. 17, 25., v. 1, 7, 15, 17., and vi. 13, 14.[1]

4. *A knowledge of the time when a book was written, of the persons addressed, and also of the state of the church at that time, will indicate the scope or intention of the author in writing such book.*

For instance, we learn from history, that during the time of the apostles there were numerous errors disseminated; and therefore they wrote many passages in their epistles with the express design of refuting such errors. An acquaintance with these historical particulars will enable us to determine with accuracy the scope of entire books as well as of detached passages.

Thus, the epistle of St. James was written about the year of Christ 61; at which time the Christians were suffering persecution, and probably (as appears from chap. ii. 6. and chap. v. 6.) not long before the apostle's martyrdom; which, Bishop Pearson thinks[2], happened A.D. 62, in the eighth year of Nero's reign, when the destruction of the Jewish temple and polity was impending (James v. 1, 8.). At the period referred to, there were in the church certain professing Christians, who, in consequence of the sanguinary persecution then carried on against them both by Jews and Gentiles, were not only declining in faith and love, and indulging various sinful practices—for instance, undue respect of persons (chap. ii. 1., &c.); contempt of their poor brethren (chap. ii. 9., &c.); and unbridled freedom of speech (chap. iii. 3., &c.); but who also most shamefully abused to licentiousness the grace of God, which in the gospel is promised to the penitent; and, disregarding holiness, boasted of a faith destitute of its appropriate fruits, viz. of a bare assent to the doctrines of the gospel; and boldly affirmed that this inoperative and dead faith was alone sufficient to obtain salvation (chap. ii. 17., &c.). Hence we may easily perceive that the apostle's scope was not to treat of the doctrine of justification; but, the state of the church requiring it, to correct those *errors in doctrine, and those sinful practices, which had crept into the church, and particularly to expose that fundamental error of a dead faith unproductive of good works.* This observation further shows the true way of reconciling the supposed contradiction between the apostles Paul and James, concerning the doctrine of salvation by faith.[3]

5. *If, however, none of these subsidiary aids present themselves, it only remains that we* repeatedly and diligently study the entire book, as well as the whole subject, and carefully ascertain the scope from them, *before we attempt an examination of any particular text.*

Thus we shall be enabled to understand the mind of its author, and to ascertain the main subject and tendency of the book or epistle which may be under consideration; or, if it have several views and purposes in it, not mutually dependent, nor in subordination to one chief end, we shall be enabled to discover what those different matters were, as also in what part the author concluded one and began another; and, if it be necessary to divide such book or epistle into parts, to ascertain their exact boundaries.

But, in this investigation of the scope, there is not always that clearness which leads to a certain interpretation; for sometimes there are *several* interpretations which sufficiently agree with the writer's design. In those places, for instance, where the coming of Christ is mentioned, it is not always determined whether it is his last advent

[1] Francke, Manuductio, cap. iii. pp. 87, 88, 292.; or English edition, pp 60, &c. 173, &c.; Francke, Prælect. Herm. pp. 38., &c.

[2] Annales Paulini, p. 31.

[3] Jo. Henr. Michaelis, Introductio Historico-Theologica in Jacobi Minoris Epistolam Catholicam, §§ viii. xi.

to judge the world, or his coming to inflict punishment on the unbelieving Jews. In such cases the interpreter must be content with some degree of probability. There are, however, two or three cautions, in the consideration of the scope, to which it will be desirable to attend.

1. *Where, of two explanations, one is evidently contrary to the series of the discourse, the other must necessarily be preferred.*

In Psal. xlii. 2., the royal psalmist pathetically exclaims, *When shall I come and appear before God?* This verse has, by some writers, been expounded thus; that a man may wish for death, in order that he may the sooner enjoy that state of future blessedness which is sometimes intended by the phrase *seeing God.* Now this exposition is manifestly contrary to the design of the psalm; in which David, exiled from Jerusalem, and consequently from the house of God, through Absalom's unnatural rebellion, expresses his fervent desire of returning to Jerusalem, and beholding that happy day, when he should again present himself before God in his holy tabernacle. In the fourth verse he mentions the sacred pleasure with which he had gone (or would repair, for some of the versions render the verb in the future tense) with the multitude to the house of God. There is, therefore, in this second sense a necessary and evident connection with the scope and series of the discourse. [It is, however, not certain that this psalm was composed by David: in the inscription it is assigned to the sons of Korah.]

In 1 Cor. iii. 17., we read, *If any man defile* (more correctly destroy) *the temple of God, him shall God destroy.* The phrase *temple of God,* in this passage, is usually interpreted of the human body, and by its defilement is understood libidinous unchastity, which God will destroy by inflicting corresponding punishment on the libidinous man. This sense is certainly a good one, and is confirmed by a similar expression at the close of the sixth chapter. But, in the former part of the third chapter, the apostle had been giving the teachers of the Corinthian Christians an important caution to teach pure and salutary doctrines, together with that momentous doctrine—*Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ* (v. 11.),—and that they should not add false doctrines to it. After largely discussing this topic, he subsequently returns to it; and the passage above cited occurs intermediately. From this view of the scope it will be evident that by the temple of God is to be understood the Christian church; which if any man defile, corrupt, or destroy, by disseminating false doctrines, God will destroy him also.

2. *Where a parallel passage plainly shows that another passage is to be understood in one particular sense, this must be adopted, to the exclusion of every other sense, although it should be supported by the grammatical interpretation as well as by the scope.*

Thus, in Matt. v. 25., we read, *Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.* This passage has been interpreted to refer either to a future state of existence, or to the present life. In the former sense, the *adversary* is God; the *judge,* Christ; the *officer,* death; and the *prison,* hell and eternal punishments. In the latter sense, the meaning of this passage simply is, "If thou hast a lawsuit, compromise it with the plaintiff, and thus prevent the necessity of prosecuting it before a judge; but, if thou art headstrong, and wilt not compromise the affair, when it comes to be argued before the judge, he will be severe, and will decree that thou shalt pay the uttermost farthing." Now, both these expositions yield good senses, agreeing with the *scope,* and both contain a cogent argument that we should be easily appeased; but, if we compare the parallel passage in Luke xii. 58, 59., we shall find the case thus stated, *When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate,* as thou art *in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him, lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer* (τῷ πράκτορι, whose duty it was to levy fines imposed for violation of the law); *and the officer* on non-payment *cast thee into prison. I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence till thou hast paid the very last mite.* In this passage there is no reference whatever to a future state, nor to any punishments which will hereafter be inflicted on the implacable; and thus a single parallel text shows which of the two senses best agrees with the scope of the discourse, and consequently which of them is preferably to be adopted.[1]

[1] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 201—205.; J. B. Carpzov, Herm. Sacr. pp. 33—35.; Ernesti, Institutio Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 61, 62.; Morus, Acroases in Ernesti, tom. i. pp. 150—160.;

SECTION VI.

OF THE ANALOGY OF FAITH.

I. *The analogy of faith defined, and illustrated.*—II. *Its importance in studying the sacred writings.*—III. *Rules for investigating the analogy of faith.*

I. Of all the various aids that can be employed for investigating and ascertaining the sense of Scripture, the Analogy of Faith is one of the most important. We may define it to be that general rule of doctrine which is deduced, not from two or three parallel passages, but from the harmony of all parts of Scripture in the fundamental points of faith and practice.[1]

The *analogy of faith* is an expression borrowed from St. Paul's epistle to the Romans (xii. 6.), where he exhorts those who *prophesy* in the church (that is, those who exercise the office of authoritatively expounding the Scriptures) to *prophesy according to the proportion*, or, as the word is in the original, the *analogy of faith*. [The expression here, however, does not mean an objective rule of faith, but is rather an exhortation to each to exercise his function according to the gift bestowed upon him, not going beyond, not falling short, of what God had communicated to him.[2]]

II. It is evident that God does not act without a design in the system of religion taught in the gospel, any more than he does in the works of nature. Now this design must be uniform; for, as in the system of the universe every part is proportioned to the whole, and is made subservient to it, so, in the system of the gospel, all the various truths, doctrines, declarations, precepts, and promises, must correspond with and tend to the end designed. For instance, if any one interpret those texts of Scripture which maintain our justification by faith only, or our salvation by free grace, in such a sense as to exclude the necessity of good works, this interpretation is to be rejected, because it contradicts the main design of Christianity, which is to save us *from* our sins (Matt. i. 21.), to make us holy as God is holy (1 Pet. i. 15.), and to cleanse us from all filthiness both of flesh and spirit (2 Cor. vii. 1.). In the application, however, of the analogy of faith to the interpretation of the Scriptures, it is indispensably necessary that the inquirer *previously* understand the whole scheme of divine revelation; and that he do not entertain a predilection for a *part* only: without attention to this, he will be

Francke, Prælect. Herm. pp. 29—61.; Francke, Commentatio de Scopo Veteris et Novi Testamenti, Halæ, 1724, 8vo.; Jahn, Enchiridion, pp. 69—71.; Rambach, Inst. Herm. pp. 145—197, 234, 238—240.; Chladenius, Instit. Exeget. pp. 375—387.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 147—151. 267—276.; Schæfer, Institutiones Scripturisticæ, pars ii. pp. 62—68.; [Davidson, Sacr. Hermen. chap. viii. pp. 266—271.]

[1] Bishop Terrot sensibly observes that "what is intended is little more than this, that Scripture, in common with all other books, ought to be interpreted consistently." Ernesti, Principles of Bibl. Interp. translated, vol. i. p. 130. "The obvious and incontrovertible sense," says Stuart, "of clear passages of Scripture affords a rule by which we may reason *analogically* concerning the meaning of obscure passages; or at least by which we may show what obscure passages cannot mean."

[2] See Fairbairn, Herm. Man. part i. sect. vi. pp. 103, 104.

liable to error. If we come to the Scriptures with any preconceived opinions, and are more desirous to put that sense upon the text which coincides with our own sentiments rather than with the truth, it then becomes the analogy of *our* faith rather than that of the whole system. This, Dr. Campbell remarks, was the very source of the blindness of the Jews in our Saviour's time: they searched the Scriptures very assiduously; but, in the disposition they entertained, they would never believe what that sacred volume testifies of Christ. The reason is obvious: their great rule of interpretation was *the analogy of faith*, or, in other words, the system of the Pharisean Scribes, the doctrine then in vogue, and in the profound veneration of which they had been educated. This is that veil by which the understandings of the Jews were darkened, even in reading the law, and of which St. Paul observed that it remained unremoved in his day; and we cannot but remark that it remains unremoved in our own time.[1] There is, perhaps, scarcely a sect or denomination of Christians, whether of the Greek, Romish, or Protestant churches, but has some particular system or digest of tenets, by them termed the *analogy of faith*, which they individually hold in the greatest reverence; and all whose doctrines terminate in some assumed position, so that its partisans may not contradict themselves. When persons of this description, it has been well remarked, meet with passages in Scripture which they cannot readily explain, consistently with their hypothesis, they strive to solve the difficulty by the analogy of faith which they have themselves invented. But, allowing all their assumptions to be founded in truth, it is by no means consonant with the principles of sound divinity, to interpret Scripture by the hypothesis of a church; because the sacred records are the *only proper media* of ascertaining theological truth.[2]

[The analogy of faith has been distinguished into *positive* and *general*.

The *positive* is that which is grounded on plain, distinct, precise declarations of Scripture. The *general* is that which we learn not so much from actual declarations as from the scope and evident tendency of the Scripture teachings, which seem, as it were, to labour to produce a particular impression on us. Cellérier gives as examples of the first, the fundamental doctrines of the being of a God, the gift of a Saviour, sin and the pardon of it; to which the whole Bible gives the plainest and most harmonious witness. And he refers, for an illustration of the latter, to the constant pains which our Lord took to eradicate formalism, and purify God's service therefrom.[3]

The passages from which this analogy is deduced must be plain, else it would be a mere inference; harmonious, or their testimony could not stand together; and numerous, for the peculiar idea is the embodiment into one of various teachings by various writers.[4]

[1] Dr. Campbell's translation of the Four Gospels, vol. i. dissert. iv. § 14. p. 116. 3d edit.

[2] Francke, Guide to the Scriptures, p. 77.; Francke, Prælect. Herm. p. 185.

[3] Manuel d'Herméneutique, part. iv. sect. i. § 109. pp. 192, 193.

[4] Ibid. §§ 111, 112. pp. 196—198.

And, according as these conditions are more or less perfectly fulfilled, the analogy will be more or less authoritative.

We may hence, also, gather some notion of the relative importance of doctrines. Of many things equally true, some may be of greater practical moment than others. And, if we find more prominence given to certain truths, we may conclude that they are of primary importance. We also learn how to interpret isolated statements, so as not to draw a meaning from them disagreeing with the general tenor of the divine word. But we do not reject a doctrine or a fact because it is stated but once (comp. p. 264). Let it be clear that it is distinctly enounced, that we do not understand it in a way that would clash with what is revealed elsewhere; and one such plain word of God is indisputably to be received as true, though it may not be incorporated into the analogy of faith. We reject dogmas—such, for instance, as some of those maintained in the Romish church—not because the alleged proof of them depends on one passage, but because that proof is unsound, the passage is misinterpreted or made to speak in opposition to the rest of Scripture. Such dogmas not only do not belong to the analogy of faith, but they are condemned by it, they are untrue.]

III. Such being the importance of attending to the analogy of faith, it remains to state a few observations which may enable the student to apply it to the clearing up of obscure or difficult passages of Scripture.

1. ***Wherever any doctrine is manifest, either from the whole tenor of divine revelation or from its scope, it must not be weakened or set aside by a few obscure passages.***

This canon ought especially to be regarded by those who are apt to interpret passages, not of themselves plain, by those opinions, of the belief of which they are already possessed; but for which they have little ground besides the mere sound of some texts, that appear, when first heard, to be favourable to their pre-conceived notions. Whereas, if such texts were compared with the scope of the sacred writers, they would be found to bear quite a different meaning. For instance, no truth is asserted more frequently in the Bible, and consequently is more certain in religion, than that God is good, not only to some individuals, but also toward all men. Thus David says (Psal. cxlv. 9.), *The Lord is good to* ALL, *and his tender mercies are over* ALL *his works*; and Ezekiel (xviii. 23.), *Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God, and not that he should return from his ways and live?* Frequently also does the Almighty declare, in both the Old and the New Testaments, how earnestly he desires the sinner's return to him. See, among other passages, Deut. v. 29.; Ezek. xvii. 32., and xxxiii. 11.; Matt. xxiii. 37.; John iii. 16.; 1 Tim. ii. 4.; Titus ii. 11.; and 2 Pet. iii. 2. If, therefore, any passages occur which *appear* to contradict the goodness of God, in such case the very clear and certain doctrine relative to the goodness of God is not to be set aside by these obscure places, which, on the contrary, ought to be illustrated by such passages as are more clear. Thus, in Prov. xvi. 4., according to most modern versions, we read that *The Lord hath made all things for himself, yea, even the wicked for the day of evil.* This passage has, by several eminent writers, been supposed to refer to the predestination of the elect and the reprobation of the wicked, but without any foundation. Junius, Cocceius, Michaelis, Glassius, Pfeiffer, Turretin, Ostervald, Dr. Whitby, Dr. S. Clarke, and other critics, have shown that this verse may be more correctly rendered, *The Lord hath made all things to answer to themselves*, or aptly to refer to one another, *yea, even the wicked, for the evil day*, that is, to be the executioner of evil to others; on which account they are in Scripture termed the rod of Jehovah (Isai. x. 5.), and his sword (Psal. xvii. 13.). But there is no necessity for rejecting the received version, the plain and obvious sense of which is that there is nothing in the world which does not contribute to the glory of God, and promote the accomplishment of his adorable designs. The pious and the wicked alike conduce to this end; the wicked, whom God has destined

to punishment *on account of their impiety*, serve to display his justice (see Job xxi. 30.), and, consequently, to manifest his glory.

2. *No doctrine can belong to the analogy of faith, which is founded on a* single *text.*

Every essential principle of religion is delivered in more than one place. Besides, single sentences are not to be detached from the places where they stand, but must be taken in connection with the whole discourse.

From disregard of this rule, the temporary direction of the apostle James (v. 14, 15.) has been perverted by the church of Rome, and rendered, instead of a mean of bodily recovery, a permanent ordinance, when recovery is desperate, for the salvation of the soul. The mistake of the church of Rome, in founding what she calls the *sacrament of extreme unction* upon this place, is very obvious; for the anointing here mentioned was applied to those whose *recovery* was *expected*, as appears from verse 16., where it is said that the Lord in answer to the prayer of faith shall restore the sick; whereas, in the Romish church, extreme unction is used where there is little or no hope of recovery, and is called the *sacrament of the dying.*[1] The same remark is applicable to the popish system of auricular confession to a priest; which is attempted to be supported by James v. 16. and 1 John i. 9.; neither of which passages has any reference whatever to the ministerial office. In the former, confession of faults is represented as the duty of the faithful to each other; and in the latter, as the duty of the penitent to God alone.

3. *The* whole *system of revelation must be explained, so as to be consistent with itself. When passages appear to contradict the general sense of Scripture, in such case that must regulate our interpretation of them.*

Thus, in one passage, in accordance with innumerable other texts, the apostle John says, *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves; and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins: if we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar; and his word is not in us* (1 John i. 8—10.). In another passage, the same apostle affirms: *Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God* (1 John iii. 6. 9.). This is an apparent contradiction; but the texts must be explained, so as to agree. Now, from Scripture and experience, we are certain that the first passage must be literally understood. At the dedication of the temple, Solomon said, *If they sin against thee, and thou be angry (for there is no man that sinneth not)*, 1 Kings viii. 46. The explanation of the second passage, therefore, must be regulated by the established signification of the first; that both may agree. When it is affirmed that even good men cannot say they have no sin, the apostle speaks of occasional acts, from which none are free. When St. John says, that he who is born of God doth not commit sin, he evidently means, *habitually*, as the slave of sin; and this is incompatible with a state of grace. Both passages, therefore, agree, as the one refers to particular deeds, and the other to general practice; and in this manner must every seeming contradiction be removed. The interpretation of an expression must be regulated so as to make it agree with fixed principles.

4. *An obscure, doubtful, ambiguous, or figurative text must never be interpreted in such a sense as to make it contradict the general teaching of those which are plain and literal.*

In explaining the Scriptures, consistency of sense and principles ought to be supported in all their several parts; and, if any one part be so interpreted as to clash with another, such interpretation cannot be justified. Nor can it be otherwise corrected than by considering every doubtful or difficult text, first by itself, then with its context, and then by comparing it with other passages of Scripture, and thus bringing what may seem obscure into a consistency with what is plain and evident.

(1.) The doctrine of transubstantiation, inculcated by the church of Rome, is founded on a strictly literal interpretation of figurative expressions, *This is my body*, &c. (Matt. xxvi. 26, &c.), and (which has no relation to the supper) *eat my flesh, drink my blood* (John vi.

[1] See Bishop Burnet on the 25th Article; Whitby, Benson, Macknight, and other commentators on this text; and Dr. Fletcher, Lectures on the Principles and Institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion, pp. 198., &c. The Christian Guardian for 1823 (p. 305.) contains a good illustration of James v. 14, 15.

31—38.). But, independently of this, we may farther conclude that the sense put upon the words, *This is my body*, by the church of Rome, cannot be the true one, being contrary to the express declaration of the New Testament history, from which it is evident that our Lord is ascended into heaven, where he is to continue *till the time of the restitution of all things* (Acts iii. 21.); that is, till his second coming to judgment. How then can his body be in ten thousand several places on earth at one and the same time?

(2.) Upon a similar literal interpretation of Matt. xvi. 18., *Thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church*, the church of Rome has erected the claim of supremacy for Peter and his successors. Hence, building on Peter is explained away by some commentators as being contrary to the faith that Christ is the only foundation (1 Cor. iii. 11.). The most eminent of the ancient fathers, as well as some of the early bishops or popes of Rome, particularly Gregory the Great, and likewise several of the most judicious modern commentators, respectively take this rock to be the profession of faith, which Peter had just made, that *Christ was the Son of God*. The connection, however, shows that Peter is here plainly meant. *Thou art Peter*, says Christ; and *upon this rock*, that is, Peter, pointing to him; for thus it connects with the reason which follows for the name, in the same manner as the reason is given for that of Abraham in Gen. xvii. 5., and of Israel in Gen. xxxii. 28. The apostles are also called, in other parts of the New Testament, the foundation on which the church is built, as in Eph. ii. 20.; and Rev. xxi. 14., as being the persons employed in erecting the church, by preaching. It is here promised that Peter should commence the building of it by his preaching; which was fulfilled by his first converting the Jews (Acts ii. 14—42.), and also the Gentiles (Acts x. xv. 7.). This passage, therefore, gives no countenance to the papal supremacy, but the contrary; for this prerogative was personal and incommunicable.[1]

5. "*Where several doctrines of equal importance are proposed, and revealed with great clearness, we must be careful to give to each its full and equal weight.*"

"Thus, that we are saved by the free grace of God, and through faith in Christ, is a doctrine too plainly affirmed by the sacred writers to be set aside by any contravening position; for it is said, *By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God* (Eph. ii. 8.). But so, on the other hand, are the doctrines of repentance unto life, and of obedience unto salvation; for again it is said, *Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out* (Acts iii. 19.), and, *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments* (Matt. xix. 17.). To set either of these truths at *variance* with the others would be to frustrate the declared purpose of the gospel, and to make it of none effect. Points thus clearly established, and from their very nature indispensable, must be made to correspond with each other; and the exposition, which best preserves them unimpaired and undiminished, will in any case be a safe interpretation, and most probably the true one. The analogy of faith will thus be kept entire, and will approve itself, in every respect, as becoming its divine Author, and *worthy of all acceptation*."[2]

It only remains to state that, valuable as this aid is for ascertaining the sense of Scripture, it must be used in *concurrence* with those which have been illustrated in the foregoing sections, and to subjoin one or two cautions respecting the application of the analogy of faith, attention to which will enable us successfully to *compare things spiritual with spiritual.*

1. "In forming the analogy of faith, all the plain texts relating to one subject or article ought to be taken together, impartially compared, the expressions of one of them restricted by those of another, and explained in mutual consistency; and that article deduced from them all in conjunction: not, as has been most commonly the practice, one set of texts selected, which have the same aspect, explained in their greatest possible rigour; and all others, which look another way, neglected or explained away, and tortured into a compatibility with the opinion in that manner partially deduced."

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[1] Barrow, Works, vol. i. p. 581.; Grotius in loc.; Elsley, Annotations, vol. i. pp. 273—275.; Gerard, Institutes, p. 163. See also the commencement of Bishop Burgess's Letter to his Clergy, entitled, *Christ, and not St. Peter, the Rock of the Christian Church*, and especially Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on Matt. xvi. 18.

[2] Bishop Vanmildert, Bampton Lectures, p. 204.

2. Lastly, "the analogy of faith, as applicable to the examination of particular passages, ought to be very short, simple, and purely scriptural; but most sects conceive it, as taking in all the complex peculiarities, and scholastic refinements, of their own favourite systems." [1]

Thus, as it has been remarked with equal truth and elegance[2], "by due attention to these principles, accompanied with the great moral requisites already shown to be indispensable, and with humble supplication to the throne of grace for a blessing on his labours, the diligent inquirer after Scripture truth may confidently hope for success. The design of every portion of holy writ, its harmony with the rest, and the divine perfection of the whole, will more and more fully be displayed. And thus will he be led, with increasing veneration and gratitude, to adore HIM, to whom every sacred book bears witness, and every divine dispensation led the way; even HIM who is *Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.*"[3]

SECTION VII.

ON THE ASSISTANCE TO BE DERIVED FROM JEWISH WRITINGS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *The apocryphal books of the Old Testament.*—II. *The Talmud.*—1. *The Mishna.*—2. *The Gemara.*—*Jerusalem and Babylonish Talmuds.*—III. *The writings of Philo Judæus and Josephus.*—*Account of them.*

BESIDES the various aids mentioned in the preceding sections, much important assistance is to be obtained in the interpretation of the holy Scriptures, from consulting the apocryphal writings, and also the works of other Jewish authors, especially those of Josephus and Philo; which serve not only to explain the grammatical force and meaning of words, but also to confirm the facts, and to elucidate the customs, manners, and opinions of the Jews, which are either mentioned or incidently referred to in the Old and New Testaments.

Of the writings of the Jews, the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases, which have been noticed in a former page[4], are, perhaps, the most important; and next to them are the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and the Talmud.

I. The APOCRYPHAL BOOKS are the productions of the Alexandrian Jews and their descendants, who thought and wrote in the Jewish manner: hence there are many things in those books not found in the Old, though alluded to in the New Testament (com-

[1] Gerard, Institutes, p. 161. The analogy of faith is copiously illustrated, in addition to the authorities already cited, by Francke, in his Prælect. Herm. positio v. pp. 166—192.; by Rambach, in his Instit. Herm. Sacræ, lib. ii. cap. i. pp. 87—106.; by Jahn, in his Enchiridion Herm. Generalis, § 32. pp. 96—100.; by J. E. Pfeiffer, in his Instit. Herm. Sacræ, cap. xii. pp. 726—740.; and by Chladenius, in his Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 406—421.

[2] By Bishop Vanmildert, Bamp. Lect. p. 216.

[3] Rev. i. 11.; Heb. xiii. 8.

[4] See an account of the Targums in pp. 53—59. of the present volume.

pare Heb. xi. with Ecclus. xiv. xv.). The apocryphal books are all curious, and some of them extremely valuable. It is to be regretted that the just rejection of these books from the scriptural canon by the reformed churches has tended to the opposite extreme of an entire disregard to them in the minds of many serious and studious Christians. As a collection of very ancient Jewish works, anterior to Christianity, as documents of history, and as lessons of prudence and often of piety, the Greek apocryphal writings are highly deserving of notice; but, as elucidating the phraseology of the New Testament, and as exhibiting the Jewish manner of narration, teaching, and arguing, they claim the frequent perusal of scholars, and especially of theological students. Kuinoel has applied these books to the illustration of the New Testament, with great success; and Dr. Bretschneider has also drawn many elucidations from the apocryphal books in his lexicon to the New Testament. The apocryphal books of the New Testament exhibit a style in many respects partaking of the Hebraic-Greek idiom of the genuine books of the New Testament.

II. The TALMUD (a term which literally signifies *doctrine*) is a body of Jewish laws, containing a digest of doctrines and precepts relative to religion and morality. The Talmud consists of two general parts, viz. The *Mishna* or text, and the *Gemara* or commentary.

1. The MISHNA (or *repetition*, as it literally signifies) is a collection of various traditions of the Jews, and of expositions of Scripture texts; which, they pretend, were delivered to Moses during his abode on the Mount, and transmitted from him, through Aaron, Eleazar, and Joshua, to the prophets, and by them to the men of the great sanhedrim, from whom they passed in succession to Simeon (who took our Saviour in his arms), Gamaliel, and ultimately to Rabbi Jehuda, surnamed *Hakkadosh* or the Holy. By him this digest of oral law and traditions was completed, towards the close of the second century, after the labour of forty years. From this time it has been carefully handed down among the Jews, from generation to generation; and in many cases has been esteemed beyond the written law itself. The Mishna consists of six books, each of which is entitled *order*, and is further divided into many treatises, amounting in all to sixty-three: these again are divided into chapters; and the chapters are further subdivided into sections or aphorisms.[1]

2. The GEMARAS or Commentaries on the Mishna are twofold:—

(1.) The *Gemara of Jerusalem*, which in the opinion of Prideaux, Buxtorf, Carpzov, and other eminent critics, was compiled in the third or fourth century of the Christian era; though, from its containing several barbarous words of Gothic or Vandalic extraction, Father Morin refers it to the fifth century. This commentary is but little esteemed by the Jews.

(2.) The *Gemara of Babylon* was compiled in the fifth century, and is filled with the most absurd fables. It is held in the highest

[1] [There are in all six orders, sixty-three treatises, and five hundred and twenty-four chapters. Four tracts were afterwards appended.]

estimation by the Jews, by whom it is usually read and constantly consulted, as a sure guide in all questions of difficulty.

The Jews designate these commentaries by the term Gemara, or *perfection*, because they consider them as an explanation of the whole law, to which no further additions can be made, and after which nothing more can be desired. When the Mishna or text, and the commentary compiled at Jerusalem, accompany each other, the whole is called the *Jerusalem Talmud;* but, when the commentary which was made at Babylon is subjoined to the Mishna, it is denominated the *Babylonish Talmud.* The Talmud was collated for Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible; and, as the passages of Scripture therein contained were taken from manuscripts in existence from the second to the sixth century, they are so far authorities as they show what were the readings of their day. These various readings, however, are neither very numerous nor of very great moment. Bauer states that Frommann did not discover more than *fourteen* in the Mishna; and, although Dr. Gill, who collated the Talmud for Dr. Kennicott, collected about a thousand instances, yet all these were not, in strictness, various lections. The Talmud, therefore, is chiefly useful for illustrating manners and customs noticed in the Scriptures.[1] Sometimes the passages cited from the Old Testament are exactly quoted; and sometimes many things are left out, or added arbitrarily, in the same manner as some of the fathers have quoted from the New Testament.[2]

The *rabbinical writings* of the Jews are to be found chiefly in their *commentaries* on the Old Testament.

As all these Jewish writings are both voluminous and scarce, many learned men have diligently collected from them the most material passages that tend to illustrate the Scriptures. [For a compendious account of the Talmud and rabbinical writers, Dr. M'Caul's tract, prefixed to Wheeler's edition of Prideaux's Connection, may be consulted. See also art. *Talmud* in Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. A collection of passages from ancient Jewish writings similar to those in different parts of the New Testament may be found in Mr. Gough's useful work, The New Testament Quotations collated with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, pp. 285—296.]

The Mishna, being compiled towards the close of the second century, may, for the most part, be regarded as a digest of the traditions received and practised by the Pharisees in the time of our Lord. Accordingly, different commentators have made considerable

[1] Bauer, Crit. Sacr. tract. iii. §§ 100, 101. pp. 340—343.; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. p. 174.; Kennicott, Dissertatio Generalis, §§ 32—35.; Leusden, Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, pp. 90., &c. In pp. 95—98. he has enumerated the principal contents of the Mishna; but the best account of the Mishna and its contents is given by Dr. Wotton, Discourses, vol. i. disc. i. and ii. pp. 10—120. See also Waehner, Antiquitates Ebræorum, vol. i. pp. 256—340.; Pfeiffer, Op. tom. ii. pp. 852—855.; De Rossi, Variæ Lectiones, tom. i. Proleg. canons 78—81. p. LV.; and Allen, Modern Judaism, chaps. iii. iv. pp. 21—64. Buddæus, in his Introductio ad Historiam Philosophiæ Ebræorum, pp. 93., &c. (edit. 1702), has entered most fully into the merits of the Jewish Talmudical and rabbinical writings.

[2] On the alleged castigations and alterations of the Talmud by the Jews, the reader will find some curious information in Mr. Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 61—64.

use of it in illustrating the narratives and allusions of the New Testament, as well as in explaining various passages of the Old Testament; particularly Ainsworth on the Pentateuch, Drs. Gill and Clarke in their entire comments on the Scriptures, Wetstein in his critical edition of the New Testament, and Koppe in his edition of the Greek Testament, who in his notes has abridged the works of all former writers on this topic.

In availing ourselves of the assistance to be derived from the Jewish writings, we must take care not to compare the expressions occurring in the New Testament *too strictly* with the Talmudical and Cabbalistical modes of speaking; as such comparisons, when carried too far, tend to obscure rather than to illustrate the sacred writings. Even our illustrious Lightfoot is said not to be free from error in this respect; and Dr. Gill has frequently incumbered his commentary with rabbinical quotations. The best and safest rule, perhaps, by which to regulate our references to the Jewish writers themselves, as well as to those who have made collections from their works, is the following precept delivered by Ernesti: *We are to seek for help,* says he, *only in those cases where it is absolutely necessary; that is to say, where our knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues affords no means of ascertaining an easy sense, and one that corresponds with the context.* The same distinguished scholar has further laid it down as a rule of universal application, that our principal information is to be sought from the Jewish writings, in every thing that relates to their sacred rites, forms of teaching and speaking; especially in the epistle to the Romans, which evidently shows its author to have been educated under Gamaliel.[1]

Some very important hints, on the utility of Jewish and rabbinical literature in the interpretation of the New Testament, occur in Bishop Blomfield's discourse, intitled *A Reference to Jewish Tradition necessary to an Interpretation of the New Testament.* London, 1817, 8vo.

III. More valuable in every respect than the Talmudical and rabbinical writings, are the works of the two learned Jews, Philo and Josephus, which reflect so much light on the manners, customs, and opinions of their countrymen, as to demand a distinct notice.

1. Philo, surnamed Judæus, in order to distinguish him from several other persons of the same name[2], was a Jew of Alexandria, descended from a noble and sacerdotal family, and pre-eminent among his contemporaries for his talents, eloquence, and wisdom. He was certainly born before the time of Jesus Christ, though the precise date has not been determined; some writers placing his birth twenty, and others thirty years before that event. The latter opinion appears to be the best supported; consequently Philo was about sixty years old at the time of the death of our Redeemer, and he lived for some

[1] Ernesti, Instit. Interp. Novi Testamenti, p. 274. In vol. v. of Velthusen's, Kuinoel's, and Ruperti's Commentationes Theologicæ (pp. 117—197.), there is a useful dissertation by Weise, De more Domini acceptos a magistris Judaicis loquendi ac diserendi modos sapienter emendandi.

[2] Fabricius and his editor, Professor Harles, have given notices of *forty-eight* persons of the name of Philo, besides the one here referred to. Bibliotheca Græca, vol. iv. pp. 750—751.

years afterwards. He was of the sect of the Pharisees, and was deeply versed in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which he read in the Septuagint version, being a Hellenistic Jew, unacquainted (it is supposed) with the Hebrew, and writing in the Greek language. Some eminent critics have imagined that he was a Christian; but this opinion is destitute of foundation; for we have no reason to think that Philo ever visited Judæa, or that he was acquainted with the important events which were there taking place. Indeed, as the gospel was not extensively and openly promulgated out of Judea, until ten years after the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and as there is not the most distant allusion to him—much less mention of him—made in the New Testament, it cannot be supposed that this distinguished person was a convert to Christianity. The striking coincidences of sentiment, and more frequently of phraseology, which occur in the writings of Philo, with the language of St. Paul and St. John in the New Testament, are satisfactorily accounted for, by his being deeply versed in the Septuagint (or Alexandrian Greek) version of the Old Testament, with which those apostles were also intimately acquainted. The writings of Philo exhibit many quotations from the Old Testament, which serve to show how the text then stood in the original Hebrew, or, at least, in the Septuagint version; and, although they contain many fanciful and mystical comments on the Old Testament, yet they abound with just sentiments eloquently expressed, and were highly esteemed by the primitive Christian church; and his sentiments concerning the LOGOS, or WORD, bear so close a resemblance to those of the apostle John, as to have given rise to the opinion, just adverted to, that he was a Christian.[1] In the writings of Philo, we meet with accounts of many customs of the Jews; of their opinions, especially such as were derived from the oriental philosophy; and of facts particularly relating to their state under the Roman emperors, which are calculated to throw great light on many passages of the sacred writings.[2]

2. FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS was of sacerdotal extraction and of royal descent, and was born A.D. 37: he was alive in A.D. 96; but it is not known when he died. He received a liberal education among the Pharisees, after which he went to Rome, where he cultivated his talents to great advantage. On his return to Judæa, he commanded the garrison appointed to defend Jotapata against the forces of Ves-

[1] The late Mr. Bryant has collected the passages of Philo concerning the Logos in his work intitled The Sentiments of Philo Judæus concerning the Λόγος or Word of God; together with large Extracts from his Writings, compared with the Scriptures on many other particular and essential Doctrines of the Christian Religion (8vo. London, 1776.). As this volume is now rarely to be met with, the reader will find the most material passages of Philo's writings selected and faithfully translated in the Rev. Dr. J. P. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. pp. 420—445. Dr. A. Clarke has given *thirty-five* instances of the particular terms and doctrines found in Philo's works, with *parallel passages* from the New Testament, in his commentary, at the end of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel. [Gfrörer, Philo und die judisch-alexand. Theosophie, Stuttg. 1835., and Dorner, Entwickelunggeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, vol. i. may also be consulted.]

[2] Fabricius, Bibliotheca Græca, à Harles, vol. iv. pp. 721—750.; Bp. Gray, Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature (edit. 1819.), vol. i. pp. 288—302.; Dr. Smith, Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. pp. 417, 418.

pasian, which he bravely maintained during forty-seven days. Josephus, being subsequently taken prisoner by Vespasian, was received into his favour; and was also greatly esteemed by Titus, whom he accompanied to the siege of Jerusalem, on the capture of which he obtained the sacred books, and many favours for his countrymen. When Vespasian ascended the imperial throne, he gave Josephus a palace, together with the freedom of the city of Rome, and a grant of lands in Judæa. Titus conferred additional favours upon him; and Josephus out of gratitude assumed the name of Flavius. The writings of Josephus consist of, 1. Seven books, relating the *War of the Jews* against the Romans, which terminated in their total defeat, and the destruction of Jerusalem. This history was undertaken at the command of Vespasian, and is said to have been written first in Hebrew and afterwards in Greek; and so highly was the emperor pleased with it, that he authenticated it by putting his signature to it, and ordering it to be preserved in one of the public libraries; 2. Of the *Jewish Antiquities*, in twenty books, comprising the period from the origin of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero (A.D. 66), when the Jews began to rebel against the Romans; 3. An account of his own *Life;* and, 4. Two books vindicating the *Antiquity of the Jewish nation against Apion* and others.

The writings of Josephus contain accounts of many Jewish customs and opinions, and of the different sects that obtained among his countrymen; which very materially contribute to the illustration of the Scriptures. Particularly, they contain many facts relative to the civil and religious state of the Jews about the time of Christ: which being supposed, alluded to, or mentioned in various passages of the New Testament, enable us fully to enter into the meaning of those passages.[1] His accurate and minute detail of many of the events of his own time, and above all, of the Jewish war and the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, affords us the means of perceiving the accomplishment of many of our Saviour's predictions, especially of his circumstantial prophecy respecting the utter subversion of the Jewish polity, nation, and religion. The testimony of Josephus is the more valuable, as it is an undesigned testimony, which cannot be suspected of fraud or partiality. The modern Jews have discovered this; and therefore a writer, who is a principal ornament of their

[1] In all matters relating to the temple at Jerusalem, and to the religion of the Jews, there is a remarkable agreement between the authors of the New Testament and Josephus; who had in person beheld that sacred edifice, and the solemn rites performed there. Hence it is obvious, that his statements are more worthy of credit than the assertions of the Talmudists, who did not flourish until long after the subversion of the city and temple, and of the whole Jewish polity. A single instance will suffice to illustrate the importance of this remark. The Talmudical writers affirm that the priests only killed the paschal lambs; but Josephus (whose testimony is confirmed by Philo) relates that it was lawful for the master of every family to do it, without the intervention of any priest; and they further relate that, at the time of the passover, there were so many families at Jerusalem, that it was impossible for the priests to kill the paschal lamb for each. In the New Testament we read that Jesus Christ sent his disciples to a private house, that the passover might be prepared by its possessor and by them, without the presence of any priest, or previously taking the lamb to the temple. As the statements of Philo and Josephus are corroborated by the relation in the New Testament, they are undoubtedly correct.

nation since the cessation of prophecy, is now not only neglected, but despised, and is superseded among the Jews by a forged history, composed by an author who lived more than eight centuries *after* the time of Josephus, and who has assumed the name of Josippon, or Joseph Ben Gorion. The plagiarisms and falsehoods of this pseudo-Josephus have been detected and exposed by Gagnier, Basnage, and especially by Dr. Lardner.[1]

Michaelis particularly recommends a diligent study of the works of Josephus, from the beginning of Herod's reign to the end of the Jewish antiquities, as affording the very best commentary on the Gospels and Acts[2]; and Morus observes that the Jewish historian is more valuable in illustrating the histories related in the New Testament than for elucidating its style.[3] Our numerous references to his works in the third, as well as in the preceding volume of this work, sufficiently attest the advantages resulting from a diligent examination of them.[4] Josephus is justly admired for his lively and animated style, the bold propriety of his expressions, the exactness of his descriptions, and the persuasive eloquence of his relations; on which accounts he has been termed the Livy of the Greek authors. Though a strict Pharisee, he has borne such a noble testimony to the spotless character of Jesus Christ, that Jerome considered and called him a Christian writer.[5]

As, however, the authority of both Philo and Josephus has been disputed, we must distinguish, with respect to both, what is delivered as being merely their own opinion, and what is stated as the popular notion. We must also consider what influence the pharisaical principles of Josephus, and the profane philosophy of Philo, would have upon their writings.[6]

SECTION VIII.

ON THE ASSISTANCE TO BE DERIVED FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE GREEK FATHERS, IN THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

LEARNED men are by no means agreed as to the *persons* to whom the venerable appellation of FATHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH ought to be given. Still less are they agreed as to the degree of *authority* to be conceded to the works of the Fathers of the Christian church: by some they are depreciated beyond measure, while by others they are estimated as repositories of every thing that is valuable in sacred literature.

[1] Jewish Testimonies, chap. vi. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vii. pp. 162—187.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 560—574.

[2] Introduction to the New Test. vol. iii. part i pp. 339—341.

[3] Morus, super Hermeneutica Novi Testamenti Acroases Academicæ, tom. ii. p. 195.

[4] Bp. Gray has illustrated at length the benefit to be derived from the writings of Josephus, in the illustration of the Scriptures. See his Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. pp. 303—356.

[5] See the *genuineness* of Josephus's testimony concerning Jesus Christ established, in Vol. I pp. 578—582. [Comp. Gieseler, Lehrb. der Kirchengesch., vol. i. part. i. pp. 81, 82, *note* 1. Gieseler considers the passage genuine with some interpolations.]

[6] Remarks on Philo and Josephus may be found in Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. iv. pp. 63., &c.

It is, however, a singular circumstance, that, in almost all theological controversies, both parties are desirous of having the fathers on their side. Considering the question, then, without prejudice or predilection, we may safely assume that the primitive fathers were men eminent for their piety and zeal, though occasionally deficient in learning and judgment; that they may be relied upon in general for their statements of facts, but not invariably for the constructions which they put upon them, unless in the expositions (by the Greek fathers) of the New Testament, with the language of which they were intimately acquainted; and that they are faithful reporters of the opinions of the Christian church, but not always the most judicious interpreters of Scripture. As repositories, therefore, of Christian antiquity, as preachers of Christian virtue, and as defenders of Christian doctrine, they may still be very advantageously consulted; especially if we do not expect that from them which they could not have. The fathers applied themselves to the reading of the Scriptures with undivided attention, with intense thought, and with holy admiration, as to that which was alone worthy to be studied. No part of Scripture was neglected by them; they were so earnestly intent upon it, that not a jot or tittle escaped them. This, with the advantages which they had (especially the Ante-Nicene fathers) in point of language and antiquities, could not fail to produce remarks which it must be very imprudent in any age to neglect. The mistakes, charged upon the fathers in their expositions of the Old Testament, originated in their being misled by the Septuagint version, which their ignorance of Hebrew, together with their contempt of the Jews, and their unwillingness to be taught that language by them, induced them to trust implicitly. And that excess of allegorical interpretation into which some of the ancients ran was probably occasioned by their studying, with a warm imagination, prophecies and types, parables and allusions, and by our Saviour's not developing the whole of his plan during his life-time.

It is obvious that the contemporary friends of any body of men *must* know the sentiments of those men more accurately and perfectly than even the most sagacious inquirers many ages posterior to them. Such of the primitive fathers, therefore, as conversed with the apostles, or with their immediate followers, are the most likely to know the true sense of their writings; and it is highly probable that the works of these fathers must contain traits and sentiments strongly illustrative of the doctrines of the Bible. The use, then, which is to be made of their writings, is precisely that which a discreet lawyer would make of all the best contemporary authors, who lived when Magna Charta was obtained. If in that celebrated code of civil rights any thing appeared obscure and difficult to be understood, he would consult the best authors of the age who had written upon the same, or upon any collateral subject; and especially contemporary authors, or those who immediately followed, if any of them had undertaken to illustrate and explain the whole or any part of that invaluable instrument. Magna Charta is to us, as Englishmen, what the word of God is to us as Christians: the one contains a copy of our civil rights and

privileges; the other, of our religious privileges and duties. Nor is it any diminution of the just and absolute authority of the holy Scriptures in our religious concerns, to consult the contemporary and subsequent writings of the fathers, in order to see how the Bible was understood in the several ages in which they lived; any more than it would be a diminution of the just and absolute authority of Magna Charta, in our civil concerns, to consult the contemporary and subsequent writings of lawyers and historians, in order to see how it was understood in the several ages in which they lived. Similar to this is the conduct of every prudent person in all the common occupations and concerns of life. Accordingly, Christians in all ages, and of every denomination, have eagerly claimed the verdict of the fathers in their own behalf; and no one ever lightly esteemed their testimony, but those whose principles and doctrines the writings of the fathers condemned.[1]

The important testimony in behalf of the genuineness of the sacred writings of the New Testament, borne by the fathers of the Christian church, and especially by the Greek fathers, has been exhibited in detail in Vol. I. pp. 69—85.; and in p. 107. of the present volume, reference has been made to their writings as aids for determining various readings. It now remains to show, by one or two examples, the value of such of the fathers as are *not* professed commentators, and in whose writings passages of the Old and New Testaments *incidentally* occur, for the interpretation of Scripture. Such interpretations we find in the writings of Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and others; whose testimonies to the divinity of Christ have been collected by Dr. Burton. The evidence of the early fathers on this fundamental topic of Christian doctrine is peculiarly important; for, "if the doctrine of the real nature of Christ was corrupted in the three first centuries, the writings of that period must show the progress of that corruption." And, on the other hand, "if no variation appears in the opinions of Christians, during that period, but the fathers of the three first centuries all deliver the same doctrine," and "with one consent speak of Christ as having existed from all eternity as very God, and that he took our human nature into the divine, we have surely good grounds for saying that there never was a time when this was not the doctrine of the church, and that it was the true and genuine doctrine which the apostles themselves preached."[2]

1. In John i. 3., the work of creation is expressly ascribed to Jesus Christ. To evade the force of this testimony to his deity, Faustus Socinus affirms that τὰ πάντα, *all things*, in this verse, means the moral world — the Christian church; but to this exposition there are two objections. *First*, a part of these τὰ πάντα is in verse 10. represented as ὁ κόσμος, *the world;* a term nowhere applied in the New Testament to the Christian church,

[1] Simpson, Plea for the Deity of Christ, p. 438.; Dr. Hey, Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 105—119.; Quarterly Review, vol. xiii. pp. 183—188. See also some admirable observations of the learned Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his Argument in defence of Christianity, taken from the Concessions of the most ancient Adversaries, pp. 90—99.

[2] Dr. Burton, Testim nies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ. (edit. 1829.) Pref. p. viii.

nor to men as morally amended by the gospel. *Secondly*, this very world, ὁ κόσμος, which he created, *did not know* or acknowledge him, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω: whereas the distinguishing trait of Christians is that they know Christ, that they know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. Τὰ πάντα, then, which the Logos created, means (as common usage and the exigency of the passage require) *the universe*, the worlds, material and immaterial.[1] In this passage, therefore, Jesus Christ is unquestionably called God; and this interpretation of it is corroborated by the following passage of Irenæus, who wrote A.D. 185:—

"Nor can any of those things, which have been made, and are in subjection, be compared to the Word of God, *by whom all things were made.* For that angels or archangels, or thrones or dominations, were appointed by him, who is God over all, and made by his Word, John has thus told us; for, after he had said of the Word of God, that he was in the Father, he added, *all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made.*"[2]

2. In Heb. i. 2., God is said to have created the worlds by his Son, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν. To evade the force of this testimony, some opposers of our Lord's divinity expound αἰῶνας as meaning new times, or that God by Christ created anew the world of mankind. But the construction will not justify either of these renderings; for it is evident, in the first place, from Heb. xi. 3., that αἰῶνες does signify the worlds or world. Secondly, it is an undeniable fact, that the tenth verse of this chapter does ascribe the creation of the world to Christ. Thirdly, that διά does not denote merely an instrumental cause is evident from those passages in which it is also said of the Father, that all things were created δι' αὐτοῦ, *by him* (Heb. ii. 10., Rom. xi. 36.), as also from the fact that διά and ἐκ are used interchangeably for each other. But, as Heb. i. 1, 2. relates to the person through whom God instructed us, namely the incarnate Logos or Word, the words, *by whom also he made the worlds*, must be understood thus: God created the world by the same person through whom he hath spoken unto us, inasmuch as this person is God himself and one with the Father, *i. e.* he created the world by himself.[3] That this is the correct interpretation is confirmed by the testimony of Justin Martyr (who flourished about A.D. 150), or the author of the epistle to Diognetus, which is commonly ascribed to him, but which is, perhaps, yet earlier. Speaking of the special revelation of his will which God had made to Christians, he says, "This is no earthly invention which has been handed down to them, neither is it a mortal notion which they are bent upon observing so carefully, nor have they a system of human mysteries committed to them; but the omnipotent and all-creative and invisible God hath himself from heaven established the truth amongst men, and the holy and incomprehensible word, and rooted it in their hearts: not, as you might suppose, by sending to men any of his servants, either an angel or a prince, or one of those who administer the affairs of earth, or one of those who have the management of heavenly things intrusted to them, but the *Framer and Creator of the universe himself, by whom he created the heavens, by whom he shut up the sea in its own bounds.*"[4]

On this passage, Dr. Burton remarks: "We have here an express

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[1] Stuart, Letters to Channing, lett. iii. p. 89.

[2] Irenæus, adv. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 8. §§ 2, 3. p. 183.; Burton, Testimonies, pp. 80, 81. Dr. B.'s reasonings upon the above-cited passage of Irenæus are very powerful.

[3] Schmucker, Biblical Theology, vol. i. pp. 425, 426.

[4] Epist. ad Diognet. 7, 8., ap. Justin. Op. Par. 1742, pp. 237, 238.; Burton, Testimonies, pp. 54, 55.

declaration that Jesus Christ was *the Framer and Creator of the worlds.* God created them by Jesus Christ, as is said in the epistle to the Hebrews, i. 2.; and, if the words quoted above are not sufficiently strong to exclude the idea of God having employed any subordinate agent, we find in the very next chapter the expression of '*God* the Lord and Creator of the universe, who made all things and arranged them in order.' Thus, according to Justin's own words, God created the worlds by his Son; and his Son, by whom he created them, was God." [1]

3. We have a striking confirmation of all those passages of the New Testament, in which the appellation and attributes of Deity are given to Jesus Christ, in the practice of the Christian church, mentioned by the father and ecclesiastical historian Eusebius; who, opposing the followers of Artemon (who asserted the mere humanity of Christ), first appeals to the evidence of Scripture, and to the works of Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clement, and many other fathers, in all of which divinity is ascribed to Christ, and then states the following fact: "Moreover, all the psalms and hymns of the brethren, *written from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate the praises of Christ, the Word of God, and attribute* DIVINITY *to him.*" [2]

It were not difficult to add other examples; but the preceding may suffice to show the value of the fathers, as aids for ascertaining the meaning of particular passages. The reader who is desirous of examining their important evidence on the cardinal doctrine of Christ's Divinity is referred to Dr. Burton's Testimonies, already cited; of whose elaborate and judicious work it has been truly said, that he "has brought before us a cloud of witnesses to prove that the faith delivered by our Lord to his apostles, and by the apostles to their successors, was essentially that which our church professes and cherishes." [3]

[Care must be taken, in using the Greek fathers, not to run into one of two extremes. By some they have been made judges of the Scripture: by others their testimony has been entirely set aside. The truth is that, with much that is valuable, much that is frivolous and mistaken is to be met with. If we do not find in them the exact theological language of a later period, it must be recollected that, before the rise of errors, it was not necessary to express doctrines in the precise way which was afterwards usual. The time and circumstances in which an author lived exercise a material influence on his train of thought and the terms he uses. The customs of a later age should not be forced into so-called explanation of Scripture argument. It would be, for instance, an unsafe deduction that, because Tertullian speaks of heretics who administered a kind of vicarious baptism to living men on behalf of those that were deceased [4], such a practice prevailed in St. Paul's days, and explains 1 Cor. xv. 29. An argu-

[1] Burton, Testimonies, p. 48. Some other testimonies may be seen in the Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, briefly stated and defended, by the author of this Introduction, pp. 164—183. second edition.

[2] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. xxviii.; Schmucker, Bib. Theol. vol. i. p. 413. The testimony of the heathen philosopher, Pliny, to the practice of the Christian churches in a province of Asia Minor in his day must not be overlooked. *Carmen* CHRISTO *quasi* DEO *dicere secum invicem:* they were wont to......*sing among themselves alternately a hymn to* CHRIST *as* GOD. Epist. lib. x. Ep. 97.

[3] British Critic and Quarterly Theol. Review, Oct. 1827, p. 303.

[4] Tert. Op. Franek. 1597. De Resur. Carn. 48. and Adv. Marcion. lib. v. 10. pp. 339, 465.

ment founded on *this* baptism for the dead would have had little weight against those with whom the apostle contends, and it would not have suited his context.[1]]

SECTION IX.

ON HISTORICAL AND EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

Historical circumstances defined.—I. *Order.*—II. *Title.*—III. *Author.*—IV. *Date of the several books of Scripture.*—V. *The place where written.*—VI. *Occasion on which they were written.*—VII. *Ancient sacred and profane history.*—VIII. *Chronology.*—IX. *Biblical antiquities, including,* 1. *The political, ecclesiastical, and civil state;*—2. *Coins, medals, and other ancient remains*—3. *Geography;*—4. *Genealogy;*—5. *Natural history; and,* 6. *Philosophical sects and learning of the Jews and other nations mentioned in the Scriptures.*

HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES are an important help to the correct understanding of the sacred writers. Under this term are comprised—1. The *Order;* 2. The *Title;* 3. The *Author;* 4. The *Date* of each of the several books of Scripture; 5. The *Place* where it was written; 6. The *Occasion* upon which the several books were written. [These partly lie within the book or books of Scripture under examination, and partly are to be investigated from external sources. There are, however, other circumstances of great moment in interpretation which are altogether external. Among these we may reckon:] 7. *Ancient sacred and profane history;* 8. The *Chronology* or period of time embraced in the Scriptures generally, and of each book in particular; 9. *Biblical antiquities,* including the Geography, Genealogy, Natural History and Philosophy, Learning, and Philosophical Sects, Manners, Customs, and Private Life of the Jews and other nations mentioned in the Bible. How important a knowledge of these particulars is, and how indispensably necessary to a correct interpretation of the inspired volume, we are now to consider.

I. A knowledge of the ORDER OF THE DIFFERENT BOOKS, especially such as are historical, will more readily assist the student to discover the order of the different histories and other matters discussed in them, as well as to trace the divine economy towards mankind under the Mosaic and Christian dispensations.

This aid, if judiciously exercised, opens the way to a deep acquaintance with the meaning of an author; but, when it is neglected, many things necessarily remain obscure and ambiguous.

II. The TITLES are further worthy of notice, because some of them announce the chief subject of the book;—

As *Genesis,* the generation of heaven and earth; *Exodus,* the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, &c.; while other titles denote the churches or particular persons for whose more immediate use some parts of the Scriptures were composed, and thus afford light to particular passages.[2]

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[1] On the use of the fathers in biblical interpretation, Davidson, Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. v. may be consulted.

[2] Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, or Key to the Bible, p. (35.)

III. A knowledge of the AUTHOR of each book, together with the age in which he lived, his peculiar character, his sect or religion, and also his peculiar mode of thinking and style of writing, as well as the testimonies which his writings may contain concerning himself, is equally necessary to the historical interpretation of Scripture. Thus,

1. *The consideration of the testimonies concerning himself, which appear in the second epistle of St. Peter, will show that he was the author of that book:*

For he expressly says, 1. That he was present at the transfiguration of Jesus Christ (2 Pet. i. 18.); 2. That this was his second epistle to the believing Jews (iii. 1.); and that Paul was his beloved brother (iii. 15.); all which circumstances quadrate with Peter. In like manner, the coincidence of style and of peculiar forms of expression, which exist between the second and third epistles of St. John, and his other writings, prove that those epistles were written by him. Thus we shall be able to account for one writer's omitting some topics, and expatiating upon others; as St. Mark's silence concerning actions honourable to St. Peter, and enlarging on his faults, he being the companion of the latter, and writing from his information.

2. *In order to enter fully into the meaning of the sacred writers, especially of the New Testament, it is necessary that the reader in a manner identify himself with them, and invest himself with their affections or feelings, and also familiarize himself with the sentiments, &c. of those to whom the different books or epistles were addressed.*[1]

This canon is of considerable importance, as well in the investigation of words and phrases as in the interpretation of the sacred volume, and particularly of the prayers and imprecations related or contained therein. If the assistance, which may be derived from a careful study of the affections and feelings of the inspired writers, be disregarded or neglected, it will be scarcely possible to avoid erroneous expositions of the Scriptures. Daily observation and experience prove how much of its energy and perspicuity familiar discourse derives from the affections of the speakers; and also that the same words, when pronounced under the influence of different emotions, convey very different meanings. Franzius has paid particular attention to this subject in the examples adduced in his treatise *De Interpretatione Sacræ Scripturæ;* and Francke has written a distinct essay on the same topic, which, being already extant in our language, it is not necessary to abridge in this place.[2]

IV. Knowledge of the TIME when each book was written sometimes shows the reason and propriety of things said in it.[3]

Upon this principle, the solemn adjuration in 1 Thess. v. 27., which at first sight may seem unnecessary, may be explained. It is probable that, from the beginning of the Christian dispensation, the Scriptures of the Old Testament were read in every assembly for divine worship. St. Paul, knowing the plenitude of the apostolic commission, now demands that the same respect should be paid to his writings which had been given to those of the ancient prophets: this, therefore, is a proper direction to be inserted in the *first* epistle written by him; and the manner, in which it is given, suggests an argument that the first epistle to the Thessalonians was the earliest of his epistles. An accurate knowledge of the date of a book is,

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[1] Pritius, Introductio ad N. Test. (edit. 1722.), pp. 550—552.; Wetstein de Interpret. Nov. Test. pp. 149—156. 8vo. edit.; Francke, Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, p. 192.

[2] See Mr. Jaques's translation of Francke's Guide to the Reading and Study of the Scriptures, pp. 139—172. edit. 1815. An enlarged edition of this essay is given by Francke himself in his Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ, pp. 193—250.; to which Rambach is partly indebted for his chapter De Investigatione Adfectuum. Inst. Herm. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. iii. pp. 122—144. See also Chladenius, Instit. Exeget. pp. 25., &c.; and J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. cap. iii. pp. 251—260.

[3] Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 116.

further, of peculiar importance in order to understand the prophecies and epistles; for not only will it illustrate several apparently obscure particulars in a prediction, but it will also enable us to ascertain and to confute a false application of such prediction. Grotius, in his preface to the second epistle to the Thessalonians, has endeavoured to prove that the emperor Caligula was the *man of sin*, and Simon Magus *the wicked one*, foretold in the second chapter of that epistle, and has fruitlessly laboured to show that it was written A.D. 38; but its true date, A.D. 52, explodes that application, as also Dr. Hammond's hypothesis that Simon Magus was the *man of sin*, and *the wicked one*.

V. Not unfrequently, the consideration of the PLACE, 1. Where any book was written; or, 2. Where any thing was said or done, will materially facilitate its historical interpretation, especially if regard be had, 3. To the NATURE OF THE PLACE, and the customs which obtained there.

1. For instance, it is evident that St. Paul's second epistle to the Thessalonians was written, shortly after the first, at Corinth, and not at Athens, as its subscription would import, from this circumstance, viz. that Timothy and Silvanus or Silas, who joined him in his first letter, were still with him, and joined him in the second (compare 2 Thess. i. 1. with 1 Thess. iii. 6. and Acts xviii. 1—5.). And, as in this epistle he desired the brethren to *pray that he might be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men* (2 Thess. iii. 2.), it is probable that he wrote it soon after the insurrection of the Jews at Corinth, in which they dragged him before Gallio the proconsul of Achaia, and accused him of *persuading men to worship contrary to the law* (Acts xviii. 13.). But this consideration of the place where a book was written will supply us with one or two observations that will more clearly illustrate some passages in the same epistle. Thus it is manifest from 2 Thess. iii. 8. that St. Paul could appeal to his own personal labours for his subsistence with the greater confidence, as he had diligently prosecuted them at Corinth (compare Acts xviii. 3. with 1 Cor. ix. 11, 12, 13.); and, to mention no more examples, it is clear, from 2 Thess. iii. 1, 2., that the great apostle of the Gentiles experienced more difficulty in planting a Christian church at Corinth and in some other places, than he did at Thessalonica. In a similar manner, numerous beautiful passages in his epistle to the Ephesians will be more fully understood, by knowing that they were written at Rome during his first captivity.

2. Our Lord's admirable discourse, recorded in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, which so many disregarded, is said (v. 59.) to have been delivered in the synagogue at Capernaum, consequently in a public place, and in that very city which had witnessed the performance of so many of his miracles. And it is this circumstance of place which so highly aggravated the malice and unbelief of his hearers (compare Matt. xi. 23.).

3. The first psalm being written in Palestine, the comparison (in v. 4.) of the ungodly to chaff driven away by the wind will become more evident, when it is recollected that the threshing-floors in that country were not under cover as those in our English barns are, but that they were in the open air, without the walls of cities, and in lofty situations, in order that the wheat might be the more effectually separated from the chaff by the action of the wind (see Hosea xiii. 3.). In like manner, the knowledge of the nature of the Arabian desert, through which the children of Israel journeyed, is necessary to the correct understanding of many passages in the books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which were written in that desert.

VI. We find it to be no small help to the understanding of ancient profane writings, if we can discover the OCCASION on which, as well as the time when, they were penned; and for want of such knowledge many passages in such writings are become obscure and unintelligible. The same may be observed in the books of the Old and New Testament (especially in the book of psalms and the apostolical epistles); the right understanding of the design of which, as well as of their phraseology, is most essentially promoted by a careful observance of the OCCASION upon which they were written.

To some of the psalms, indeed, there is prefixed a notice of the occasion on which they were composed; and, by comparing these with one another, and with the sacred history, great light may be, and has been, thrown upon the more difficult passages; and the meaning, beauty, and energy ot many expressions have been set in a clearer point of view. But, where no such titles are prefixed, the *occasion* must be sought from internal circumstances.

Psalm xlii. was evidently written by David, when he was in circumstances of the deepest affliction; but, if we compare it with the history of the conspiracy of Absalom, aided by Ahithophel, who had deserted the councils of his sovereign, as related in 2 Sam. xv., and also with the character of the country whither David fled, we shall have a key to the meaning of that psalm, which will elucidate it with equal beauty and propriety.[1]

[Both what may be called the external and internal circumstances of the writer should be considered. The Holy Spirit, while guiding the mind, left free the personal peculiarities of the penman, who, according to his social and political position, according also to his intellectual character and attainments, would leave a very visible impress upon the works he produced. Thus, between the writings of St. Paul and those of St. John there is a difference so evident that the most cursory reader could scarcely confound the one with the other. It is not, however, always that the author of a book can be discovered. This is especially true of the historical parts of Scripture. Of the writers of the books of Kings and of Chronicles we can but form conjectures; and it is not impossible that they are severally the productions of more than one hand. And in other cases, even when we find inscriptions, as they are not necessarily a part of the inspired composition, they may be erroneous. Thus, some of the inscriptions to the psalms cannot be depended on, and also some of the subscriptions appended to the epistles of St. Paul. It must be carefully noted that the writer of a book does not always speak in his own person. This is self-evident in narratives, where the sayings and deeds of various persons are recounted; but the observation applies also to other parts of Scripture. In Rom. iii., for example, a kind of dialogue is held. V. 1, the apostle puts a question, and, vv. 2, 3, 4., gives a reply and the confirmation of it. V. 5., a Jew objects, and infers from what has been said that men may indulge in sin. V. 6. exhibits the apostle's refutation of this inference. V. 7. is again the Jew's objection; while, in v. 8., St. Paul shows it to be untenable, as it would, if followed out, lead to a monstrous conclusion. V. 9. contains a question of the Jew's, and the apostle's answer; while

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[1] Dr. Randolph has very happily elucidated the whole of the forty-second Psalm, from an investigation of the occasion from internal circumstances, in a Dissertation, at the end of vol. i. of his View of Christianity, &c. Oxford, 1784. 8vo. [See before, p. 268.]

from v. 10. to the end of the chapter St. Paul speaks in his own person. Unless all this be carefully observed, the meaning of the passage cannot be understood. The persons, moreover, to whom treatises or letters are addressed must be distinguished. The style of writing to a church, as to that at Rome, would differ from that to an individual, as to Philemon. But, though circumstances of this kind may give a colouring to the mode of address adopted, and though local or personal particulars may require particular directions, it must yet be remembered that the ensamples of holy Scripture have a wide application, and that even temporary commands, though not binding upon *us*, are not without their significance and use for our instruction and profit. This follows from the very nature of the sacred records; which are not a mere code or formal set of rules and doctrines, but which teach by histories, by prophecies, by poems, by epistles, called forth on various occasions, and at particular junctures, and which so best exhibit the living practical principles and fruits of godliness. And, though a course of argument may take its character from the modes of thought of those on whom it is urged, yet it cannot be allowed that the arguments of Scripture are in any case *argumenta ad homines;* nor must it be deemed enough to admit the truths asserted, while depreciating or disregarding the reasons by which they are enforced. It will contribute to the better understanding of a book to consider whether it is historical, didactic, poetical, &c.; and it must not be forgotten that, as composed in the East, there is an oriental cast about it, which a knowledge of eastern manners and customs tends materially to illustrate. But considerations of this kind must not be pushed too far, lest, by their abuse, men fall into the impieties of Eichhorn and Bauer, who affirm that Moses took advantage of a violent thunderstorm, to represent the giving of the law as sanctioned by the visible terrors of the Deity. The narrative of Jacob's wrestling with the angel, Gen. xxxii. 24—32., and the history of St. Paul's conversion, cannot be explained away, as mere oriental hyperbole, without impairing the credit of the whole sacred word. Men of better principles than those just referred to appear to have sometimes laid too great stress on circumstances. It certainly throws light on Psal. lxxxix. 12. to recollect that the two mountains specially named are on the two sides of the Jordan, west and east; but it can hardly be thought that the injunction given, 1 Thess. v. 27., had a peculiar significance from its occurring in the first epistle written by St. Paul, or that the words of our Lord, John iii. 20, 21., had any special emphasis from the fact that they were spoken to Nicodemus, who visited him at night. It was in all probability no fear or shame which influenced Nicodemus to pay his visit at that time. He only acted according to the custom of the country, and sought our Saviour at a time when he might most easily find him disengaged.[1]]

VII. Ancient Sacred and Profane History. An acquaintance with the history of the Israelites, as well as that of the Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, Egyptians, Assyrians, Medes, Babylonians, Persians, Arabians, Greeks, Romans, and other ancient nations, is of the greatest importance to the historical interpretation of the Bible; for, as the Jewish people were connected with those nations, either in a hostile or in a pacific manner, the knowledge of their history, customs, arts, and literature, becomes the more interesting; as it is well known that the Israelites, though forbidden to have intercourse

[1] For much useful remark on the topics here discussed, see Davidson, Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. x.

with the heathen, did nevertheless borrow and adopt some of their institutions. More particularly, regardless of the severe prohibitions delivered by Moses and the prophets against idolatry, they borrowed idols from the Gentiles, and associated them in the worship of Jehovah! Their commercial intercourse with the Egyptians and Arabs, and especially with the Phœnicians, was very considerable; and they were almost incessantly at war with the Philistines, Moabites, and other neighbouring nations, and afterwards with the Assyrians and Egyptians, until they were finally conquered, and carried into captivity by the Assyrians and Babylonians. Further, the prophets, in their denunciations or predictions, not only address their admonitions and threatenings to the Israelites, but also frequently menace foreign nations with destruction. The writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, contain very numerous predictions relative to the heathen, which would be utterly unintelligible without the aid of profane history. The same remark will apply to the divisions of time and the forms of government that obtained at different periods, which cannot be ascertained from the perusal of the sacred writings merely.

In proportion, however, as the history of the ancient nations of Asia becomes necessary to the interpretation of the Bible, it is to be regretted that it is for the most part involved in so much obscurity and confusion as to require no small labour before we can extricate it from the trammels of fable, and arrive at any thing like certainty. As the histories of ancient Egypt have perished, with the exception of a few fragments preserved in the writings of Josephus, Eusebius, and other authors, our knowledge of the earliest state of that country (which is sufficiently confused and intricate) can only be derived from Herodotus, Diodorus, and some other Greek writers, who cannot always be depended on. The writings of Sanchoniatho, with the exception of a few fragments, as well as the works of Histiæus, and other Phœnician historians, have long since perished; and, for our accounts of the Assyrians, recourse must chiefly be had to the Scriptures themselves; as no confidence whatever can be placed in the narrations of Ctesias, whose fidelity and veracity have justly been questioned by Aristotle, Strabo, and Plutarch. [It is almost superfluous to remind the student that the researches of Layard, Rawlinson, and others, of late years, have brought to light most valuable materials for illustrating Assyrian and Babylonish history.] The history of the Ammonites, Moabites, Idumæans, Philistines, and other petty neighbouring nations, who had no historians of their own, is involved in equal obscurity; for the little that is known of them, with certainty, we are exclusively indebted to the holy Scriptures.

The sources, therefore, of that historical knowledge, which is so essential to an interpreter of the sacred writings, are, in the first place, the Old and New Testaments, and next the works of Josephus and profane authors. It is, however, to be observed that, where the latter speak of the Jews, they *wilfully misrepresent* them; as is done by Justin and Tacitus. With a view to reconcile these various contradictions, and to overcome the difficulties thus interposed by the un-

certainty of ancient profane history, various learned men have at different times employed themselves in digesting the remains of ancient history, and comparing it with the Scriptures, in order to illustrate them as much as possible; and the Connections of Sacred and Profane history, by Drs. Shuckford, Prideaux, and Russell, Stackhouse's History of the Bible, and Dr. Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, are particularly worthy of notice.

VIII. CHRONOLOGY, or the science of computing and adjusting periods of time, is of the greatest importance towards understanding the historical parts of the Bible, not only as it shows the order and connection of the various events therein recorded, but likewise as it enables us to ascertain the accomplishment of many of the prophecies. Chronology is further of service to the biblical critic, as it sometimes leads to the discovery and correction of mistakes in numbers and dates, which have crept into particular texts. As considerable differences exist in the chronology of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint version, and Josephus, different learned men have applied themselves to the investigation of these difficulties, and have communicated the result of their researches in elaborate systems. Some one of these, after examining their various claims, it will be desirable to have constantly at hand. The principal systems of chronology are those of Cappel, Vossius, Archbishop Ussher, Bedford, Jackson, and Dr. Hales [to whom may be added Clinton, Greswell, Browne, and others].

IX. A knowledge of BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES (including the Sacred and Profane History, Geography, Genealogy, Natural History, Coins, Medals, and other ancient remains, and Philosophy, Learning, and Philosophical Sects, Manners, Customs, and private Life, of the Jews and other nations mentioned in the Bible) is indispensably necessary to the right understanding of the sacred volume.

1. What the peculiar rites, manners, and customs of the Hebrews and other nations actually were, that are either alluded to or mentioned in the Scriptures, can be ascertained only by the study of their POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, and CIVIL STATE; without an accurate knowledge of which, all interpretation must be both defective and imperfect.

If, in order to enter fully into the meaning, or correctly apprehend the various beauties, of the Greek and Roman classics, it be necessary to be acquainted with the peculiar forms of government which prevailed; their customs, civil, religious, and military; their private life, manners, and amusements; their commerce, measures, and weights, &c. &c.; how much greater difficulties will be interposed in *his* way, who attempts to interpret the Scriptures without a knowledge of these topics! For, as the customs and manners of the oriental people are widely different from those of the western nations; as, further, their sacred rites differ most essentially from every thing with which we are acquainted, and as the Jews in particular have drawn numerous metaphors from the works of nature, from the ordinary occupations and arts of life, from religion and things connected with it, as well as from their national history; there are many things recorded, both in the Old and New Testaments, which must appear to Europeans either obscure, repulsive, or absurd, unless, forgetting our own

peculiar habits and modes of thinking, we transport ourselves in a manner to the East, and diligently study the customs, whether political, sacred, or civil, which obtained there. In the third volume of this work, the author has attempted to compress the most important facts relative to biblical antiquities.

2. With regard to COINS, MEDALS, AND OTHER ANCIENT REMAINS, considered as a source of interpretation, a few remarks and illustrations may be introduced. The examples given in Vol. I. pp. 188—199., as collateral testimonies to the credibility of the sacred writers, may indeed be considered as so many elucidations of the passages there referred to. It will be sufficient, therefore, here to refer to one or two instances, which will serve to show the important hermeneutical aid which may be derived from these remains of ancient art.

1. Acts xix. 35. Commentators have been much perplexed concerning the functions of the γραμματεύς, or town-clerk of Ephesus.

It is highly probable that this γραμματεύς was a person of greater authority than the clerk or recorder of Ephesus. And it has been imagined that he was not a civil, but a sacred officer. This has been confirmed by a coin, of which an account is given in Vol. I. p. 197; and we see at once why this officer exercised such influence.[1]

2. Acts x. 1. Cornelius belonged to the Italian cohort. But why should this cohort be at Cæsarea? An inscription in Gruter will fully explain. Volunteer *Italian* cohorts served in Syria.

It were not difficult to adduce many additional instances in which the comparatively untried application of coins and inscriptions is calculated to elucidate particular words and forms of expression in the New Testament. The student who is desirous of prosecuting this subject further will find ample materials in the publications of Bishop Münter.[2]

In the application of biblical antiquities to the interpretation of the sacred writings, it is, however, of the utmost importance, that we should be guided by the exercise of a sober and cautious judgment, and by the influence of a correct taste; lest we ascribe to the inspired authors sentiments which perhaps never entered their minds, or imagine customs which never had any existence. From this mistake, that acute biblical critic, and most diligent investigator of oriental manners and customs, Michaelis, is not exempt.

In Prov. x. 14. we read, *Wise men lay up knowledge*, that is, treasure it up, and reserve it for a proper opportunity to make use of it; *but the mouth of the foolish* is *near destruction*; such a one is always talking, and seldom opens his mouth but it proves a present mischief to himself and others. By changing the points in the latter clause of this verse, Michaelis reads: *the mouth of the foolish is* as *a censer near at hand* (*thuribulum propinquum*); and he illustrates this expression by the oriental custom of offering perfumes to a guest, which (it is well known) is an intimation to him that it is time for him to depart. The sense which this profound scholar puts upon the passage is as follows: The foolish man alienates every one from him by his silly and insipid discourses. Is not this torturing words, and ascribing to the sacred penman an allusion which he never designed to make?[3]

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[1] Biscoe on the Acts, vol. i. p. 306. [It does not necessarily follow that the γραμματεύς was a sacred officer. He might be Asiarch; for the same person, as an inscription in Boeckh shows, was occasionally γραμματεύς and Asiarch; and, as the Asiarch presided at the games celebrated in honour of Diana, he occupied a kind of sacerdotal position. See Alford, Greek Test., not. in loc.]

[2] Symbolæ ad Interpretationem Nov. Test. ex Marmoribus, in Misc. Hafniensia, vol. i. part i. See also Akermann, Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament.

[3] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pars i. sect. iii. § 70. pp. 275, 276.

But, more particularly.

(1.) ***We should investigate the laws, opinions, and principles of those nations among whom the Hebrews resided for a long time, or with whom they held a close intercourse, and from whom it is probable they received some of them.***

From the long residence of the Hebrews in Egypt, it has been conjectured by some learned men that they derived the greater part of their sacred institutions from the Egyptians[1]; but this hypothesis is not tenable, the Israelites being separated from the Egyptians by their pastoral habits, which rendered them abominable in the eyes of the latter. At the same time, as they passed upwards of two hundred years in that country, they evidently derived many civil usages from their oppressors, as Sir Gardener Wilkinson and Dr. Hengstenberg have shown. A few instances will elucidate this remark.

1. Under the Jewish theocracy the judges are represented as holy persons, and as sitting in the place of Jehovah.[2] The Egyptians regarded their sovereigns in this light.[3] Hence Michaelis, to whom we are indebted for this fact, conjectures that the Israelites, just on their exit from Egypt, called their rulers *gods*, not only in poetry, but also in the common language of their laws (see Exod. xxi. 6.); where the word *judges* is, in the original Hebrew, *gods*.[4] Again, agriculture was the basis of the whole Mosaic polity; and it was probably from the Egyptians that the Jewish legislator borrowed the principle on which his polity was thus founded.[5] The priests, and especially the Levites, united the profession of ministers of religion with that of literati among the Jews, in the same manner as the Egyptian priests had partitioned literature among themselves, so that their institution was wholly Egyptian in its origin.[6] And, to mention no further instances of this kind, the molten calf which the Israelites required of Aaron seems to have been an exact resemblance of the celebrated Egyptian god Apis, who was worshipped under the form of an ox.[7]

2. At a subsequent period, during their captivity, some of the Jews appear to have imbibed the absurd notion of the Persians, that there were two supreme beings, an evil and a good one, representing light and darkness; and that, according to the ascendency of one or other of these, good and nappiness prevailed among men, or evil and misery abounded. Such, at least, was the absurd opinion which Isaiah (chap. xlv.) refutes in the most significant and pointed manner.[8]

3. In our Saviour's time the learning of the Greeks was cultivated by the Jews, who adopted the peculiar tenets of some of their most eminent philosophers. The Pharisees, it was well known, believed the immortality of the soul; but it appears from Josephus, that their notion of such immortality was the Pythagorean metempsychosis.[9] From the Pha-

[1] That *all* the Hebrew institutions were of Egyptian origin is an hypothesis now generally abandoned, since the able refutation of it by the learned Herman Witsius, in his Ægyptiaca (Amstelodami, 1696, 4to.), and in his Miscellanea Sacra, tom. i. pp. 429, &c.

[2] Deut. i. 17. and xix. 17.

[3] Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. c. 90. "From this cause" (viz. gratitude to benefactors, among whom they reckoned such animals as were peculiarly useful to the country, and held them sacred), "the Egyptians seem so to reverence their kings, and humbly to address them as if *they were gods*. They even believe that it is not without the peculiar care of Providence that they arrive at supreme power; and that those who have the will and the power to perform deeds of the greatest beneficence are partakers of the divine nature."

[4] Michaelis, Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 192.

[5] Ibid. vol. i. p. 14.

[6] Ibid. vol. i. p. 255.

[7] Schumacher, De Cultu Animalium inter Ægyptios et Judæos Commentatio, pp. 40—47. Our learned countryman, Spencer, in his work De Legibus Hebræorum, and Michaelis, in his Commentaries above cited, have shown, in many additional examples, the striking resemblance between many of the institutions of the Israelites and those of the Egyptians. Compare Selden, De Diis Syris

[8] Vitringa and Lowth, on Isaiah xlv. 7.

[9] Josephus, De Bello Judaico, lib. ii. cap. viii § 14., and Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. i. § 3. The Pharisees held that every soul was immortal, but that only the souls of the righteous transmigrate into other bodies; while the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. At first sight this account appears to contradict the statement of St. Paul (Acts xxiv. 15.); but the repugnancy is easily obviated when it is considered that Josephus is speaking of the Pharisees only, but the apostle of the Jews in general, and of himself in particular.

risees this tenet was generally received by the Jewish people; and, notwithstanding the benefit derived from hearing the discourses and conversations of our Lord, it appears to have been held by some of his disciples.

(2.) ***We must take care not to ascribe comparatively modern rites and customs to the ancient Hebrews.***

From not attending to this rule the Jewish teachers, and those Christian doctors who have implicitly followed them, have caused much perplexity in the antiquities of the Jews, having attributed to the ancient Hebrews rites and ceremonies that did not exist till later times; and, from not distinguishing the different ages, they have consequently confounded ancient manners and customs with those which are of modern date. The Talmudists, and other Jewish writers, should not be consulted without the greatest caution; for, living as they did long after the destruction of the Jewish polity, they not only were imperfectly acquainted with it, but they likewise contradict each other, as well as Josephus and Philo, authors every way more worthy of confidence, as being contemporary with that event: not unfrequently indeed do they contradict the Scriptures themselves, and, indulging their own speculations, they produce commentaries which are truly ridiculous. The necessary consequence is, that those learned men who have implicitly followed the Talmudists have been precipitated into various errors. From these mistakes not even Reland and Ikenius are exempt — two of the best writers, perhaps, who have applied themselves to the investigation of Jewish antiquities.[1]

(3.) ***Lastly, our knowledge of biblical antiquities must be derived from pure sources.***

The first and most important source is unquestionably the Old and New Testaments; the careful collation of which will enable us to collect accounts of the modes of living which obtained among the ancient Jews. Much light will further be obtained into the state of Jewish affairs from consulting the apocryphal books; among which the first book of Maccabees is particularly valuable. To these may be added the writings of Philo, Josephus, and the Talmudists. Further, a judicious comparison of the notions that obtained among ancient and comparatively uncultivated nations, with those entertained by the Hebrews or Jews, will, from their similitude, enable us to enter more fully into the meaning of the sacred writers. Thus many pleasing illustrations of patriarchal life and manners may be obtained by comparing the writings of Homer and Hesiod with the accounts given by Moses. The Iliad, for instance, illustrates Abraham's manner of dividing the sacrifice.[2] The patriarchal hospitality is similar to that described in the Odyssey.[3] How early a belief in the ministry of angels obtained among the heathen nations is evident from comparing the account of Hesiod[4] with that of Moses[5]; and it furnishes an additional proof to show that all the knowledge of the ancients was traditionally derived, though with innumerable corruptions, from the Hebrews.

Finally, if to these sources we add an acquaintance with the modern customs and manners which prevail in the East, as they are related by travellers of approved character, we shall have a sure and easy access to the knowledge of sacred antiquities; for, as the orientals, from their tenacious adherence to old usages, are not likely to differ materially from their ancestors, we have no very great reason to be apprehensive, from comparing the manners, &c. of the modern Syrians, Arabs, and other inhabitants of the East, with those of the ancient Hebrews, that we should attribute customs to them which never obtained among them. Where, indeed, any new usage does exist among the orientals, it may be discovered without much difficulty by men of learning and penetration. The interpretation of the Bible, therefore, is not a little facilitated by the perusal of the voyages and travels of those who have explored the East. Among these valuable contributors to the promotion of biblical science, the names of D'Arvieux, Maundrell, Thompson, Chardin, Shaw, Hasselquist, Pocock, Niebuhr, Seetzen, Dr. E. D. Clarke, Lord Valentia, Walpole, Ouseley, Morier, Light, Russell, Chateaubriand, Burckhardt, Buckingham, Belzoni, Dr. Richardson, the Rev. W. Jowett, Sir R. K. Porter, Van de Velde, Dr. Robinson, J. L. Porter, Dr. Kitto, Canon Stanley, and others, are justly celebrated; but, as many of their works are voluminous and costly, various writers have judiciously applied themselves to selecting and

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[1] Schulz, Compendium Archæologiæ Hebraicæ, Prolegomena, p. xvii.; Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pars i. sect. iii. pp. 276, 277.

[2] Homeri Ilias, lib. i. vv. 460, 461. compared with Gen. xv. 9, 10. Mr. Trollope has happily applied the Homeric expressions to the elucidation of the Scriptures, in about four hundred instances, in his edition of Homer with English Notes. London, 1827. 2 vols. 8vo.

[3] Gen. xviii. 6—8. compared with the Odyssey, lib. xiv. vv. 71—76, 419—430.

[4] Opera et Dies, lib. i. vv. 121—126. [5] Gen. xxxii. 1, 2.

arranging the most material passages of their travels, which are calculated to elucidate the holy Scriptures. In this department of sacred literature, the compilations of Harmer, Burder, and the editor of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, are particularly distinguished.

3. Intimately connected with history and chronology is ancient GEOGRAPHY, especially that of Palestine and the neighbouring countries; the knowledge of which, it is universally confessed, tends to illustrate almost innumerable passages of Scripture. The principal sources of sacred geography are the Scriptures themselves, and the ancient Greek and other writers, who have treated on the different countries mentioned in the Bible; and to these may be added the voyages and travels of Chardin, Seetzen[1], and others, mentioned above, who have explored the East, and whose narratives contain many very happy elucidations of the physical and political geography of the Bible. These sources have been diligently consulted by most of the learned men who have applied themselves to the illustration of this important topic. The principal works on sacred geography are those of Bochart, Michaelis, Spanheim, Reland, and Wells.[2]

4. Next to history and geography, GENEALOGY holds an important place in the study of the sacred writings. The evidences of Christianity cannot be correctly, if at all, understood, unless the genealogy of the Messiah, and his descent from Abraham and David, be distinctly traced. This is obvious from the prophecies; which, ages before his advent, determined the line of his descent, and left nothing to chance or imposture on the important subject of the promised seed, that, in the fulness of time, was to "bruise the serpent's head," and by his one oblation of himself, once offered, was to make a full and perfect atonement for the sins of the whole world. Many neat genealogical tables are to be found in some of the earlier and larger editions of the Bible.

5. Of equal importance with either of the preceding branches of knowledge is NATURAL HISTORY; by which alone many otherwise obscure passages of Scripture can be explained. Thus, frequent direct mention is made of animals, trees, plants, and precious stones: sometimes the Scripture expresses sentiments either in allusion to, or by metaphors taken from, some fact in natural history; and sometimes characters are described in allusion to natural objects; and without the knowledge of these we cannot perceive the nature of the characters intended. Much information concerning this important topic may be derived from the labours of the oriental travellers already mentioned, and especially those of Shaw, Russell, Hasselquist, Forskäl, and Niebuhr. The most successful investigations of this interesting topic are to be found in the writings of Bochart, Celsius, Scheuchzer, Professor Paxton, and especially of the Rev. Dr. Harris, of Dorchester, Massachusetts.

[1] The result of M. Seetzen's researches was published in a thin quarto tract, entitled A brief Account of the Countries adjoining the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. Bath and London, 1810. Many places in Palestine, particularly beyond the Jordan, are satisfactorily described in this little tract.

[2] The writings of the above-noticed geographers and travellers have been consulted for the Summary of Biblical Geography and Antiquities, forming the third Volume of this work.

6. Lastly, in perusing the sacred volume, the attentive reader cannot fail to be struck with allusions to PHILOSOPHICAL NOTIONS and SECTS, as well as to certain branches of learning, which were cultivated by the nations or people therein mentioned: it is impossible fully to apprehend the force, propriety, and beauty of these allusions without a knowledge of the notions, &c. referred to. A short sketch of the principal Jewish sects occurs in the third volume of this work: but the only writer, to the best of the author's recollection, who has discussed this subject in a separate treatise, is the learned and indefatigable Professor Buddeus, in his *Introductio ad Historiam Philosophiæ Hebræorum, Halæ*, 1720, 8vo.; of whose labours he has availed himself. The philosophical notions which obtained among the Jews are also incidentally treated in most of the larger commentaries, as well as in most of those works, which profess to be Introductions to the Bible.[1]

[SECTION X.

THE EXTENT OF INSPIRATION.

IT is proper to observe that subjects connected with natural science, and some of those noticed in the last section, are touched on by the sacred writers after a popular manner, and not with the accuracy of expression which modern discovery seems to require. Can, then, error justly be imputed to them on this or any other account?

The writers of the Scripture claim a peculiar authority. Questions, however, will arise, How far does this authority extend? Is it perfect in its measure? Does it belong to the whole of what we call the Bible? Many will admit that God's word is *in* the Scripture, and that all we can rightly learn of his purposes towards us is to be found there, or deduced therefrom, who yet hesitate in regarding the Bible as properly and entirely the word of God.

We must inquire what the Scripture says of itself. In the New Testament there are frequent references to the Old, to the very same books which we now understand by that appellation; and they are appealed to collectively—the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets, or the Scriptures—as the standard of God's mind and will (see John v. 39.; 2 Pet. i. 21.; &c. &c.[2]). It is not necessary here to argue this point at length; the less because it seems to be conceded even by those who reject the stricter theory of Scripture inspiration. Thus Tholuck, when he finds in the epistle to the Hebrews the ancient utterances of the prophets ascribed to the Holy Ghost (*e. g.* Heb. iii. 7., ix. 8.), is fain to say that the author of the epistle was tinged with the Alexandrine philosophy, and believed in the inspiration of the Septuagint version.[3] Mr. Macnaught goes farther. He

[1] Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap xv. may be consulted with advantage on the subjects of this section.

[2] Compare Journal of Sacred Literature, Oct. 1854, p. 147, where the testimony of the N. T. writers is given in a condensed form.

[3] Citations of the Old Test. in the New in Biblioth. Sacr., July, 1854, pp. 612, 613. See before, p. 200.

tries to explain away the strong language of our Lord; but, not being very successful in this, he suggests that his disciples have (unintentionally) misreported him; that "those who so long and so entirely failed in understanding the nature of Messiah's kingdom were easily betrayed into the idea that Jesus shared their own superstitious belief in biblical infallibility; and thus they represented him as using some expressions which, apart from the other evidence of the case, might lead us to suppose that the infallible Jesus sanctioned a belief in inspirational infallibility."[1] Language like this is grievous enough. It may be observed that here is assertion without the shadow of proof; for the parallel entirely fails. The apostles misunderstood the nature of Christ's kingdom, till they were taught by the Spirit; after which teaching they erred in this point no more. But they did not compose their narratives and epistles before they had received the enlightening Spirit. And, further, our Lord was constantly correcting their erroneous views of his kingdom: it is reasonable then to suppose that, if their belief in biblical infallibility were "superstitious," he would have corrected that too. Forbearing, however, to argue these points, it must be noted that Mr. Macnaught concedes to the apostles and immediate followers of our Lord a belief in biblical infallibility, and finds it hard to extract from Christ's own words, as they are reported to us, any other meaning than that he admitted it too.

If the disciples held this belief, it need not surprise us to find that it prevailed generally among those who succeeded them. Dr. Lee calls attention to "the singular uniformity which has prevailed upon the question of inspiration in every age."[2] And, though attempts have been made to show that looser views characterized the fathers, yet the author just cited has so thoroughly examined their testimony, and produced evidence so convincing as, one might conceive, to satisfy every inquirer that the fathers generally attributed the highest authority to the sacred writers. It is impossible here to do more than to refer the reader to Dr. Lee's elaborate disquisition.[3]

When plenary inspiration is maintained, it is of course necessary

[1] The Doctrine of Inspiration, book ii. chap. iii. (2nd edit.) p. 73.

[2] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, lect. ii. (2nd edit.) p. 71.

[3] Ibid., Append. G., pp. 484—527. The testimonies produced are thus classified: I. Those relating to the divine influence exerted in the composition of the Bible; comprising: (1.) Those illustrative of the article of the creed "We believe in the Holy Ghost, who spake by the prophets." (2.) Such as exhibit the *general* manner of alluding to the Holy Spirit's influence upon the writers of Scripture, founded on the principle laid down in the passages before considered. (3.) Such as maintain the co-ordinate authority of the Old and the New Testaments. (4.) Such as exhibit the manner in which the fathers *specially* quote the Scripture. (5.) Such as contain the epithets applied to Scripture (α) *given by inspiration of God*; (β) *spiritual*, or *the words of the Spirit*; (γ) *divine*; (δ) *epistles from God to man*; (ε) *canonical*. (6.) Those exhibiting as a result the sufficiency, the infallible certainty, and the perfection of Scripture. (7.) Such as prove that the fathers maintained the joint participation of the Eternal Word and of the Holy Spirit in bringing the Scriptures into being. II. Allusions to the effect of the divine influence upon the intellectual faculties of the prophets, comprising: (1.) Passages in which a material similitude is employed to illustrate this effect; (2.) Examples of belief in the co-existence of the human with the divine intelligence. III. Testimonies which relate to the nature of the Bible as a written document, the joint product of the Holy Spirit and the men of God.

to define what is meant. It is not meant that every assertion in the Scripture comes from God, or is even true. For we find therein some opinions of Job and his friends, which are afterwards censured and refuted[1]; we find recorded many statements uttered by wicked men, nay, even by Satan himself. We must, therefore, make a distinction. Whatever God declares, either in his own person, as when he promulgated the ten commandments, or by his servants speaking expressly, or by implication, in his name, is perfect truth, but, when Scripture simply gives the narrative of what men said or did, then it is but the narrative that is faithful and true: the sentiments expressed, the actions done, may or may not be just and praiseworthy.

The whole of the Bible was not immediately suggested by God. This fact Dr. Lee illustrates by distinguishing between revelation and inspiration. "By revelation," says he, "I understand a direct communication from God to man, either of such knowledge as man could not of himself attain to, because its subject-matter transcends human sagacity or human reason—such, for example, were the prophetical announcements of the future, and the peculiar doctrines of Christianity—or of information which, although it might have been attained in the ordinary way, was not, in point of fact, for whatever cause, known to the person who received the revelation. By inspiration, on the other hand, I understand that actuating energy of the Holy Spirit, in whatever degree or manner it may have been exercised, guided by which the human agents, chosen by God, have *officially* proclaimed his will by word of mouth, or have committed to writing the several portions of the Bible."[2]

Revelation and inspiration are separable. Many things have doubtless been revealed to God's servants, which they were not inspired or directed to write, as in the case of St. Paul's being caught up into paradise: many things have been written by inspiration which the writers knew without revelation. But in this last case they were supernaturally guided what to write. We find in Scripture—in the epistles particularly — many things which might have dropped from an ordinary pen. But it is useless to raise an objection on their account. The wisdom of God decided that such things should be preserved in the sacred record.[3]

[1] See Lowth, Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Writings of the O. and N. T., 1692, chap. v. pp. 236, &c.

[2] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, lect. i. pp. 27, 28. A writer in the Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan. 1858, while noting the importance of the distinction between revelation and inspiration, observes: "This is what we mean specifically by *the inspiration of the Scriptures*—that degree of assistance afforded to the writers which was necessary to preserve them from imperfection and error in making the record of God's truth and will," p. 33.

[3] "Had a person who was not appointed of God to write a portion of his word followed the Saviour, listened to his words, penned them down directly, and given us a book from beginning to end containing the Saviour's words, and nothing else, would this have been holy Scripture? It would have been Christ speaking throughout, not through an apostle, but even personally .... but *it would not have been Scripture.* Why? Because the Holy Ghost never ordered the writing, never gave it his sanction or authority .... Man left to himself would infallibly have misled us: we all have our own prepossessions: we hear with more interest on some subjects than others; we always more or less distort the picture which we draw of any human character, know it as well as we may, to something affected with our own peculiarities. From book to book given us of our Lord's sayings,

We need not dispute as to the extent of the Spirit's influence, or the manner in which it acted; whether more immediately or in a higher degree in one case than in another: the result alone is that with which we are practically concerned. To some, as to Moses, God spoke "face to face," to others he appeared in visions, or by dreams. Some of the New Testament writers were personal attendants on the Saviour; others, so far as we know, never saw him. But the production of one is a vehicle of divine truth no less trustworthy than that of another; it is equally a component part of the inspired whole, is as truly adapted for that particular object which it was intended to serve.

A divine and a human element must have combined in the production of the Scripture; and it is important to discern the due proportion of each. If we give too much prominence to the first, we make the human authors but the mere transcribers of the awful words dictated by the Spirit; and then the differences of style are unaccountable. If we attribute too much to the last, we introduce infirmity into the holy thing, and destroy the authority which, as we have seen, our Lord and his apostles claim for it. But, if we suppose the writer allowed to express the ideas he has apprehended in his own words and after his own manner, yet so that they are expressed with perfect truthfulness, we shall probably find that this will satisfy the phenomena presented.

It is quite possible to express the same idea accurately and truthfully in different words. A familiar example is furnished by Mark v. 41., compared with Luke viii. 54. In one case our Lord's words are recorded as, "Damsel, I say unto thee, arise;" in the other as, "Damsel, arise." But will any one say that there is the slightest difference in the idea conveyed? The *ipsissima verba* which Christ uttered, there can be little doubt, are given us in the narrative of St. Mark: *Talitha cumi;* while his translation of them is less strictly literal than that of St. Luke; but the result to the reader's mind is precisely the same: the idea is exactly conveyed by each.[1] Further, in revelation divine thoughts are transfused into human thoughts; and it is quite possible that a divine conception may be too large for human utterance. So that, if two persons are to express it, they will express it differently, because the words of neither comprehend the whole. Each expression is just, and conveys an exact truth, and the difference between the two is not opposition; just as, if two limners delineated, one the full face, the other the profile of the same person, the portraits might each present an exact resemblance, though assuredly they would be widely diverse. Divine inspiration, then, is not to be denied, if some difference be perceptible in the mode in which two

we should never have had the perfect exhibition of our Saviour's character which we now have, in the symmetry of its parts; nor the total of what should be taught us in all its due proportions, as we have it now in Scripture." 2 Cor. xi. 17. to xii. 11., and 1 Cor. vii. examined, in order to obviate some Misapprehensions, by the Rev. J. E. Dalton, B.D., late Fellow and Vice-President of Queens' College, Cambridge, 1858, pp. 20, 21.

[1] A table of passages where the same declarations of our Lord are given in different words by different evangelists may be found, Journal of Sacred Literature, April, 1854, pp. 81—83.

sacred writers handle a truth, St. Paul, for example, and St. James. They are but giving two aspects of the same thing: you need not be afraid: each is matter of fact: put them together; they will not disagree. Hence the largeness of our Lord's teaching. His disciples were but men: their eyes were supernaturally opened, but not to see all possible things; else the finite would have become the infinite. They saw accurately the part they did see: the Master saw accurately, and the whole. So that there is a necessity for our laying together the various parts of Scripture. None of the touches of the portrait can be spared. Each is faithful in its degree; but for completeness we must have them all.

The question must be looked into whether inspiration, claimed as we have seen for the sacred writers, necessarily supposes infallibility. Here much difference of opinion subsists. Some would fear that, if any imperfection or error in the holy book were conceded, its authority would be thereby so far impaired, that it could no longer be leaned upon as the faithful exponent of the divine will. And, though others rejoin that errors, if any, are of a minor character, some inaccuracy in chronology, some misplacement of historical facts, some modes of speaking which modern discovery has proved unsuitable; that such errors are of a scientific rather than a religious character; that they do not affect the Christian faith, or touch the certainty of the great doctrines of the gospel, yet such reply is often felt to be unsatisfactory. It is felt that the loosening of a single stone impairs the solidity of the edifice, and that it is hard, it is well-nigh impossible, if you concede imperfection at all, to limit it to this or that department, or to draw the fine line which shall unerringly sever what must be regarded as the word of God from what may be treated as merely the assertion or the opinion of fallible man. Perhaps the fear is carried too far. It is indisputable that the bible, *as we have it*, is not wholly free from error. We have it only in imperfect translations, or, if we take the originals, in an uncertain text. No one now questions the fact that transcribers have erred, that interpreters have made mistakes. Unless there were a perpetual miracle, affecting every copyist, and every printer, and every translator, we must acknowledge that we have not the book *exactly* as it proceeded from the authors: if altogether perfect then, it has come down to us somewhat tarnished with the rust of ages, soiled by the human hands which have carried it along. But what then? Does this acknowledged fact unsettle the faith or interfere with the consolation of the believer? Is the book less dear to him? Does he the less regard it as God's voice? Is any essential feature of the bible distorted? Is any practical inconvenience felt? The small dust which lies upon it destroys not the truthfulness of the picture. And it may be asked, why, if in God's providence he has permitted slight inaccuracies to exist now, why should it be impossible to suppose him to have permitted slight inaccuracies from the first, to have permitted the human element always to evince human imperfection?

The fear then of impairing the certainty of faith, by allowing that inspiration does not necessarily suppose infallibility, may be carried

too far. And yet there is some reason for it. We do find men who have conceded that there are errors in history, chronology, &c. in the bible, not readily knowing where to stop. Without hurrying on through that disastrous course which has ended in pronouncing prophecy impassioned poetry, miracles exaggerated hyperboles, and sacred history a myth, men of principle and piety have staggered from one conclusion to another, while (though still retaining hold of the great truths of revelation) they have censured apostolic argument as untenable, discredited apostolic interpretation of the older scriptures, and even, with Mr. Macnaught, charged prophets and apostles with religious errors.[1]

Among those who do not admit the infallibility of Scripture, Dr. Tholuck stands prominent. In an essay on the Doctrine of Inspiration[2], after endeavouring to show that the stricter theory is of later date than the Reformation[3], he produces his own arguments against the absolute inspiration of the Scripture. They are mainly derived from the condition of the biblical writings themselves.

Thus he dwells upon the imperfections of style, for instance, in St. Paul, founded on the peculiarities of the writer. "His vivacity," he says, "very frequently occasions him to leave a sentence unfinished, through forgetting the conclusion." And he argues that, if divine accommodation is to be extended to these individual defects, it is caricatured. It is apprehended that such an argument as this can weigh little with the reflecting mind. If St. Paul's sentences are sometimes abrupt, where did Dr. Tholuck learn that it was because he was so inconceivably thoughtless as to *forget* to conclude them? St. Paul's writings show to the careful inquirer that he was anything but forgetful. After long digressions he returns to take up the thread he had temporarily dropped, generally repeating a word before employed, to indicate the connection. But, admitting that his style was vivacious, there is surely no impropriety in supposing that He, who moulds the minds of men to effect his own purposes, whose glory it is to work by the weakest instruments, should have used the ardour of one as well as the sedateness of another writer to convey his will to men. It is the high wisdom of God, seeing that the dispositions of individuals vary, to employ various dispositions to act upon them. Like is drawn to like. And through many channels, instead of one alone, does the current of truth flow, admirably adapted to the many tastes which find themselves respectively consulted.[4]

[1] The Doctrine of Inspiration, book i. chap. iv. pp. 45., &c.

[2] Translated in the Journal of Sacred Literature for July, 1854, pp. 331—369., and accompanied with some sensible notes by the translator.

[3] Tholuck is not happy in his appeal to the fathers and other old writers. Some of his mistakes have been corrected by Dr. Lee, Append. G.

[4] "The divine truth, doubly humanized, first by entering into the life of the individual who was its organ, next by coming into contact with the life of the time in which it was delivered, while it lost nothing thereby of its essential purity, gained a practical power, a force of reality both for the time in which it was announced and for all succeeding times, which it could not have had otherwise. It was the highest eulogium of Socrates that he brought down philosophy from the aërial heights to the business and bosoms of men. But no less can be said of revelation than that it brought down the truth we most deeply need, from the very fountain of all truth, to the comprehension of the poorest and the weakest of our race." Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1858, p. 336.

Dr. Tholuck further remarks that different apostles seem to have different ground ideas, and thus "present Christian truth under diversified points of view." There is no difficulty in admitting this; and the observations made a little while ago may serve to prove that this is only one part of the divine plan for the completeness of revelation. Tholuck cites Coleridge as illustrating and confirming his views[1]; but Coleridge's words in the citation only go to prove that the sacred writers were not automata, mere senseless media, through which the divine voice was made to sound. And the translator well subjoins some additional observations of Coleridge, evincing his incompetency to decide the question. He makes *this* "the crucial test of the doctrine: Say that the book of Job throughout was dictated by an infallible intelligence. Then re-peruse the book, and still, as you proceed, try to apply the tenet: try if you can even attach any sense or semblance of meaning to the speeches which you are reading, &c." Coleridge has fallen into the error of imagining that the advocates of plenary inspiration believe that Job and his friends uttered all they said as moved by the Holy Ghost. Dr. Lee exposes this error by asking the reader to substitute "committed to writing under the guidance of" for "dictated by."[2] The grossness of it will immediately appear.

Tholuck seems to lay no very great stress on what has been already alleged. He goes on to urge, what he considers of far greater importance, numerous proofs of inaccuracy in statements of fact occurring throughout the bible. The rigidly orthodox have denied such inaccuracy, but they have accomplished their object, he says, "only by so many artificial and forced supports, that the Scripture, set right after this fashion, wears more the appearance of an old garment with innumerable seams and patches, than of a new one made out of one entire piece." This is hardly reverential language, but, if applicable to the bible at all, it must be so under any circumstances; because a book containing letters, histories, poems, moral maxims, prophecies, can never be likened to a new garment "made out of one entire piece." And God's providential government might similarly be objected to, because it seems to proceed on contingencies and expedients, and is full of difficulties which the light only of another world will altogether clear.

A particular examination of the alleged inaccuracies is needless here, because they are considered in another part of this book; only a few general observations shall now be made. These alleged inaccuracies are comparatively few in number, and of trifling importance. A great feature of the bible is its marvellous consistency. You find one part composed in one age fitting exactly with another written centuries later; and the facts recorded have stood the test of the keenest cross-examination. The charge of inaccuracy can be made plausible only now and then. Difficulties once formidable have disappeared; and it is not too much to expect that with the progress of discovery others will also be removed. That such as remain are of

[1] Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit (edit. 1840), lett. iii. p. 36.
[2] Lect. i. p. 28. See also before, p. 298.

no great moment is testified by the argument of opponents, that, by the allowance of such errors, no sacrifice of principle will be made, that the substantial authority of the bible will be more easily maintained.

It should, further, be recollected that discrepancy is not necessarily contradiction. Two different accounts may be given of a transaction by eye-witnesses, each of which may, on examination, turn out to be literally true, because each witness related only what passed under his own observation, and did not notice anything else. In fact, history is generally compiled by the careful gleaning from many sources of information, and combining them with wise fidelity into a consistent whole.[1] And it is ordinarily regarded as a mark of trustworthiness, and as showing that there has been no collusion, when such sources are not one the exact counterpart of another.

Again, we are not to expect more of the sacred writers than they profess to give us. St. Matthew and St. Luke narrate the same events, but in a different sequence; the latter apparently more exactly in chronological order. But does St. Matthew ever profess to arrange his details chronologically? and do not authors frequently choose different modes of grouping the facts they record, without any just impeachment of their veracity?[2] It is necessary to weigh well considerations of this kind when estimating the proof brought for the charge of error in the sacred writers.

There is an argument urged by Mr. Macnaught which demands a moment's attention. The gospel writers describe our Lord as referring to the Old Testament and saying that "the Scriptures must be fulfilled." Now, he reasons, our Lord never could have used such teaching. For, besides that he would have thereby guaranteed the infallibility of a book which, in Mr. Macnaught's opinion, contains "palpable errors," he must have known that all prophecy was conditional. And Mr. M. adduces, as examples of this conditionality, such passages as Jer. xviii. 7—10, Ezek. xxxiii. 13—15. It can only be observed here, that the passages referred to are not relevant, and that the proposed theory degrades prophecy to a mere human thing. Any one might prophesy, if the event were entirely conditional. But God's prescience is of a nobler character. He declares the end from the beginning. He made it known, indeed, to men, that if they repented his threatened judgments would not be inflicted. And so he repeatedly warned Israel. But he saw that they would prove incorrigible, and therefore he proclaimed the miserable doom which would certainly come upon them. It is useless to say that had they humbled themselves they would have escaped. They *did not* humble themselves; and this was known and predicted beforehand (see Jer. xlii.). But yet this determinate prediction did not compel their disobedience. They acted according to the natural impulse of their

[1] Compare Essay on Inspiration, in Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1858, p. 333.

[2] Some of our Lord's speeches or admonitions seem to be placed by different evangelists at different points of time. Is there anything absurd or improbable in supposing that he sometimes repeated in a new place, or on a fresh occasion, what he had previously uttered in substance?

own rebellious hearts. Mr. Davison has admirably illustrated this topic; and to his discussion the student must be referred.[1]

It is often alleged that, whatever explanation may be given of other matters, in regard to science the sacred writers were palpably at fault; so that their language cannot be made to square with modern knowledge. It is admitted, it cannot. For the sun is described "as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber," and "his going forth from the end of heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it" (Psal. xix. 5, 6.); where that motion is attributed to the sun which we now know is due to the revolution of the earth on its axis. But what then? The Scripture was intended to be intelligible; and it would have been utterly unintelligible to the mass of mankind, had it spoken in this respect with philosophical accuracy. It is enough to say that to this hour the first astronomers speak of the sun rising and the sun setting, &c. just as common people do.

A more formidable objection is taken from geology, which proves the high antiquity of the earth, while Genesis, it is said, assigns a comparatively very recent date for its creation. If the two records, the Mosaic and the geological, were really in contradiction, the defender of plenary inspiration would doubtless be in serious difficulty; for one of those cases would have occurred in which reason must limit faith. But when we examine the early chapters of Genesis we cannot find that there is any such contradiction. The object of the sacred writer was to assert that all things were originally formed by the one great God, and to show how he placed his noblest creature man upon the earth—a creature who soon forfeited his felicity, yet had the promise of restoration given him—topics these which were to be the thread of all future history. To these topics the writer confines himself: his only business was to illustrate these: it was useless for his purpose to detail the revolutions which concerned not man, save as preparing the earth for his habitation, or to describe the brute races which once existed but which have passed away. But though he does not mention all these he does not say they never were. His language is remarkable. It was long ago seen that it did no violence to it to believe that a lengthened period might elapse between the original creation first announced, and the modelling of created matter afterwards described. And there is nothing, many believe, to limit the word "day," in Gen. i., to the space of twenty-four literal hours. It is not so limited, every one knows, in other parts of Scripture. The most eminent geologists have allowed, therefore, that their discoveries can be made to harmonize with the divine record. It is obviously impracticable to discuss here the relation of geology to the bible: the student must be referred to the works of those who have professedly treated on the subject.[2]

Particular expressions have been found, which are not compatible, it is said, with fact. Thus, in Prov. iii. 20., "the clouds drop down the dew." But it is now ascertained not only that dew does not

[1] Discourses on Prophecy, disc. vii. (edit. 1856), pp. 256—273.

[2] Among these may be mentioned The Testimony of the Rocks, by Hugh Miller; and Sermons in Stones, or Scripture confirmed by Geology, by D. M'Causland.

descend from the clouds, but that the presence of cloud is specially unfavourable to the production of dew. We may well pause, however, before we pronounce this decisive. Let us examine some other passages where the same word occurs, and let us see if it is possible to suppose that the dew, literally the dew and nothing more, can be meant in Gen. xxvii. 28, 39.; Zech. viii. 12. The word טל is derived by Gesenius from טלל, which he explains "to moisten gently, as the dew, light rain:" we have, also, in Arabic طَلَّ, from which طَلٌّ, "light rain." See Gol. Lex. Arab. Surely it is not an extravagant surmise that the meaning of Prov. iii. 20. is that the clouds give out their gentle fructifying showers.

There is another difficulty of a similar kind. Job actually (xxix. 18.) refers to a legendary story: he speaks of multiplying his days like the phœnix; for so we are told the word חול is to be translated. But, even if *phœnix* be the true translation, the objection from it will not hold. Job might believe in the existence of the phœnix, and yet the question of inspiration not be touched, any more than it is touched by the belief of the apostles that their Master's kingdom would be earthly, or by the idea they probably entertained that a man's being born blind was in consequence of some sin before his birth. He who wrote the book of Job wrote by inspiration, and has given a true record, but he has not thereby indorsed as true all the sayings of Job and his friends. Allowing, however, the great learning of Ewald, De Wette, and others, who defend the rendering "phœnix," and giving due weight to the LXX. as representing the Jewish tradition of their day, we may yet doubt whether חול is to be changed into חול, and may be content to abide by Gesenius's opinion: "*sand* is the frequent emblem of numerous days; nor is there any reason to depart from the common signification."

It is not pretended that the Holy Spirit, in influencing the sacred writers, anticipated to them modern discoveries, and while teaching them divine things laid open the marvels of science to their view. But it is one of the peculiarities of Scripture, of no mean significance, that, while other books contemporary, or of later date, abound with glaring contradictions to what we now know to be facts, the language of the sacred writers does not *offend* philosophic truth, and in many cases evinces a strange deep insight into the then unknown secrets of nature. For example, the stars are described as innumerable (Gen. xv. 5.); and yet the early catalogues of astronomers reckon few more than a thousand; nor were men able, till the invention of the telescope, to form any real idea of the countless multitudes of the starry hosts. Again, we find the earth poised in space (Job xxvi. 7.), a truth hardly within ancient knowledge. The testimony in another particular of one of the most eminent philosophers of the day is well worth transcribing: "The indisputable fact," says Sir R. I. Murchison, "is that the *chief quantities of gold*, including all the considerable lumps and pepitas, having been originally embedded in the upper parts of the vein-stones, have been broken up and transported with the debris of the mountain-tops into slopes and adjacent valleys. . . . Modern

science, instead of contradicting, only confirms the truth of the aphorism of the patriarch Job, which thus shadowed forth the downward persistence of the one, and the superficial distribution of the other: 'Surely there is *a vein* for the silver:' 'The earth hath *dust of gold*.'"[1] Then, again, in 2 Pet. iii. 10. there is the utmost philosophical precision in the words used. The address of Joshua, too, to the sun and *moon* is remarkable. The moon's light was not needed if the sun was to continue above the horizon. And we can hardly suppose it generally known in that age that, when the sun's apparent motion ceased, the moon also could not quit her place. And even the word רָקִיעַ (Gen. i. 7.) may be taken as an illustration in point. It is translated, indeed, *στερέωμα*, LXX.; and *firmamentum*, Vulg.; and critics have ascribed the idea of solidity to it, and have discoursed on the strange notions the ancient Hebrews entertained of a solid hemispheric arch over the earth, through openings in which the rain fell. But there seems no good reason for attributing any meaning but *expansion* to רָקִיעַ; and Gesenius himself *sub. voc.* admits that there are kindred passages (Gen. ii. 6.; Job xxxvi. 27, 28.) in which the expressions are philosophically true.

It will not do to be dogmatic on a subject, from the discussion of which human passions and human prejudices should if possible be excluded, and the truth alone, so weighty for our best interests, should be diligently sought. And, if an individual would be heard, he must learn to speak with modesty; but yet the conclusion of an individual sincerely desirous of sifting out the truth of the matter should not be despised. For my own part let me say that, after long and carefully weighing the arguments of those who think differently, after anxiously comparing scripture with scripture, and using the helps available to me for understanding it, my deliberate conviction is that the sacred writers were preserved from inaccuracy even in the lower domain of history, science, &c.; since most of the apparent objections are capable of a reasonable solution; and it would be rash positively to declare that the rest are inexplicable. For, if the emendation of the text, and the researches of the wise and learned (which have frequently been crowned with unlooked-for success) fail, in our day, in illustrating every particular, we should not let the difficulties which remain over-weigh the accumulated evidence that the authors of the Scripture wrote under divine guidance, and that God's words, delivered by them, are "pure words." On some of the pages of the book a cloud may yet tarry; but is every line in the other books of God, in nature and in providence, perfectly intelligible? Man must bow before the majesty of his Master, and, if now *his* mind be revealed "through a glass darkly," we may be sure there is a day hasting on in which we shall see him "face to face."

Let us always be cautious that we do not extend criticism beyond its just limits. To investigate the merits of copies and versions, to lead us up, by a careful process of inquiry, to the very text, as near as may be, as it was penned by the various authors, to illustrate what they have said, and facilitate the understanding of their words — this is the object, this the ample field of sacred criticism. But an awful

[1] Siluria (edit. 1854), pp. 457, 458.

responsibility is incurred, if we elevate it into the judge of prophets and apostles, to censure them for what they *have* said, and to pronounce what they *should have* said, to declare their reasoning inconclusive, and their statements inaccurate, to regard them as led astray with false philosophy, and bewildered for want of recollection, to thrust them, in fact, far below a shrewd professor in a German university, who could have taught the world more skilfully than they did—from this the devout mind should intuitively shrink. We are commanded indeed to "prove all things," we are encouraged by the book itself to search whether the things it tells us be so. But, surely, the authenticity and general truthfulness of the record being established—and these need not be proved here—its own testimony is sufficient to vindicate its highest claims. Of that testimony specimens have already been adduced; and it is not necessary to transcribe the catalogue of texts, which have frequently been drawn out, asserting the divine character of the Scripture oracles.

Let it be enough to say that the manner of the sacred writers, so calmly authoritative, the introduction of so much—as where God himself is said to speak—that, if not inspired, is plain imposture, the commission they had to declare God's will with the promise of all needed assistance, add force to the claims which they advance for themselves, and to the assertions which they make one of another, and give ground enough for the reverent estimation in which, as we have seen, from the earliest times the church has regarded the Bible as pre-eminently the word of God.[1]

It is from no antiquated prejudice that this conclusion is arrived at: it is not in ignorance of the arguments which are urged against it: it is the conclusion honestly believed to be the truth, after long inquiry, and the deliberate weighing of what adverse writers have produced.[2]]

SECTION XI.

ON COMMENTARIES.

I. *Different classes of commentaries.*—II. *Nature of scholia.*—III. *Commentaries.*—IV. *Modern versions and paraphrases.*—V. *Homilies.*—VI. *Collections of observations on holy writ.*—VII. *The utility and advantage of commentaries.*—VIII. *Design to be kept in view, when consulting them.*—IX. *Rules for consulting commentaries to the best advantage.*

I. The labours of expositors and commentators have been divided into various classes, according to the nature of their different works; for, although few confine themselves to one method of interpretation exclusively, yet each generally has some predominant character, by which he is peculiarly distinguished. Thus, some are,

[1] See Bibliotheca Sacra for Jan. 1858, pp. 37. &c.
[2] The student should refer on this subject to the invaluable work so frequently before cited, Dr. Lee's Inspiration of Holy Scripture; he may consult also Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit., art. Inspiration. There is a sensible paper in the London Review, July, 1858, pp. 285—343.; in which current theories of inspiration are examined.

1. Wholly *spiritual* or *figurative;* as Cocceius, and those foreign commentators who have followed his untenable system, viz. that the Scripture is everywhere to be tåken in the fullest sense it will admit; and in our own country, Dr. Gill, Dr. Hawker, and some minor writers.

2. *Literal and critical;* such are Ainsworth, Wetstein, Dr. Blayney, Bishop Patrick, Lowth, and Whitby, Calmet, Chais, Bishop Lowth, Archbishop Newcome, Wall, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Priestley, and others.

3. *Wholly practical;* as Musculus, Zuingle, Baxter, Henry, Ostervald, Dr. Fawcett, the "Reformers' Bible," &c. &c.

4. There are also some which unite critical, philological, and practical observations: such are the commentaries of Dr. Dodd, Bishop Mant and Dr. D'Oyly, Poole, Scott, Martin, Dr. A. Clarke, Mr. Benson, &c. on the entire Bible, and the paraphrases of Pyle, and of Mr. Orton, on the Old Testament; on the New Testament, Dr. S. Clarke, and Pyle, Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Locke, Dr. Benson, Dr. Macknight, Mr. Gilpin, &c. &c.

A more correct classification of expository writings may be into *Scholia, Perpetual Annotations, Commentaries,* and *Paraphrases;* whose united design is to lead their readers to the right understanding of the author whom they undertake to explain. Hence their province is to illustrate obscure passages, to reconcile apparent contradictions, to obviate difficulties, whether *verbal* or *real,* and, in short, to remove every thing that may tend to excite doubts in the minds of the readers of the Bible.

II. SCHOLIA are short explanatory notes on the sacred writers; whose authors, termed *scholiasts,* particularly aim at brevity. In this kind of expository writings, obscure words and phrases are explained by such as are more clear; figurative by such as are proper; and the genuine force of each word and phrase is pointed out. Further, the allusions to ancient manners and customs are illustrated, and whatever light may be thrown upon the sacred writer from history or geography is carefully concentrated, and *concisely expressed;* nor does the scholiast fail to select and introduce the principal and most valuable various readings, whose excellence, antiquity, and genuineness, to the best of his judgment, give them a claim to be noticed. The discordant interpretations of difficult passages are stated and examined, and the most probable one is pointed out, but without exhibiting the grounds of the exposition. These various topics, however, are rather touched upon, than treated at length: though no material passages are (or at least ought to be) unnoticed, yet some very obscure and difficult passages are left to be discussed and expounded by other learned men. Such was the method, according to which the ancient scholiasts composed their scholia for illustrating Homer, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Horace, Virgil, and other Greek and Latin classics; and the same mode has been adopted by those Christian writers who have written scholia on the Bible.[1] [Rosenmüller's scholia on the Old Testament contain much that is valuable.]

[1] Somewhat similar to scholia are the *Questions* or inquiries concerning particular books of Scripture, which were composed by ancient ecclesiastical writers: they differ from scholia in this respect, that questions are exclusively confined to the consideration of *some* difficult passages only, whose meaning was at that time an object of discussion; while it is

III. The various topics, which engage the attention of the scholiast, are also discussed, but more at length, by COMMENTATORS, whose observations form a series of continuous annotations on the sacred writers, and who point out more clearly the train of their thoughts, as well as the coherence of their expressions, and all the various readings which are of any importance. The commentator, therefore, not only furnishes summaries of the argument, but also resolves the expressions of his author into their several parts, and shows in what respects they agree, as well as where they are apparently at variance. He further weighs and examines different passages, that admit of different interpretations; and, while he offers his own views, he confirms them by proper arguments or proofs, and solves any doubts which may attend his own interpretation. Further, a judicious commentator will avoid all prolix, extraneous, and unnecessary discussions, as well as far-fetched explanations, and will bring every philological aid to bear upon passages that are in any degree difficult or obscure. Commentators *ought not* to omit a single passage that possesses more than ordinary difficulty; though the contrary is the case with many, who expatiate very copiously on the more easy passages of Scripture, while they scarcely touch on those which are really difficult, if they do not altogether omit to treat of them. In a word, it is the commentator's province to remove every difficulty that can impede the biblical reader, and to produce whatever can facilitate his studies, by rendering the sense of the sacred writings more clear and easy to be apprehended.

IV. A peculiar and important method of exposition is that of MODERN VERSIONS and PARAPHRASES. Neither can be properly executed unless their authors have previously mastered the book or passage which they intend to translate or paraphrase, and are well versed in the language. Versions of different books and with different designs should not all be conducted upon the same plan.

1. A VERSION is the rendering fully, perspicuously, and faithfully, of the words and ideas of an author into a different language from that which he used. The properties of a good version are correctness and fidelity in expressing the precise manner in which the idea is presented, the figures, order, connection, and mode of writing; yet without being always literal and expressing word for word. Further, it should be accommodated to the idiom of the language, which the translator is using, and at the same time be perspicuous and flowing.

In reference to versions it may be inquired, 1. Under what circumstances it may be lawful to depart from the style and manner of the original author? (There are words, figures, and modes of construction, which cannot be literally expressed in a different language.) 2. Whether the Hebraic construction is to be retained? It seems by no means proper, that the peculiar manner of an ancient author should be entirely obliterated; much less, that a different manner be

the design of scholia to notice *every* difficult or obscure passage with brevity and perspicuity. Augustine, among other biblical treatises, wrote two books of *Questiones Evangelicæ*, on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

obtruded upon him. 3. Whether the technical terms which occur in the New Testament should be changed for others.[1]

2. A PARAPHRASE is the expression, in greater extent, of the meaning of the sacred author; in which is inserted whatever is necessary to explain the connection and exhibit the sense: so that what is obscure is thus rendered more perspicuous, in one continued and unbroken narrative. *Provided the integrity of his author's sense be observed,* the paraphrast is at liberty to abridge what is narrated at length, to enlarge on what is written with brevity, to supply *supposed* omissions, to fill up chasms, to illustrate obscure and apparently involved passages, by plain, clear, and neatly-turned expressions, to connect passages which seem too far asunder, or not disposed in order either of time or subject, and to arrange the whole in a regular series. These, indeed, it must be admitted, are important liberties, not to be taken with the Scriptures by *any* paraphrast without the utmost caution, and even then only in the most sparing manner.

Paraphrases have been divided by Professor Rambach, and other writers on the interpretation of the Bible, into two classes—*historical* and *textual.*[2] In the former class of paraphrases, the argument of a book or chapter is pursued historically; and the paraphrast endeavours to give his author's meaning in perspicuous language. In the latter instance, the paraphrast assumes, as it were, the person of the sacred writer, closely pursues the thread of his discourse, and aims at expressing every word and phrase, though in circumscribed limits, yet in terms that are both clear and obvious to the capacities of his readers. Hence it would appear that a paraphrase is the most difficult species of expository writing; and, as the number of paraphrasts on the Scripture is comparatively small (probably from this circumstance), the ingenious classification of them proposed by Rambach is not sufficiently important to render it necessary that we should form them into a separate class of interpreters. It is of infinitely greater moment to Bible readers, when purchasing works of this description, that they select those which are neither too prolix nor too expensive, and whose authors avoid every thing like party-spirit; neither extolling beyond measure any thing ancient, merely because it is of remote antiquity, nor evincing a spirit of *dogmatical innovation;* but who, "rightly dividing the word of truth," while they express themselves in clear and perspicuous terms, show themselves to be well skilled both in the theory and application of sound principles of scriptural interpretation, and who have diligently availed themselves of every internal and external aid for ascertaining the sense of the sacred writers.

The utility of both versions and paraphrases is great; but neither can supersede the necessity of more extended and minute interpretation.

V. HOMILIES are another kind of interpretation in which either larger portions of Scripture or single texts are explained and prac-

[1] See Ernesti, Principles of Bibl. Interp. transl. by Bp. Terrot, part ii. §§ 6—10. vol. i. pp. 189—193.
[2] Rambach, Instit. Herm. lib. iii. cap. ix. pp. 706, 707.

tically applied to the several purposes of instruction, admonition, or consolation: these are properly destined to the service of the church. Homilies answered to our discourses on portions of Scripture, without the formal division and logical sequence which properly characterize the sermon. The best homilies extant are those of Origen and Chrysostom.

VI. Closely allied to commentaries are the collections of OBSERVATIONS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SACRED WRITINGS, which have been formed of late years, and require to be consulted with similar cautions, and in the same manner. These books of observations are either grammatical and philological, or miscellaneous; sometimes they discuss only a few passages which are peculiarly difficult and obscure, and sometimes they appear in the form of a grammatical and philological commentary, following the order of the sacred books.[1]

VII. Opinions widely different have been entertained respecting the utility and advantage resulting from commentaries, annotations, and other expositions of the sacred writings. By some, who hold all human helps in contempt, commentaries are despised altogether, as tending to found our faith on the opinions of men rather than on the divine oracles; while others, trusting exclusively to the expositions of some favourite commentators, receive as infallible whatever views or opinions they may choose to deliver, as *their* expositions of the Bible. The safest way in this case, as in all others, is to take the middle path, and occasionally to avail ourselves of the labours of commentators and expositors, while we diligently investigate the Scriptures for ourselves, without relying exclusively on our own wisdom, or being fascinated by the authority of a distinguished name.

The late Dr. Campbell was of opinion that the Bible should be first read and studied *without* a commentary; but his advice was addressed to students who were *previously* acquainted with the originals. A sensible writer has observed, that the Bible is a *learned* book, not only because it is written in the learned languages, but also as containing allusions to various facts, circumstances, or customs of antiquity, which, to a common and unlettered reader, require explanation. So far, indeed, as relates to the way of salvation, "he that runs may read;" but there are many important points, if not of the first importance, in which we may properly avail ourselves of the labours of inquirers who have preceded us; especially in clearing difficulties, answering objections, and reconciling passages which at first sight appear contradictory.

VIII. The USE to be made of interpreters and commentators is twofold:—

FIRST, *that we may acquire from them a method of interpreting the Scriptures correctly.*

It is not sufficient that we be enabled rightly to understand the Bible ourselves, but it is essentially necessary that those who are destined for the sacred office should be able to ex-

[1] Arigler, Hermeneutica Biblica, pp. 256—263.; Ernesti, Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 278—286. Morus, Acroases, tom. ii. pp. 204—340., has given a detailed account of the various kinds of commentaries and commentators.

plain it with facility, and also to communicate its sense and meaning with perspicuity to others. As, however, this faculty is not to be attained merely by studying rules for the interpretation of the Scriptures, habitual and constant practice must be superadded; and it will further prove of singular advantage to place before us some good expositors, as models for our imitation. In order to accomplish this desirable object, we must not accumulate and read every interpreter or commentator *indiscriminately*, but should select one or two, or a *few* at most, of acknowledged character for learning and piety; and, by frequent perusal of them, as well as by studying their manner of expounding, should endeavour to form ourselves after them, until we are completely masters of their method. But the reading of commentaries will further assist us,

SECONDLY, *to understand whatever passages appear to us to be difficult and obscure.*

It is not to be denied that there are many passages in the sacred writings both difficult and obscure, in consequence of the various times when the different books were written, the different topics of which they treat, and their allusions to ancient customs, &c. The helps, by which most of these difficulties may be removed, have already been stated in the course of the present work. But we cannot suppose that the solitary and unassisted researches even of the most learned expositor are adequate to the removal of every difficulty, or to the elucidation of every obscurity, or that he is not liable to mistake the sense of the sacred penman. By the united labours, however, of many learned and pious men, of different ages and countries, we are put in possession of *accumulated information* relative to the Bible; so that we may derive large accessions of important knowledge from the *judicious* use of the writings of commentators and expositors.[1]

IX. In order, then, that we may avail ourselves of their valuable labours to the utmost advantage, the following hints are submitted to the consideration of the reader:—

1. *We should take care that the reading of commentators does not draw us away from studying the Scriptures for ourselves, from investigating their real meaning, and meditating on their important contents.*

This would be to frustrate the very design for which commentaries are written, namely to facilitate our labours, to direct us aright where we are in danger of falling into error, to remove doubts and difficulties which we are ourselves unable to solve, to reconcile apparently contradictory passages, and, in short, to elucidate whatever is obscure or unintelligible to us. We must, therefore, investigate the sacred writings for ourselves, making use of every grammatical and historical help, comparing the scope, context, parallel passages, the analogy of faith, &c., using commentaries only as assistants, and in subservience to the text. This method of studying the sacred volume will, unquestionably, prove a slow one; but the student will proceed with certainty; and, if he have resolution to persevere in it, he will ultimately attain greater proficiency in the knowledge of the Scriptures than those who shall have recourse wholly to assistances of other kinds. From the mode of study here recommended many advantages will result. In the first place, the mind will be gradually accustomed to habits of meditation: without which we cannot reasonably hope to attain even a moderate, much less a profound, knowledge of the Bible; secondly, those truths will be more readily as well as indelibly impressed on the memory, which have thus been "marked, learned, and inwardly digested" in the mind by silent thought and reflection; and, thirdly, by pursuing this method, we shall perceive our own progress in sacred literature more readily than if we just devour and exhaust the stores provided by the labour of others.[2]

2. *We should not inconsiderately assent to the interpretation of any expositor, or commentator, or yield a blind and servile obedience to his authority.*

The canon given by St. Paul (1 Thess. v. 21.), *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good*, is therefore particularly worthy of our notice; for, since no man is an infallible judge of the sense of Scripture, not only the expositions given by commentators ought to be carefully examined, but we should also particularly investigate the proofs by which they support their interpretations, uninfluenced by the celebrity of their names, the sem-

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[[1] There are some excellent remarks on the use of commentaries, in Bengel, Gnomon, Præf. § 4.]

[2] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 302, 303.; Steph. Gaussen, Diss. de Rat. Stud. Theol. pp. 25—27.; Dr. Henry Owen, Directions for Young Students in Divinity, p. 37. 5th edit.

blance of ingenuity and novelty, the appearance of learning, or the *excellency of speech.*[1] Commentators, in fact, are witnesses, not judges: their authority is merely human, and does not surpass the sphere of human belief. But we should not read, exclusively, commentators of a particular *school,* to which we are perhaps attached; and, though the writings of those who inculcate erroneous doctrines are to be received with the greatest suspicion, yet they are not to be altogether disregarded, as they *sometimes* contain valuable and important hints for the elucidation of difficult passages of Scripture. Thus, unsound as were Dr. Priestley's theological views, yet his Notes on all the Books of Scripture are, nevertheless, well worthy of being consulted; and his work contains many valuable observations, particularly on the *philosophy, natural history, geography, and chronology* of the Scriptures.[2]

3. *The best commentators and interpreters only are to be read.*

So numerous are the commentaries at present extant on the sacred writings, that to notice them all would require a distinct volume. Not to mention the magnitude of their *cost,* the labour and fatigue of turning over and examining such a multitude of massy volumes is sufficient to deter any one from the study of them, and must necessarily prevent an ingenuous student from deriving any real advantage. For either the perplexity of mind arising from so great a variety of conflicting opinions will disgust him altogether with sacred studies; or he will so bewilder himself, that he will not be able to determine which to follow or embrace.

Although the more ancient commentators did not possess those facilities for interpreting the Scriptures, with which we are now favoured, yet they are not to be altogether despised by those, who may have opportunity to consult them, for the purpose of tracing the time when, and the authors by whom, particular expositions of certain passages were first introduced. The more ancient interpreters, being coëval or nearly so with the sacred writers, and living in the neighbouring countries, are thus rendered good evidence for the received sense of certain words in their day. Hence the Jews frequently throw much light on the meaning of Hebrew words and usages, as may be seen in the extracts from their writings found in all the larger commentaries; and in like manner the Greek fathers are excellent evidence for the meaning attached to Greek words, particularly in controversies relating to the deity of Jesus Christ, the reality and efficacy of his atonement, &c. And, since there are *some expositions* of very important passages, in which all or nearly all expositors, both ancient and modern, *are agreed,* these have a high claim to our attention.[3]

The more *ancient* interpreters erred in mingling too many doctrinal discussions in their expositions; in introducing too much of history and archæology, not immediately connected with the passage under consideration; and in investigating too exclusively the arguments of the sacred writers. *Modern* interpreters, on the contrary, have erred in too frequently and copiously disputing about the events of Scripture, and also in applying so extensively to morals the passages which they undertook to elucidate. For, although the methods of exposition may be different, as authors have different objects in view, yet the office of the critic, the interpreter, the theologian, and the popular teacher, ought never to be confounded.[4]

Of the more *modern* commentators, the *best only* must be selected, whom we may consult as guides; and those may be considered as the best commentators, who are most deeply furnished with the requisite critical skill; who most diligently investigate the literal sense, and do not attempt to establish a mystical sense until the literal sense is most clearly ascertained; who do not servilely copy the remarks of preceding commentators, but, while they avail themselves of every help for the interpretation of the Scriptures, elicit what appears to be the true meaning, and support it by such cogent arguments, and state it with such perspicuity, as convinces the reader's judgment. To these acquirements, it is scarcely necessary to add, that *deep yet sober piety and uprightness are indispensably necessary to a commentator on holy writ.*

On the subject of commentaries it is an excellent advice of Ernesti's, that we shall find considerable advantage in making memoranda of the more difficult passages of the sacred writings, which have been variously explained by expositors, as well as of those in which there is any remarkable diversity of reading, but concerning which our own researches, or those of others, have failed in procuring satisfactory information.[5] Thus, whenever any

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[1] C. D. Beck, Monogrammata Hermeneutices Librorum Novi Testamenti, pars i. pp. 174, 175.

[2] Dr. A. Clarke, General Preface to vol. i. of his Commentary on the Bible, p. xi.

[3] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 304, 305.; Turretin, de Interp. Sac. Scrip. pars ii. cap. ix. reg. 21. p. 333.

[4] Beck, Monogrammata, Herm. Nov. Test. p. 184

[5] Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, pars iii. cap. ix. § 44, p. 306.

professedly *new* commentary falls into our hands, we can in a short time ascertain whether it contains anything intrinsically new or valuable, or that may lead us to ascertain the genuine sense of a passage. By consulting commentators and expositors in this manner, we shall be able to distinguish ideas of things from ideas of sounds; and, thus becoming habituated to the investigation and consideration of the sacred writings, we shall, under divine teaching, be enabled to understand *the mind of the Spirit* in the Scriptures.

4. *Where it does not appear that either ancient or modern interpreters had more knowledge than ourselves respecting particular passages; and where they offer only conjectures, in such cases their expositions ought to be subjected to a strict examination. If their reasons are then found to be valid, we should give our assent to them; but, on the contrary, if they prove to be false, improbable, and insufficient, they must be altogether rejected.*

5. *Lastly, as there are some commentaries, which are either wholly compiled from the previous labours of others, or which contain observations extracted from their writings, if any thing appear confused or perplexed in such commentaries, the original sources whence they were compiled must be referred to, and diligently consulted.*[1]

[It is not easy to select, out of the multitude, commentaries for recommendation; especially as the ordinary devotional reader and the theological student require different kinds. Besides, all the requisites are not often found united in the same work. In some there is great critical skill evinced with a defective theology; in others we have sermonizing, sound and good it may be in itself, but not the legitimate exposition of the divine record. Henry and Scott are hardly in the proper sense interpreters, but they are full of valuable remark and inference, and will always deserve the attention of those who read for private edification. Barnes's Notes on the New Testament, with some partiality in his colouring and opinions to which objection may be taken, still have much to recommend them. Calvin is an admirable commentator, almost intuitively seizing the sense of the sacred writers, and illustrating it with the utmost freshness and vigour. The student will resort to those who can supply him with the fullest critical and hermeneutical information; among whom may be classed Hammond, Bengel, Macknight, Alford, and others. Many writers have devoted themselves to the illustration of particular books. Here some of the more orthodox German divines, Hengstenberg, Stier Olshausen, and others, will be found of great use. Such as De Wette, Ewald, &c., must be consulted with caution. Valuable works of this kind have been produced by North American writers: Bush's Notes on Genesis may be named as an example. Alexander on Isaiah is an excellent commentary; and, in the opinion of a man well qualified to judge, the late Canon Rogers, Henderson on the same prophet deserves the highest praise. Hints, however, are all that can here be given, and they cannot be other than incomplete.[2]]

BOOK II

ON THE SPECIAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

HAVING stated and illustrated the general principles of interpretation in the preceding chapters, we advance to the special interpretation, comprising the interpretation of the *Figurative* and the *Poetical Language* of the Bible, and also of the *Spiritual* and *Typical*, *Prophetical*, *Doctrinal*, and *Moral* parts, of the *Promises* and *Threatenings* contained in the Scriptures, and of *Passages alleged to be contradictory*, together with that *Inferential Reading*, and that *Practical Application* of them to the heart and conscience, without which all knowledge will be in vain. If, indeed, the previous investigation of the sense of Scripture

[1] Comp. on the subject of this section, Ernesti, Principles of Bibl. Interpretation, transl. by Bp. Terrot part ii. vol. i. pp. 185—210.

[2] Several of the topics treated on in the preceding chapter are well illustrated by Fairbairn, Herm. Man. part i. sections iii., iv., v., and vi.

be undertaken with those moral and devout qualifications which have been stated in the preceding volume[1], it is scarcely possible that we can fail to understand the meaning of the word of God.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE OF SCRIPTURE.

FIGURATIVE language had its rise in the first ages of mankind: the scarcity of words occasioned them to be used for various purposes; and thus figurative terms, which constitute the beauty of language, arose from its poverty; and it is still the same in all uncivilized nations.

The Bible abounds with the most beautiful images, and with every ornament of which style is susceptible. Yet these very ornaments are sometimes the occasions of difficulty; for the books which contain the revelations of God, being very ancient, are written either in the language used by mankind in the first ages, or in a language nearly allied to it. The style of these writings, therefore, being very different from that of modern compositions, to interpret them exactly as *these* are usually expounded is without doubt to *mis*-interpret them; accordingly, persons ignorant of the character of the primitive languages have, by that method of interpretation, been led to imagine that the Scriptures contain notions unworthy of God, and thus not only have exposed these venerable writings to the scorn of infidels, but have also framed to themselves erroneous notions in religion.[2] To prevent similar mistakes, and, it is hoped, to render more delightful the study of the sacred volume by an explanation of its figurative language, is the design of the present chapter.

Figures, in general, may be described to be that language, which is prompted either by the imagination or by the passions. Rhetoricians commonly divide them into two great classes, *figures of words* and *figures of thought.*

Figures of words are usually termed *tropes*, and consist in the advantageous alteration of a word or sentence from its original and proper signification to another meaning; as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 3., *The Rock of Israel spake to me.* Here the trope lies in the word *rock*, which is changed from its original sense, as intending one of the strongest works and most certain shelters in nature; and is employed to signify that God, by his faithfulness and power, is the same security to the soul which trusts in him, as the rock is to the man who builds upon it, or flees for safety to its impenetrable recesses. So, in Luke xiii. 32., our Lord, speaking of Herod, says, *Go ye, and tell that fox:* here the word *fox* is diverted from its proper meaning, which is that of a beast of prey and of deep cunning, to denote a cruel, and crafty

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 466—468.

[2] Macknight on the Epistles, vol. iv. 4to., or vol. vi. 8vo. essay viii. sect. 1., On the right Interpretation of Scripture. The materials of this chapter are abridged chiefly from Professor Dathe's edition of Glassius's Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. forming the whole second volume of that elaborate work. See also Jahn, Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Generalis, cap. iv., De Tropis Recte Interpretandis, pp. 101—127.; and Rambach, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, lib. iii. cap. ii., De Adminiculis Rhetoricis, pp. 429—440.

tyrant; and the application of the term gives us a complete idea of his hypocrisy.

The other class, called figures of thought, supposes the words to be used in their literal and proper meaning, and the figure to consist in the turn of the thought; as is the case in exclamations, apostrophes, and comparisons, where, though we vary the words that are used, or translate them from one language into another, we may nevertheless still preserve the same figure in the thought. This distinction, however, Dr. Blair remarks, is of no great use, as nothing can be built upon it in practice; neither is it always very clear. It is of little importance, whether we give to some particular mode of expression the name of a trope or of a figure, provided we remember that figurative language always imports some colouring of the imagination, or some emotion of passion expressed in our style; and, perhaps, *figures of imagination*, and *figures of passion*, might be a more useful distribution of the subject.[1]

Without regarding, therefore, the technical distinctions, which have been introduced by rhetorical writers, we shall first offer some hints by which to ascertain and correctly interpret the tropes and figures occurring in the sacred writings; and in the following sections we shall notice the principal of them, illustrated by examples, to which a diligent reader may easily subjoin others.

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TROPES AND FIGURES.

"ALL languages are more or less figurative; but they are the most so in their most early state. Before language is provided with a stock of words, sufficient in their literal sense to express what is wanted, men are under the necessity of extending the use of their words beyond the literal sense. But the application, when once begun, is not limited by the bounds prescribed by necessity. The imagination, always occupied with resemblances, which are the foundation of figures, disposes men to seek for figurative terms, where they might have expressed themselves in literal terms. Figurative language presents a kind of picture to the mind, and thus delights while it instructs: whence the use of it, though more necessary when a language is poor and uncultivated, is never laid aside, especially in the writings of orators and poets."[2] The language of the Scriptures is highly figurative, especially in the Old Testament. For this, two reasons have been assigned; *one* is that the inhabitants of the East, naturally possessing vivid imaginations, and living in a warm climate, delight in a figurative style of expression, and are fond of similitudes which to the cultivated taste of European readers do not always appear the most elegant. The *other* reason is that many of the books of the Old Testament are poetical; and a poet indulges in figures and images drawn from almost every subject that presents itself to his imagination.

[1] Blair, Lectures, vol. i. p. 320.
[2] Bishop Marsh, Lectures, part iii. pp. 68, 69.

The language of the New Testament, and especially the discourses and speeches of our Saviour, are also highly figurative; "and numerous mistakes have been made by a literal application of what was figuratively meant. When our Saviour said to the Jews, 'Destroy this temple; and in three days I will raise it up,' the Jews understood the word *temple* in its literal sense, and asked him whether he could raise again in three days what had taken six and-forty years to build. They did not perceive that his language was figurative, and that he spake of the temple of his body."[1]

In order, then, to understand fully the figurative language of the Scriptures, it is requisite, *first*, to ascertain and determine what is really figurative, lest we take that to be literal which is figurative, as the disciples of our Lord and the Jews frequently did, or lest we pervert the literal meaning of words by a figurative interpretation; and, *secondly*, when we have ascertained what is really figurative, to interpret it correctly, and deliver its true sense. For this purpose, Ernesti has given the following general rule: We may ascertain whether any expression is to be taken literally or figuratively, by recalling the thing spoken of to its internal or external sense, that is, by seeking out its internal or external meaning; and this may in general be readily ascertained.[2] Hence it is, that in human compositions we are very rarely if ever in doubt whether a thing be spoken literally or figuratively; because the thing or subject spoken of being human, and capable both of external and internal senses, may be recalled to a human sense, that is, to a sense intelligible by man. To understand this subject more particularly:—

1. *Figurative language is found less in the historical books of Scripture than in those which are poetical.*

For it is the duty of a historian to relate transactions simply as they happened; while a poet has licence to ornament his subject by the aid of figures, and to render it more lively by availing himself of similes and metaphors. Hence the style of narration in the historical books is simple and *generally* devoid of ornament, while the poetical books abound with images; not, indeed, that the historical books are *entirely* destitute of figurative expressions; for, whatever language men may use, they are so accustomed to this mode of expression, that they cannot fully convey their meaning in literal words, but are compelled by the force of habit to make use of such as are figurative. But we must not look for a figurative style in the historical books; and still less are historical narratives to be changed into allegories, and parables, unless these be obviously apparent. From inattention to this important rule, "some interpreters, in ancient and modern times, have turned into allegory the whole Jewish ceremonial law. So, formerly and recently, the history of the creation of the world, the fall of man, the flood, the account of the tower of Babel, &c. have been explained either as μῦθοι, or as philosophical allegories, *i.e.* philosophical speculations on these subjects, clothed in the garb of narration. By the same principles of exegesis, the Gospels are treated as μῦθοι, which exhibit an imaginary picture of a perfect character, in the person of Jesus. In a word, every narration in the Bible, of an occurrence which is of a miraculous nature in any respect, is μῦθος; which means, as its abettors say, that some real fact or occurrence lies at the basis of the story, which is told agreeably to the very imperfect conceptions and philosophy of ancient times, or has been augmented and adorned by tradition and fancy.

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[1] Bishop Marsh, Lectures, part iii. p. 69.

[[2] Bishop Terrot has remarked on this somewhat obscure rule, that all Ernesti intended to say was probably what Jahn thus enunciates: "If the subject and predicate (or adjunct) be such that, in their proper sense, they are inconsistent, we must conclude that one or other is tropical, provided that both be clearly known, and the repugnance be manifest." Ernesti, Principles of Bibl. Interp. transl. by Bp. Terrot, vol. i. p. 139.]

"But that such liberties with the language of Scripture are utterly incompatible with the sober principles of interpretation is sufficiently manifest from the bare statement of them. The object of the interpreter is *to find out what the sacred writers meant to say.* This done, his task is performed. Party philosophy or scepticism cannot guide the interpretation of language."[1]

2. *The literal meaning of words is to be given up, if it be either improper, or involve an impossibility, or where words, properly taken, contain any thing contrary to the doctrinal or moral precepts delivered in other parts of Scripture.*[2]

(1.) The expressions in Jer. i. 18. are necessarily to be understood figuratively. God is there represented as saying to the prophet, *I have made thee a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls against the whole land.* Now, these expressions are figurative; because, if taken literally, they involve an impossibility. The general import of the divine promise is that God would defend Jeremiah against all open assaults and secret contrivances of his enemies, who should no more be able to prevail against him than they could against an impregnable wall or fortress. So the literal sense of Isai. i. 25. is equally inapplicable; but in the following verse the prophet explains it in the proper words.

(2.) In Psal. xviii., God is termed a *rock*, a *fortress*, a *deliverer*, a *buckler*, a *horn of salvation*, and a *high tower:* it is obvious that these predicates are metaphorically used.

(3.) Matt. viii. 22., *Let the dead bury their dead* cannot possibly be applied to those who are really and naturally dead; and, consequently, must be understood figuratively, "Leave those who are spiritually dead to perform the rites of burial for such as are naturally dead." In Psal. cxxx. 1., David is said to have *cried unto the Lord out of the* DEPTHS, by which word we are metaphorically to understand a state of the deepest affliction. Similar expressions occur in 1 Cor. iii. 13. and Rev. vi. 13.

(4.) The command related in Matt. xviii. 8, 9. must be understood figuratively. So, the declaration of Jesus Christ in John xiv. 28., *My Father is greater than I,* is to be understood of himself, as he is man. This is evident from the context and from the nature of his discourse. In John xiv. 24., Christ tells his disciples that the Father had *sent* him; that is, in his quality of *Messiah*, he was sent by the Father to instruct and to save mankind. Now, as the *sender* is greater than he who is *sent* (xiii. 16.); so, in this sense, is the Father greater than the Son. It certainly requires very little argument, and no sophistry, to reconcile this saying with the most orthodox notion of the deity of Christ; as he is repeatedly speaking of his divine and of his human nature. Of the *former* he says (John x. 30.), *I and my Father are one;* and of the *latter* he states with the same truth, *My Father is greater than I.* [This mode of reconciling the different texts is just; but the expressions used are not figurative, they are in each case literal with a different application.]

(5.) Whatever is repugnant to natural reason cannot be the true meaning of Scripture; for God is the original of natural truth, as well as of that which comes by particular revelation. No proposition, as before observed (p. 253.), repugnant to the fundamental principles of reason can be the sense of any part of the word of God; hence the words of Christ, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*, Matt. xxvi. 26, 28., are not to be understood in that sense which makes for the doctrine of transubstantiation, or of the conversion of the bread and wine, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, into the actual blood and body of Christ; because it is impossible that contradictions should be true; and we cannot be more certain that anything is true, than we are that *that* doctrine is false. Yet it is upon a literal construction of our Lord's declaration, that the Romish church has, ever since the thirteenth century, erected and maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation; a doctrine which is manifestly "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions."[3] In fact, if the words, *This is*

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[1] Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, part v. chap. v. p. 112. (edit. 1827); Morus, Acroases, tom. i. pp. 281—291.

[2] "I hold it," says the learned and venerable Hooker, "for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that, where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchemy doth or would do the substance of metals, maketh of any thing what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing." Ecclesiastical Polity, book v. c. 59.

[3] Art. xxviii. of the confession of the Anglican Church. The *term* "transubstantiation" was not invented until the *thirteenth* century; the first idea of Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist was started in the beginning of the *eighth* century; the first writer who maintained the doctrine was Paschasius Radbertus, in the *ninth* century, before it was firmly established; and the first public assertion of it was at the third Lateran Council,

my body, must be *literally* understood, why are not other words of similar import also to be taken literally? In which case Jesus Christ must be a *vine*, a *door*, and a *rock*; for so he is expressly termed in John x. 9., xv. 1., and 1 Cor. x. 4. And, in the other part of the sacrament, the cup must be transubstantiated, not into the blood of Christ, but into the New Testament; for he said, *This cup is the New Testament* or covenant (Luke xxii. 20.), that is, the representation or memorial of it. Further, as the words, *This is my body*, and, *This is my blood*,[1] were spoken BEFORE Christ's body was broken upon the cross, and BEFORE his blood was shed, he could not pronounce them with the intention that they should be taken and interpreted literally by his disciples. He could not take his body in his hands, nor offer them his blood in the cup; for it had not yet been shed. If the bread which he broke had been changed, he would have had two bodies, one of which would have been instrumental in presenting the other to the apostles. Of such a transformation they do not appear to have had the smallest idea; and, if it did not take place in this first sacrament, what reason can we have to believe that it has been effected in any other? Hence it is clear that the doctrine of transubstantiation has no foundation in the words of Christ, which must necessarily be understood, not literally and properly, but *figuratively*, agreeably to the well-known metonymy, common in all languages, but especially in the Hebrew (the impression of which the Greek here naturally takes), in which the sign is put for the thing signified. Thus, in Gen. xl. 12., *the three branches* are *three days*, and, in v. 18., *the three baskets* are *three days*; in xli. 26., *the seven good kine* are *seven years*, and *the seven good ears* are *seven years*[2]; and, in Ezek. xxxvii. 11., the dry *bones are the whole house of Israel*.[3] The same metonymy exists in the service for the celebration of the passover among the modern Jews; in which the master of the family and all the guests take hold of the dish containing the unleavened bread, which he had previously broken, and say, *Lo! This is the bread of affliction, which all our ancestors ate in the land of Egypt.*[4] The same phraseology is of frequent occurrence in the New Testament. Thus, in Matt. xiii. 38, 39., *The field* IS [represents] *the world; the good seed* ARE [represent] *the children of the kingdom; the tares* ARE [represent] *the children of the wicked one. The enemy* IS [represents] *the devil; the harvest* IS [represents] *the end of the world; the reapers* ARE *the angels*. And,

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in the year 1215, after it had been for some time avowed by the Roman popes, and inculcated by the clergy dependent on them, in obedience to their injunctions. But the term itself was not known before the *thirteenth* century, when it was invented by Stephen, bishop of Autun. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. cent. xiii. chap. iii. 2, 14. pp. 217, 231. [Paschasius is claimed by Romanists as their champion; but there is much to be found in his work not easily to be reconciled with Roman doctrine. The time when Stephen of Autun (Æduensis) lived has been disputed. Peter of Blois (Blesensis) *may* have been the first to use the term in question. See Bp. Cosin, Hist. Trans. Papal. capp. v. 1, 29.; vii. 17.]

[1] Matt. xxvi. 26, 28. and Mark xiv. 22, 24., compared with Luke xxii. 19, 20. and 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

[2] Solet autem res, quæ significat, ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari, sicut scriptum est, *Septem spicæ septem anni* SUNT; non enim dixit, septem annos significant: et *Septem boves septem anni* SUNT, et multa hujusmodi. Augustine, Quæstiones in Leviticum, lib. iii. quæst. 57. Op., tom. iii. pars 1. col. 516. Paris, 1679—1700. In another place the same writer says, Inde est, quod ait Apostolus, *Petra autem* ERAT *Christus* (1 Cor. x. 4.), non ait, Petra significabat Christum. Id. Locut. de Genesi. c. xli. Op. tom. iii. pars 1. col. 335.

[3] The Hebrews, having no particular word denoting *to represent*, supply its place by the verb substantive, which is sometimes left to be understood, as in Isai. v. 7., and sometimes is expressed by the personal pronoun as in the passages above cited, agreeably to the well-known rule of Hebrew grammar, viz. that, where these pronouns stand simply for the verb of existence, they are to be translated accordingly; as we read in the Septuagint Greek and Latin Vulgate versions, and also in every modern version of the Bible. Various additional examples of this construction may be seen in Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, § 649. p. 163. (Oxford, 1831); in Robertson's Hebr. Gramm. lib. iv. c. 2; in Schroeder's Syntax, Regula 38.; Jahn's Grammatica Hebræa, § 92.; Cellérier's Grammaire Hebraique, p. 206.; and in Glassius's Philologia Sacra, tom. i. pp. 149, 150. (edit. Dathii). That the same construction exists in the *Syriac Language* is evident from the examples given by Bishop Beveridge in his Grammatica Syriaca, p. 30.; by Jahn in his Elementa Aramaicæ seu Chaldæo-Syriacæ Linguæ, pp. 24, 25.; by Michaelis in his Grammatica Syriaca, §§ 79, 132.; and by Hoffmann in his Grammatica Syriaca, pp. 314, 377. Finally, the same idiom of using the pronoun in place of the verb substantive prevails in the *Arabic Language*; and examples of it are given by Richardson in his Arabic Grammar, chap. viii.; and by Rosenmüller in his Institutiones Linguæ Arabicæ, lib. v. § 83.

[4] See the Forms of Prayer for the Festivals of Passover and Pentecost, according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, in Hebrew and English. By David Levi, p. 20.

in 1 Cor. x. 4., *That rock* WAS [represented] *Christ.* Similar modes of expression occur in Luke viii. 9., xv. 26. Gr., and xviii. 36. Gr.; John vii. 36., and x. 6.; Acts x. 17.; Gal. iv. 24.; and Rev. i. 20. Gr. It is evident, therefore, from the context, from biblical usage, and from the scope of the passage (it might also be added, if the limits necessarily prescribed to this paragraph would permit, from the testimonies of the fathers of the Christian church and of other ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin[1]), that the literal interpretation of Matt. xxvi. 26, 28. must be abandoned; and with it necessarily falls the modern Romish tenet of transubstantiation.

(6.) To *change day into night* (Job xvii. 12.) is an impossibility, and must be a figurative expression. In Isai. i. 5, 6., the Jewish nation are described as being sorely *stricken* or chastised, like a man mortally wounded, and destitute of medicine, and of the means of cure. That this description is figurative, is evident from the context; for in the two following verses the prophet delineates the condition of the Jews in literal terms.

(7.) "If a passage of Scripture be a precept, prohibiting some heinous wickedness or crime, or commanding us to do good, it is *not* figurative; but, if it seem to command any heinous wickedness or crime, or to forbid that which is profitable or beneficial to others, it *is* figurative," and must be interpreted accordingly.

"In John vi. 53., Christ says, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* Now this sentence seems to command a heinous wickedness or crime: consequently it is figurative, commanding us to communicate of the passion of our Lord, and with delight and advantage to lay up in our memory, that his flesh was wounded and crucified for us."[2]

It is not, however, sufficient to know whether an expression be figurative or not, but, when this point is ascertained, another of equal importance presents itself; namely, to interpret metaphorical expressions by corresponding and appropriate terms. In order to accomplish this object, it is necessary,

3. *That we inquire in what respects the thing compared, and that with which it is compared, respectively agree, and also in what respects they have any affinity or resemblance.*

For, as a similitude is concealed in every metaphor, it is only by diligent study that it can be elicited, by carefully observing the points of agreement between the proper or literal and the figurative meaning. For instance, the prophetic writers, and particularly Ezekiel, very frequently charge the Israelites with having committed adultery and played the harlot, and with deserting Jehovah, their husband. From inspection of these passages, it is evident that spiritual adultery, or idolatry, is intended. Now the origin of this

[1] Archbishop Tillotson in his Discourse on Transubstantiation, pp. 14—23. (12mo. edit.), and Bishop Burnet (on Art. xxviii.) have given numerous passages from the fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, from the second to the sixth century, in which the protestant—or true—interpretation of Matt. xxvi. 26. is maintained. But the fullest view of Christian antiquity on this subject will be found in a collection of testimonies from the second to the thirteenth century inclusive, translated and published by Archbishop Wake, intitled, An Historical Treatise written by an Author of the Communion of the Church of Rome, touching Transubstantiation. Wherein is made appear, that, according to the Principles of that Church, this Doctrine cannot be an Article of Faith. London, 1688. 4to. The reader, who is desirous of investigating further this very important subject, is referred to the Rev. J. H. Todd's edition of Archbishop Cranmer's Defence of the true and catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament, &c. (London, 1825, 8vo.); to Mr. Meek's Church of England a Faithful Witness against the Errors of the Church of Rome, pp. 156—191. (London. 1834, 8vo.); to Mr. Faber's Difficulties of Romanism, pp. 89—156, 313—446. (second edition); and to Du Moulin's unanswered and unanswerable Anatomy of the Mass, translated from the very rare French original by the Rev Robert Shanks, A M., who has prefixed a concise and valuable History of the Eucharist Edinburgh, 1833, 12mo. See also Bishop Turton's (of Ely) Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist considered, Camb. 1837, and his Observations on the Rev. Dr. Wiseman's Reply to that work, Camb. 1839.

[2] The preceding rule and illustration are designedly taken from Augustine, bishop of Hippo in Africa, a writer, in the fifth century, of the greatest celebrity in the Romish church, in the catalogue of whose supposed *saints* he is enrolled; because John vi. 53. is one of the passages urged by that church in support of her novel dogma of transubstantiation. The reader will not fail to observe, how completely Augustine condemns that dogma. See his treatise De Doctrinâ Christianâ, lib. iii. cap. 16. Op. Paris, 1679—1700 tom. iii. pars 1. col. 52.

metaphor is to be sought from one and the same notion, in which there is an agreement between adultery and the worship paid by the Israelites to strange gods. That notion or idea is unfaithfulness; by which, as a wife deceives her husband, so they are represented as deceiving God, and as violating their fidelity, in forsaking him.

To explain this general remark more particularly.

(1.) *The sense of a figurative passage will be known, if the resemblance between the things or objects compared be so clear as to be immediately perceived.*

Thus, if any one be said to *walk in the way of the ungodly*, or of the *godly*, we readily apprehend that the imitation of the conduct of those characters is the idea designed to be expressed. So, when one is compared to a *lion*, every one understands that strength of limbs, firmness of nerve, and magnanimity, are the ideas intended to be conveyed. In Gen. xlix. 9., Judah is styled a *lion's whelp*, and is compared to a lion and lioness couching, whom no one dares to rouse. The warlike character and the conquests of this tribe are here prophetically described; but the full force of the passage will not be perceived, unless we know that a lion is, among the orientals, used figuratively to denote a hero, and also that a lion or lioness, when lying down after satisfying its hunger, will not attack any person. Mr. Park has recorded an instance of his providential escape from a lion thus circumstanced, which he saw lying near the road, and passed unhurt.[1]

(2.) *As, in the sacred metaphors, one particular is generally the principal thing thereby exhibited, the sense of a metaphor will be illustrated by considering the context of a passage in which it occurs.*

This rule particularly applies to images which do not always convey one and the same meaning. Thus, light and darkness not only denote happiness and misery, but also knowledge and ignorance; which of these two significations is to be preferably adopted, the context alone can show. In Psalm cxii. 4., we read: *Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness.* Bishop Horsley thinks that this is an allusion to what happened in Egypt, when the Israelites had light in all their dwellings in Goshen, while the rest of Egypt was enveloped in darkness. Be this, however, as it may, since the design of the psalm in question is to show the blessedness of the righteous and the final perdition of the ungodly, the context will plainly indicate that happiness is the idea intended in this verse; for, if we consult what precedes, we shall find that temporal prosperity is promised to the righteous, and that, among the particulars in which his prosperity consists, it is specified *that his seed shall be mighty upon earth; the generation of the upright shall be blessed; wealth and riches shall be in his house.* On the contrary, in Psal. xix. 8., where the commandment of Jehovah is said to *enlighten the eyes*, the idea of spiritual *knowledge* is intended; and this phrase corresponds to that in the preceding verse, where the testimony of Jehovah is said to *make wise the simple*. In the New Testament, light and darkness are of frequent occurrence, and in like manner designate a state of knowledge and a state of ignorance. It may be sufficient to refer to Luke i. 78, 79.; Acts xxvi. 18.; Rom. i. 21.; Eph. iv. 18., and v. 8.; 1 Pet. ii. 9.

(3.) *The sense of a figurative expression is often known from the sacred writer's own explanation of it.*

The inspired penmen frequently subjoin to figurative expressions proper or literal terms, and thus explain the meaning to be conveyed by the images they employ. Thus, in Esther viii. 16., it is said that *the Jews had light and gladness, and joy and honour;* here the explanatory synonymes mark the greatness of their prosperity and joy. In Psal. xcvii. 11., *light is* said to be *sown for the righteous:* the exposition follows, *and joy for the upright in heart.* In like manner, when the prophet Hosea complains that a spirit of lasciviousness had driven the Israelites astray (Hos. iv. 12.), he not only explains his meaning by subjoining that they forsook their God, but in the following verse he states in clear and literal terms the eagerness with which they committed idolatry, *upon the tops of the mountains they sacrifice, and upon the hills they burn incense,* &c.

(4.) *The sense of a figurative expression may also be ascertained by consulting parallel passages; in which the same thing is expressed properly*

[1] Travels in the Interior of Africa, p. 310. London, 1807, 8vo., or in Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 848.

and literally, or in which the same word occurs, so that the sense may be readily apprehended.

The Hebrew prophets very often represent Jehovah as holding in his hand a cup, and presenting it to men who are compelled to drink it up to the very dregs. The intoxicated stagger, and, falling prostrate on the ground, shamefully vomit forth the wine they have drunk. This metaphor is frequently repeated in various ways by the sacred poets, who sometimes only glance at it, while at others they more fully illustrate it. Compare Obad. 16.; Nahum iii. 11.; Habak. ii. 16 ; Psal. lxxv. 8.; Jer. xxv. 15—27. and Ezek. xxiii. 33, 34. Now, if there were any doubt as to the meaning of the image occurring in these passages, its sense might be immediately ascertained by comparing the parallel passage in Isai. li. 17—23 , in which the prophet portrays Jerusalem as a woman so intoxicated as to be unable to stand; but in which he introduces some words that clearly mark the sense of the metaphor. The passage itself, Bishop Lowth justly remarks, is poetry of the first order, sublimity of the highest proof.

(5.) ***Consider history.***

A consideration of events recorded in history will very frequently show, how far and in what sense any expression is to be understood figuratively. Thus many and various things are said relative to the coming of Christ, his kingdom, government, and adversaries. Now history informs us that he came, at the destruction of Jerusalem, to rule and govern far and wide by the spreading of the gospel. In Matt. x. 34., Christ says that he came not to send peace on earth, but *a sword.* In the parallel passage, Luke xii. 51 , he says that he came to cause *division.* The general import of these two passages is that he would cause discord, and as it were sow dissensions. But in what sense could the blessed Saviour mean that he would cause discord? We learn from history that, in consequence of the diffusion of the Christian religion, nations and families became divided; so that some embraced it, while others rejected it, and the former were persecuted by the latter on account of their Christian professions. A further exposition of this passage is given in p. 328. *infra.*

(6.) ***Consider the connection of doctrine, as well as the context of the figurative passage.***

A consideration of the connection of doctrine, as well as of the context, will often lead to the origin of the figurative expressions employed by the sacred writers, and consequently enable us to ascertain their meaning; for very frequently some word precedes or follows, or some synonyme is annexed, that plainly indicates whether the expression is to be taken properly or figuratively. For instance, the words *sin* and *iniquity*, which are of such frequent occurrence in the law of Moses, are tropically put for punishment; and that the phrase, *to bear one's sin* or *iniquity*, is equivalent to the suffering of the punishment due to sin, appears from the synonymous expressions of *being cut off from the people*, and *dying* being very often annexed; as in Levit. xix. 8.; Exod. xxviii. 43.; Numb. xiv. 34., and xviii. 22, 32, &c. So likewise in Gen. xxxi. 42, 53., the context manifestly shows that *the fear of Isaac*, and *the fear of his father*, are put for Jehovah, the object of fear and reverence. Once more, when, in 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9., believers are said to be living stones, a spiritual house, and a royal priesthood, as these expressions are derived from the Old Testament, we must recur to Exod. xix. 5, 6., in order to ascertain the full extent of their privileges. The general tenor of the apostle's address then will be, "Consider yourselves as forming part of a nobler temple than that of the Jews, and in which a much more spiritual sacrifice is offered to God through Christ. You, who have embraced the gospel, are considered by God as inheritors of all those holy blessings which were promised to the Jews."

(7.) ***In fixing the sense exhibited by a metaphor, the comparison ought never to be extended too far, or into any thing which cannot be properly applied to the person or thing represented.***

In other words, a comparison which ordinarily has but *one particular view* ought not to be strained, in order to make it agree in other respects, where it is evident that there is not a similitude of ideas. For instance, in Isai. xl. 6 , we read, *all flesh is grass;* that is, all mankind are liable to wither and decay, and will wither and decay like grass. But this metaphor would be tortured to a meaning, which, as it is foolish and absurd, we may be sure was never intended by the inspired writer, if we were to say that mankind were like grass, or were grass in colour or shape. What wild, and indeed what wicked, abuse would be made of the Scripture expression concerning our Lord that *he will come as a thief* (Rev. xvi. 15.), if we were not to confine the sense to the suddenness and surprisal

of the thief, but should extend it to the temper and designs of the villain who breaks open houses in the night?[1] Hence, though one metaphor may be brought to signify *many* things with respect to some *different* qualities, and *diverse* attributes, it nevertheless is very evident that *that* sense ought chiefly to be attended to which appears to be designed by the Spirit of God, and which is obviously figured out to us in the nature, form, or use of the thing, from which the metaphor is taken. Thus, Christ is called a *lion* (Rev. v. 5.), because he is noble, heroic, and invincible: Satan, the grand adversary of souls, is called a *lion* in 1 Pet. v. 8., because he is rapacious, roaring, and devouring. And wicked men are termed *lions* in Job iv. 10, 11., and 2 Tim. iv. 17., because they are fierce, outrageous, and cruel to weaker men.

(8.) *In the interpretation of figurative expressions generally, and those which particularly occur in the moral parts of Scripture, the meaning of such expressions ought to be regulated by those which are plain and clear.*

All mere maxims, whether plain or figurative, must be understood in a manner consistent with possibility and the rules of humanity. The rule just stated is especially applicable to the right interpretation of Matt. v. 38—42., which enjoins us not to retaliate, but to bear small injuries, and Matt. vi. 19, 31, 34., which prohibits thoughtfulness about worldly concerns; which injunctions have been objected to, as being *impracticable* general duties, inconsistent with natural instinct and law, and altogether destructive of society. If, however, the present rule be kept in view, and if we attend to the auditors and occasion of this discourse and to the context, the true sense of the precepts before us will be evident.

The *auditors* were the multitude and the disciples of Christ; as appears from the context both preceding and following the sermon, and also from the conclusion of it.[2]

The *occasion* of this sermon was, towards the beginning of his ministry, to teach the true nature of the Messiah's kingdom, to give laws suitable to it, and to correct the false and worldly notions of it, which the Jews in general entertained. Hence Christ enjoins forbearance and kindness to those who injure us. And *trivial* instances are specified, probably to point out the necessity of extending a forbearing disposition to small circumstances, in order to pervade every social sentiment and action with the temper of kindness. That these commands are not to be taken as enjoining the particular actions here specified, so much as the *disposition* of forgiveness and benevolence, is apparent, not only from its being usual in the East to put the action for the disposition[3], and from the manner in which the precepts are introduced, but also from our Lord's own conduct on his trial. The instances of Christ's different behaviour under a variation of circumstances show that he meant these precepts to be interpreted, according to the nature and reason of the case.

The injunction, *not to lay up treasures upon earth, but in heaven*[4], according to the Hebrew idiom, means to prefer heavenly to earthly treasures. Because making earthly treasures the chief object is inconsistent with the love and service of God. Christ adds, "therefore take no thought," "be not anxious about food, drink, or clothing," but, with moderate care only about them, trust the providence of your heavenly Father. The auditors and occasion of the discourse, together with the language and connection in which the directions are given, show these to be the ideas which Jesus meant to convey.[5]

4. Lastly, *in explaining the figurative language of Scripture, care must be taken that we do not judge of the application of characters from modern usage; because the inhabitants of the East have very frequently attached a character to the idea expressed, widely different from that which usually presents itself to our views.*

The inhabitants of the East, from their lively imaginations, very often make use of far-fetched comparisons, and bring together things which, in our judgments, are the most dissimilar. Besides, since the Hebrew mode of living differed greatly from ours, we ought not to be surprised, if there be a very wide difference subsisting between the metaphorical expressions of the Hebrews, and those which are familiar to us, and if they should sometimes appear harsh, and seem to convey a different meaning from that which we are accustomed to receive. Thus, in Deut. xxxiii. 17., the glory of the *tribe* of Joseph is compared to the first-

[1] Numerous similar instances are given by Glassius, Philologia Sacra (edit. Dathii), lib. ii. tract. i. cap. vi. pp. 918—921.

[2] Matt. v. 1.; vii. 24, 28; viii. 1.

[3] Matt. v. 38.; Luke xix. 13, 14., xxii. 36.; John xiii. 14, 15, 17.

[4] Matt. vi. 19—34.; John vi. 27.

[5] Blair on Christ's Sermon on the Mount; Newcome, Observations on our Lord's conduct, part i. chap. 1. sect 9. (2nd edit.) p. 34, &c.

ling of a bullock; in like manner Amos (iv. 1.) compares the noble women of Israel to the kine of Bashan; and Hosea compares the Israelites to refractory kine. The patriarch Jacob, in his valedictory address to his children (Gen. xlix. 14.), in which he fortells their own and their descendants' future condition, terms Issachar a *strong ass*, literally a *strong-boned* or *strong-limbed ass*. Now, if we take these metaphors according to their present sense, we shall greatly err. The ox tribe of animals, whose greatest beauty and strength lie in its horns, was held in very high honour among the ancient nations, and was much esteemed on account of its aptitude for agricultural labour: hence Moses specially enacts, that the ox should not be muzzled while treading out the corn. The ass tribe, in the East, is robust, and more handsome, as well as much quicker in its pace, than those animals are in our country; and therefore princes and persons of noble birth thought it no degradation to ride on asses. Hence, in the opinion of the inhabitants of the East, it is not reckoned disgraceful to be compared with oxen and asses. In the comparison of the tribe of Joseph to the firstling of a bullock, the point of resemblance is *strength and power*.[1] In the comparison of the matrons of Samaria to the kine of Bashan, the point of resemblance is *luxury and wantonness, flowing from their abundance*.[2] In the comparison of Issachar to an ass, the point of resemblance is bodily *strength and vigour*; for in that animal the Hebrews were accustomed to regard strength, though we usually associate with it the idea of slowness and stupidity.[3]

[The rules which are ordinarily given for the understanding and explanation of figurative language are vague and indistinct; and yet it is difficult to shape them into greater precision. Some authors have tried to distinguish between figurative words and figurative expressions. Little practical benefit, however, is obtained from this, as almost exactly the same process must be in all cases resorted to; and the adjuncts or other parts of a sentence must almost invariably be examined before it can be determined whether a word is to be literally or figuratively taken. But yet in practice a careful interpreter is not likely to fall into serious error. If he will consider whether the subject is such as ordinary language can in its literal interpretation adequately describe, whether an impossibility, an absurdity, or a contradiction would be involved thereby, if, in order to form his judgment on these points, he will consult the general context, and gather what light he can from parallel passages, such a patient investigator will rarely be deceived. And, if in the application he will be careful in noting the special points of agreement between the thing described and the subject to which the figurative diction might be applied in its literal sense, he will usually have a key to the meaning intended. A knowledge of the cast of thought natural to orientals, and to the Scripture writers in particular, will frequently illustrate; and a reference to history will sometimes confirm the explanation.

The examples given in the preceding paragraphs exhibit the application of what has just been said. The fact must be ever kept prominently in view, it may be added, that the nature and subsistence of the Deity, his dealings in the universe, and the state and condition of the unseen world *must* necessarily require, if these things are to be mentioned at all, the use of language in a way differing from its literal or human sense. Yet care must be taken not to push this admitted fact too far. Errors have been committed on both sides. And, if some, from the inadequacy of the expressions which could not but be used, have contracted notions too low and worldly of the high mysteries intended, others have been ready to give up, under the pretence of rationally interpreting figurative diction, some of the most momentous doctrines of our religion, and have dissolved plain truths into vague generalities. The wise interpreter must advance humbly and cautiously, only "as Scripture doth (as it were) lead him by the hand."[4]]

[1] Mr. Brown has recorded a similar figure, which is in use at the present time in the court of the sultan of Dar Fûr, in Africa; where, during public audiences, a kind of hired encomiast stands at the monarch's right hand, crying out, "See the buffalo, the *offspring of a buffalo*, the bull of bulls, the elephant of a superior strength, the powerful Sultan Abd-el-rachmân-al-rashid!" Journey to Dar Fûr, chap. 1. *in fine*, or Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xv. p. 122.

[2] The propriety of this comparison will appear when it is recollected that Bashan was celebrated for the richness of its pastures, and its breed of cattle (see Numb. xxxii. 4.; Deut. xxxii. 14.; and Ezek. xxxix. 18.). This region still retains its ancient fertility; and its robust, handsome, and independent inhabitants are such as we may conceive its ancient possessors to have been. See Buckingham's travels in Palestine, pp. 325—329.

[3] Bauer, Herm. Sacra, pars 1. sect. ii. §§ 49., &c., pp. 206, 210—213, 216—221.; Ernesti, Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 99—110.; Morus in Ernesti. tom. i. pp. 260—301.; Jahn, Enchirid. Hermeneut. pp. 101—119.

[4] There are some useful remarks on the figurative language of the Scriptures, in the Bibliotheca Sacra, No. 1. Apr. 1856., Art. iii. pp. 314—324. See also Fairbairn, Herm. Man. part i. sect. viii. p. 136, &c.

SECTION II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE METONYMIES OCCURRING IN THE SCRIPTURES.

Nature of a metonymy.—1. *Metonymy of the cause.*—2. *Metonymy of the effect.*—3. *Metonymy of the subject.*—4. *Metonymy of the adjunct, in which the adjunct is put for the subject.*

A METONYMY is a trope, by which we substitute one appellation for another[1], as the *cause* for the *effect*, the *effect* for the *cause*, the *subject* for the *adjunct*, or the *adjunct* for the *subject*.

A *metonymy of the cause* is used in Scripture, when the person acting is put for the thing done, or the instrument by which a thing is done is put for the thing effected, or when a thing or action is put for the effect produced by that action.

A *metonymy of the effect* occurs, when the effect is put for the efficient cause.

A *metonymy of the subject* is when the subject is put for the adjunct, that is, for some circumstance or appendage belonging to the subject; when the thing or place *containing* is put for the thing *contained* or placed; when the *possessor* is put for the thing *possessed;* when the *object* is put for the thing conversant about it; or when the thing signified is put for its sign.

A *metonymy of the adjunct* is when that which belongs to anything serves to represent the thing itself. [All these are of daily occurrence in ordinary writing and conversation.]

1. METONYMY OF THE CAUSE.

I. *Frequently the person acting is put for the thing done.*

1. Thus, *Christ* is put for his *doctrine* in Rom. xvi. 9.

Salute Urbanus our helper in Christ, that is, in preaching the doctrines of the gospel; he having been a fellow-labourer with the apostles. Similar instances occur in 1 Cor. iv. 15.; and Eph. iv. 20.

2. The *Holy Spirit* is put for his *effects*, as in 2 Cor. iii. 6.

Who hath made us able ministers of the new covenant, not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. Here, by the word *letter* we are to understand the *law* written on tables of stone, which required perfect obedience, and which no man can perform because of the corruption of his nature; therefore the law or *letter killeth*, that is, can pronounce nothing but a sentence of condemnation and eternal death against man. But by the *spirit* is intended the saving doctrine of the gospel, which derives its origin from the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, who teaches or instructs, and prepares man for eternal life. In the same sense, Jesus Christ says, John vi. 63., *The words that I speak, they are spirit and life*, that is, they are from the Spirit of God, and, if received with true faith, will lead to eternal life. A similar mode of expression occurs in Rom. viii. 2. Here, by *the law of the spirit of life* is meant the doctrine of the gospel, because it is a peculiar instrument of the operation of the Holy Spirit; who, by a divine efficacy, changes the heart, and writes his law there, which now is not only inscribed on tablets or parchments, but also penetrates the very heart of man, and quickens the soul to spiritual motions and actions.[2]

3. The Holy Spirit is put for his *operations:*

For renewing, Psal. li. 10., Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27., compared with Eph. iv. 23., Rom. xii. 2.;

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[1] Quinctilian, lib. viii. cap. vi. tom. ii. p. 103. ed. Bipont. This section is much indebted to Glassius (edit. Dathe), pp. 813, &c.

[2] Flacius Illyricus, in Clav. Script. (edit. 1695), pars 1. coll. 1188, &c.

which passages imply nothing less than a radical change, both external or moral, and internal or spiritual, wrought in the soul by the influence of divine grace.

4. The Holy Spirit is put for *the influences or gifts of the Spirit*, as in 1 Thess. v. 19., *Quench not the Spirit.*

The similitude is borrowed from the ancient altar of burnt-offering, in which the fire was to be kept continually burning. The Holy Spirit is here represented as a *fire*; because it is his province to enlighten, quicken, purify, and refine the soul, and to excite and maintain every pious and devout affection. The Christian, therefore, must not quench the sacred flame of the Holy Spirit in any of his *influences* by committing any act, uttering any word, or indulging any sensual or malevolent disposition, which may provoke him to withdraw both his gifts and graces. Neither must the Christian extinguish the *gifts of the Spirit*, but keep them in constant exercise, as love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, &c. So, in 2 Tim. i. 6., St. Paul's advice, *Stir up the gift of God which is in thee*, means *the gift of the Holy Spirit.* See also 1 Tim. iv. 14.

Again, when our Saviour "exhorts us to ask with confidence for spiritual aid, appealing to the conduct of men, he adds, *If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him* (Luke xi. 13.)? By which he would have us distinctly understand that, if man, with all his imperfections and all his unkindness, can yet be tender-hearted to his children, and seasonably bestow on them beneficial gifts, much more will God, who is perfection and benignity itself, most assuredly impart the blessing of his Holy Spirit to those who earnestly and anxiously implore divine help; that help which can illumine what is dark, can strengthen what is irresolute, can restrain what is violent, can comfort what is afflicted, in such manner, and to such degrees, as may be requisite for the soul when struggling under different but difficult temptations; that help, without which man, unassisted, cannot persevere in rectitude of thought and action."[1]

5. *Spirit* also denotes a *divine power* or energy, reigning in the soul of a renewed man.

Compare Luke i. 46, 47. with 1 Thess. v. 23.; and, for other places where the word *spirit* is put for the *new man* and *spiritual strength*, see Isai. xxvi. 9.; Ezek. xviii. 31.; Matt. xxvi. 41.; Rom. i. 9.; 1 Cor. v 3—5., and vi. 20.; Gal. iii. 3., &c.

6. More especially the Holy Spirit is put for those *peculiar and extraordinary gifts of the Spirit*, which, for various uses, whether public or private, spiritual or temporal, are bestowed on man.

Thus, in 2 Kings ii. 9., Elisha earnestly requests of Elijah, *Let a double portion of thy spirit rest upon me*; that is, an extraordinary measure of the gifts of prophecy, and of power in working miracles, which are here called the *portion of the spirit.* See also Numb. xi. 17, 25.; Dan. v. 12. The prophet Daniel *had a more excellent spirit*, that is, a more eminent gift of the Spirit, more knowledge, and more understanding.

7. The *Spirit* is also put for revelations, visions, or ecstasies, whether really from the Holy Spirit, or pretended to be so.

Ezek. xxxvii. 1., *The hand of the Lord carried me out in the spirit of the Lord*, that is, by a vision or rapture of spirit. 2 Thess. ii. 2., *That ye be not shaken in mind, neither by spirit*, &c., that is, by revelations pretending to come from the Spirit. Rev. i. 10., *I was in the spirit*, that is, in an ecstasy and peculiar revelation of the Holy Spirit, as is described in Rev. iv. 2., xvii. 3., xxi. 10.; and 2 Cor. xii. 2. To this head may also be referred those passages where spirit is put for doctrines, whether really revealed or pretended to be so; as in 1 Tim. iv. 1., where by *seducing spirits* are intended false teachers who pretend to receive their doctrine from the Spirit of God; and 1 John iv. 1., where spirit is put for doctrine pretended to be received by the false teachers from God.

8. *Parents* or *ancestors* are put for their *posterity*: this mode of speaking is of very frequent occurrence in the sacred writings.

Thus *Shem*, *Japhet*, and *Canaan*, are put for their *posterity*, in Gen. ix. 27.; *Jacob* and *Israel* for the *Israelites*, in Exod. v. 2.; Numb. xxiii. 21., xxiv. 5, 17.; Deut. xxiii. 28.; 1 Kings xviii. 17, 18.; Psal. xiv. 7., and cxxxv. 4.; Amos vii. 9., in which verse *Isaac*, as

[1] Bishop Huntingford's charge, intitled Preparation for the Holy Order of Deacons, p. 14

in verse 16., the *house of Isaac*, means the same people. The *seed of Abraham*, Isaac, and Jacob (*of whom, according to the flesh, Christ came*, Rom. ix. 5), is put for *Christ* himself, in Gen. xxii. 18., xxvi. 4., xxviii. 14.; as is evident by comparing Acts iii. 25. and Gal. iii. 16. In 2 Chron. xxv. 24., *Obed-edom* is put for his *descendants*, who, it appears from 1 Chron. xxvi 15., were porters and keepers of the sacred treasures. In Ezek. xxxiv. 23., *David* is put for *David's Lord*, the illustrious Messiah.

9. The *writer* or *author* is put for his *book* or *work*:

As in Luke xvi. 29., xxiv. 27.; Acts xv. 21., xxi. 21.; and 2 Cor. iii. 15.; in which passages *Moses* and the *prophets* respectively mean the *Mosaic and prophetic writings*, composed by them under divine inspiration, and transmitted to posterity as the rule of faith.

To this first species of metonymy may be appropriately referred, FIRST, all those passages where the *soul of man* is put for his *life*, which is its effect; as in Gen. ix. 5. (Heb.); Exod. iv. 19. (Heb.); Lev. xvii. 11.; Judg. ix. 17. (Heb.); 1 Sam. xxvi. 21.; 1 Kings ii. 23. (Heb.); 2 Kings vii. 7. (Heb.); Psal. xxxiii. 19., xxxviii. 12. (Heb.), lvi. 13.; Jer. xlv. 5. (Heb.); Lam. v. 9. (Heb.); Jonah ii. 6. (Heb.); Matt. ii. 20 (Gr.), x. 39. (Gr.), xvi. 25. (Gr.), xx. 28. (Gr.); John x. 17. (Gr.), xiii. 37, 38. (Gr.), xv. 13. (Gr.), &c. SECONDLY, those passages also, where the *soul* is put for the *will, affections, and desires*, which are its operations; as in the original of the following passages, where the metonymy is correctly rendered in our authorized version, viz. Gen. xxiii. 8.; Exod. xxiii. 9.; Deut. xxiii. 24.; Psal. xvii. 9. xxvii. 12., xli. 2., cv. 22.; Prov. xxiii. 2.; and John x. 24. (literally, *hold our soul in suspense*). And, THIRDLY, all such passages where the *spirit* (which is frequently synonymous with the soul of man) is used to express the motions or affections of the soul, whether good or evil. Examples of this kind occur in Gen. xlv. 27.; Numb. xiv. 24.; Judg. viii. 3.; where, in the Hebrew, *anger* is *spirit;* 2 Chron. xxi. 16., xxxvi. 22.; Psal. lxxvi. 12., lxxvii. 3.; Prov. i. 23., xviii. 14., xxix. 11.; Eccles. vii. 9.; Isai. xxix. 10., xxxvii. 7.; Jer. li. 11.; Ezek. xiii. 3.; Dan. v. 20.; Hab. i. 11.; Hag. i. 14.; Rom. xi. 8. (Gr.); 1 Cor. ii. 12. (Gr.), &c.

II. *Sometimes the cause or instrument is put for the thing effected by it.* Thus,

1. The *mouth*, the *lips*, and the *tongue*, are respectively put for the *speech*.

Thus, Deut. xvii. 6., *At the mouth of two witnesses or three witnesses* (that is, their speech or testimony) *shall he that is worthy of death be put to death.* So Deut. xix. 15.; Matt. xviii. 16. Again, Prov. xxv. 15., *A soft tongue breaketh the bone;* that is a mild and courteous way of speaking softens the hardest heart and most obstinate resolutions. Similar instances occur in Psal. v. 9.; Prov. x. 20.; Jer. xviii. 18. *Tongue* is also put for the *gift of foreign languages*, in Mark xvi. 17.; Acts ii. 4, 11.; and 1 Cor. xiv. 19. In Gen. xi. 1., we have, *The whole earth was of one language* (Heb. *lip*), *and of one speech* (Heb. *word*). In the book of Proverbs, the *lip* is very frequently put for *speech*. See Prov. xii. 19, 22., xiv. 7., xvii. 7., xviii. 7, 20.; Job xii. 20. (marginal renderings).

2. The *mouth* is also put for *commandment* in Gen. xlv. 21. (marginal rendering) (Heb. *mouth*); Numb. iii. 16, 39., xx. 24., xxvii. 14.; Deut. i. 26, 43.; and in Prov. v. 3. the *palate* (marginal rendering) is also put for *speech*.

3. The *throat* is also put for *loud speaking*, in Isai. lviii. 1., *Cry aloud* (Heb. with the throat).

4. The *hand* is ordinarily put for its *writing*, 1 Cor. xvi. 21.; Col. iv. 18.

By the same form of speech also *labour* is put for *wages*, or the fruit of labour, Ezek. xxiii. 29.; and *things that are sold*, for the *price* at which they are sold. Thus, in Matt. xxvi. 9., it is said the ointment might have been sold for much and given to the poor. See likewise Exod. xxi. 21. The *sword* is put for *war* or slaughter, Exod. v. 3. Lev. xxvi. 6.; Psal. cxliv. 10.; Isai. i. 20.; Jer. xliii. 11.; Rom. viii. 35.

5. The *sword, famine,* and *pestilence,* likewise respectively denote the effects of those scourges.

Ezek. vii. 15., *The sword is without, and the pestilence and the famine within;* that is, death and ruin are everywhere scattered by those terrible agents. So in Matt. x. 34., *I came not to send peace (or temporal prosperity) but a sword;* that is, variance, death, and persecution. Our Saviour's meaning is, not that his coming was the *necessary* and proper cause of such unhappiness, but that so it should eventually happen on his appearance in our nature; because his kingdom was of another world, and, consequently, opposed to all the designs and interests of the present world. This remark will satisfactorily explain Luke xii. 51—53; where Jesus foretells the effects that would follow from preaching the gospel.

2. METONYMY OF THE EFFECT.

[III. *Sometimes the thing or action is put for the effect produced by it.* Thus, *sin* is put for the *punishment of sin,* Gen. xix. 15.; *wood* and *stone,* for *vessels made of wood or stone,* Exod. vii. 19.]

IV. *Sometimes, on the contrary, the effect is put for the cause.*

Thus, *God* is called *salvation,* that is, the author of it, Exod. xv. 2.; our *life* and the length of our days, Deut. xxx. 20.; our *strength,* Psal. xviii. 1. So, *Christ* is termed *salvation,* Isai. xlix. 6.; Luke ii. 30.; *life,* John xi. 25., and the *resurrection* in the same place; see also Col. iii. 4.; *peace,* Eph. ii. 14. So he is said to be *made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption,* that is, the *author* of all these, in 1 Cor. i. 30. So, in Luke xi. 14. compared with Matt. ix. 32., a *dumb devil* or demon is one that made the person whom he possessed dumb. In like manner, the gospel is called the *power of God unto salvation,* in Rom. i. 16., that is, the instrument of his power. *Faith* is called our *victory,* because by it we overcome the world, 1 John v. 4. That which is the means of sustaining or preserving life is called our *life,* Deut. xxiv. 6.; or our *living,* Mark xii. 44.; Luke viii. 43., and xv. 12. So, *glad tidings* are such as make glad, Rom. x. 15. A *lively hope* is that which revives or enlightens, 1 Pet. i. 3. *Wine is a mocker, and strong drink is raging,* Prov. xx. 1.; that is, they make men such. There is the same form of speech likewise in Heb. vi. 1., and ix. 14.; where *dead works* are deadly works, that is, such as make men obnoxious to death. Deut. xxx. 15., *I have set before thee this day life and death,* that is, have clearly showed thee what is the cause and original of each. John iii. 19., *This is the condemnation,* that is, the cause of it. Rom. vii. 7., *Is the law sin?* that is, the cause of sin, in itself. Rom. viii. 6., *To be carnally minded is death,* that is, its cause, but to be *spiritually minded is life and peace,* or the cause of those blessings. A like expression occurs in Rom. vi. 23. *Bread* is put for the *seed* of which bread is made, Eccl. xi. 1. *Shame* is put for that which is the cause of it, or the idols worshipped by the Israelites, which proved their shame, Jer. iii. 24.; Hos. ix. 10.

3. METONYMY OF THE SUBJECT.

V. *Sometimes the subject is put for the adjunct, that is, for some circumstance or appendage belonging to or depending upon the subject.*

Thus, the *heart* is frequently used for the *will and affections,* as in

Deut. iv. 29., vi. 5., x. 12.; Psal. ix. 1., xxiv. 4., li. 10., lxii. 10., cv. 25., cxix. 10, 32, 112.; Prov. xxi. 1., xxiii. 26.; Acts iv. 32. For the *understanding, mind, thoughts,* and *memory,* Deut. iv. 39., vi. 6., xi. 16, 18., xxix. 4.; 1 Sam. i. 13.; 2 Chron. vi. 8.; Job xxii. 22.; Psal. iv. 4., lxiv. 6.; Prov. xix. 21., xxviii. 26.; and Luke ii. 51. For the *conscience,* 2 Sam. xxiv. 10.; 2 Kings xxii. 19.; Eccles. vii. 22.; and 1 John iii. 20.; and for the *desires of the soul* expressed in prayer, in Psal. lxii. 8.; Lam. ii. 19. The *reins* are also frequently put for the *thoughts,* as in Psal. vii. 9., xxvi. 2., li. 6., lxiii. 21.; Prov. xxiii. 16.; Jer. xi. 20., xvii. 10., and xx. 12. So, the *new* or *inward* man is put for the condition or state of a regenerated soul, to which the *old* or *outward* man is opposed. See Rom. vi. 6., and xii. 2.; 2 Cor. v. 17.; Eph. iv. 22, 24.

VI. *Sometimes the place or thing containing denotes that which is contained in such place or thing.*

Thus, the *earth* and the *world* are frequently put for the *men* that dwell therein; as in

Gen. vi. 11.; Psal. xcvi. 13., c. 1.; Hab. ii. 14.; John i. 29., iii. 16, 17., xv. 18., and xvii. 21.; 1 Cor. vi. 2., as also in many other passages. In like manner, *countries*, *islands*, *cities*, and *houses* are respectively put for their inhabitants, Gen. xli. 57.; Psal. cv. 38.; Isai. xli. 1, 5., xlii. 4., xliii. 3., li. 5.; Matt. iii. 5., viii. 34., xi. 21, 22, 23.; Gen. vii. 1.; Exod. i. 21.; 2 Sam. vii. 11.; 1 Chron. x. 6.; Acts x. 2.; 1 Tim. iii. 4.; Heb. xi. 7. So the *houses* of Levi and Israel denote their several families, Exod. ii. 1.; Ezek. iii. 1. The *basket*, Deut. xxviii. 5, 17., is the fruit of the basket; a *table*, Psal. xxiii. 5., lxix. 22., and lxxviii. 19., denotes the meat placed on it; the *cup*, the wine or other liquor in it, Jer. xlix. 12.; Ezek. xxiii. 32.; Matt. xxvi. 27.; Mark xiv. 23.; Luke xxii. 17, 20.; 1 Cor. x. 16, 21., and xi. 26, 27.; *ships*, Isai. xxiii. 1, 14. the men in them; the *grave*, those who are buried in it, as in Isai. xxxviii. 18., compared with verse 19.; and in Psal. vi. 5. In like manner *heaven* is put for God himself, in Psal. lxxiii. 9.; Dan. iv. 26.; Matt. xxi. 25.; Luke xv. 18., and xx. 4.

VII. *Sometimes the possessor of a thing is put for the thing possessed.*

Thus, Deut. ix. 1., *to possess nations greater and mightier than thyself* means to possess the countries of the Gentiles. See also Psal. lxxix. 7., where *Jacob* means the land of the Israelites. In like manner, the name of God is put for the oblations made to him, Josh. xiii. 33. with verse 14., Josh. xviii. 7.; and Deut. x. 9. *Christ* is put for his church (or believers, who are termed his peculiar people, Tit. ii. 14.; 1 Pet. ii. 9.) in Matt. xxv. 35., explained in verse 40.; 1 Cor. xii. 12.; and the afflictions of Christ are put for the afflictions of the faithful, in Col. i. 24.

VIII. *Frequently the object is put for that which is conversant about it.*

Thus *glory* and *strength* are put for the celebration of the divine glory and strength, in Psal. viii. 2., explained by Matt. xxi. 16.; see also Psal. xcvi. 7, 8. A *burden* is a prediction of divine judgments or punishment about to be inflicted on sinners, Isai. xiii. 1., xv. 1., xvii. 1., xix. 1., xxi. 1., xxii. 1., and xxiii. 1. *Promise* is put for faith which receives the gracious promise of God, in Rom. ix. 8., and Gal. iv. 28. *Sin* denotes a sacrifice for sin or sin-offering, Gen. iv. 7.; Exod. xxix. 14. (Heb. *sin*); Lev. x. 17. (Heb. *sin*); Isai. liii. 10. (Heb. *sin*); Hos. iv. 8.; and 2 Cor. v. 21.[1]

IX. *Sometimes the thing signified is put for the sign.*

So, the *strength of God*, in 1 Chron. xvi. 11. and Psal. cv. 4., is the *ark*, which was a sign and symbol of the divine presence and strength; whence it is expressly called the *ark of the strength of God* in Psal. cxxxii. 8. Thus, in Ezek. vii. 27., *desolation* denotes a mourning garment as a token of it.

X. *When an action is said to be done, the meaning frequently is that it is declared, or permitted, or foretold that it shall be done.*

Thus, in the original of Lev. xiii. 3, the priests shall look on him *and pollute* him; in our version, *shall pronounce him unclean* or polluted. The original of Ezek. xiii. 22. is, by quickening or enlivening him; in our translation it is rendered by *promising him life*. Jer. iv. 10., *Ah, Lord God! thou hast greatly deceived this people*, that is, hast permitted them to be deceived by their false prophets. Ezek. xiii. 19., *to slay the souls which should not die* denotes the prophesying falsely that they should die. So Jer. i. 10., *I have set thee over the nations to root out and to pull down*, that is, to prophesy or declare them pulled down. Ezek. xx. 25, 26., *I gave them statutes which were not good, and polluted them in their own gifts*, that is, I gave them up to themselves, and permitted them to receive such statutes of the heathen, and suffered them to pollute themselves in those very gifts, which, by the law, they were to dedicate to my service, and dealt with them accordingly. Hos. vi. 5., *I have hewn them by the prophets*, or foretold that they should be hewn or slain. So in Acts x. 15., the exact rendering is, *what God hath cleansed, that do not thou pollute* (compare Matt. xv. 11.), that is, as in our version, *call not thou common*, or *defiled*. Hence, in Matthew xvi. 19., *whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose on earth*, &c. means, whatsoever thou shalt declare to be my will on earth shall be confirmed in heaven. And in like manner the meaning of John xx. 23. is, whose sins ye shall declare to be remitted or

[1] Dr. A. Clarke, in his commentary on this verse, has adduced *one hundred and eight* instances from the Old and New Testaments, in which the word *sin* is put for a *sin-offering*; Dr. Whitby (in loc.) has specified only twenty-two examples.

retained by the word of God.[1] Matt. vi. 13., *lead us not into temptation*, that is, suffer us not to be overcome by temptation.

XI. ***Further, an action is said to be done, when only the giving of an occasion for it is intended.***

Thus, the literal rendering of Jer. xxxviii. 23. is, *thou shalt burn this city*, that is (as translated in our version), shalt *cause it to be burnt.* Hence Jeroboam is recorded, in 1 Kings xiv. 16., *to have made Israel to sin*, that is, to have occasioned it, by his example and command. In Acts i. 18., Judas is said to have *purchased a field*, that is, occasioned it to be purchased by the money which he cast down in the temple. Rom. xiv. 15., *Destroy not him*, that is, be not the cause or occasion of his destruction. And in 1 Cor. vii. 16., *whether thou shalt save thy husband* means whether thou shalt be the cause of his conversion, and, consequently, of his salvation.

4. METONYMY OF THE ADJUNCT, IN WHICH THE ADJUNCT IS PUT FOR THE SUBJECT.

XII. ***Sometimes the accident, or that which is additional to a thing, is put for its subject in kind.***

The abstract is put for the concrete. So *grey hairs* (Heb. *hoariness*, or *grey-headedness*), in Gen. xlii. 38., denote me, who am now an old man, grey and decrepit with age. So also, *days*, and *multitude* of *years*, in Job xxxii. 7., are old men. The *strength of Israel*, 1 Sam. xv. 29., is the *strong God of Israel*. *Circumcision* and *uncircumcision*, in Rom. iii. 30., signify the *circumcised* and *uncircumcised*. The *election*, Rom. xi. 7., is the *elect*. *Abomination*, in Gen. xlvi. 34. and Luke xvi. 15., is an *abominable thing*. A *curse*, Gal. iii. 13., is accursed. *Light* and *darkness*, Eph. v. 8., denote the enlightened and the ignorant.

XIII. ***Sometimes the thing contained is put for the thing containing it, and a thing deposited in a place for the place itself.***

Thus, Gen. xxviii. 22. means this place, where I have erected a pillar of stone, shall be God's house. Josh. xv. 19., springs of water denote some portion of land, where there may be springs. Matt. ii. 11., *treasures* are the cabinets or other vessels containing them. A similar expression occurs in Psal. cxxxv. 7. *Outer darkness*, in Matt. xxii. 13., means *hell*, the place of outer darkness. Matt. xxv. 10., *marriage*, denotes the place where the nuptial feast was to be celebrated. Mark iii. 11., *unclean spirits* are men possessed by them. In Luke vi. 12. and Acts xvi. 13, 16., *prayer* evidently means the place of prayer.[2] Rev. viii. 3., *golden incense*, *λιβανωτόν*, means a golden censer, and so it is rendered in our authorized English version.

XIV. ***Time is likewise put for the things which are done or happen in time.***

This is to be understood both of the word *time* itself, and of names expressing portions of time, whether divided naturally or by human institution. Thus, in Deut. iv. 32.; 1 Chron. xii. 32., xxix. 30.; Esth. i. 13.; Mark xiv. 35.; John xii. 27.; and 2 Tim. iii. 1., *times*, *day*, and *hour* respectively denote the transactions that took place in them. Again, *days* are said to be *good* or *evil*, according to the events which happen in them, as in Gen. xlvii. 9.; Eccles. vii. 10.; and Eph. v. 16.; and that is called a person's day, in which any thing notorious or remarkable befalls him, whether it be good, as in Hos. i. 11. and Luke xix. 42, 44., or evil, as in Job xviii. 20.; Psal. xxxvii. 13., cxxxvii. 7.; Ezek. xxii. 4; Obad. 12.; Micah vii. 4. *The days of the Lord*, in Job xxiv. 1.; Isai. xiii. 6.; Joel i. 15., and ii. 1, 2.; Amos v. 20.; Zeph. i. 14—16, 18.; and ii. 2., respectively denote the days when divine punishments were to be inflicted; and hence, by way of eminence, the *day of the Lord* is appropriated to the *day of judgment*, in Joel ii. 31.; Acts ii. 20.; 1 Cor. i. 8.; 2 Thess. ii. 2. &c. In the same manner, the *harvest* and *summer* are put for the fruits gathered at those seasons, Deut. xxiv. 19.; Isai. xvi. 9. (Jer. xl. 10.; Amos

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[1] On a forced interpretation of these two clauses (among others) has the papal church erected the dangerous notion that priests may grant particular absolution to individuals. See it briefly but ably confuted in Bishop Porteus's Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome, pp. 44, 45.

[2] Προσευχή. From 1 Macc. iii. 46. it appears that the Jews had a similar place of prayer at Mizpah. See Wolfius, Rosenmüller, Schindler, and others, on Luke vi. 12.

viii. 1, 2.; 2 Sam. xvi. 2.; in which three passages, as also in Isai. xvi. 9., the Hebrew is only *summer*). And also the *passover* is put for the lamb which was slain and eaten on that solemn festival, Exod. xii. 21.; 2 Chron. xxx. 17.; Matt. xxvi. 17—19.; Mark xiv. 12, 14.; Luke xxii. 8, 11, 13, 15.

XV. *In the Scriptures, things are sometimes named or described according to appearances, or to the opinion formed of them by men, and not as they are in their own nature.*

Thus, Hananiah, the opponent of Jeremiah, is called a prophet, not because he was truly one, but was *reputed* to be one, Jer. xxviii. 1, 5, 10. In Ezek. xxi. 3., the *righteous* mean those who had the semblance of piety, but really were not righteous. So in Matt. ix. 13., Christ says, *I am not come to call the righteous* (that is, such as are so in their own estimation), *but sinners to repentance.* See further Luke xviii. 9. and Rom. x. 2, 3, &c.

In Luke ii. 48., Joseph is called the *father* of Christ, and in v. 41. is mentioned as one of his parents, because he was *reputed* to be his father, as the same evangelist states in chap. iii. 23.[1] Compare John vi. 42, &c. The preaching of the gospel is in 1 Cor. i. 21. termed *foolishness;* not that it was really such, but was accounted to be so by its opponents. In like manner false teaching is called *another gospel* in Gal. i. 6.; and Epimenides, the Cretan philosopher, is termed a prophet in Tit. i. 12., because his countrymen regarded him as such, and after his death offered sacrifices to him.[2]

His enemies shall lick the dust, Psal. lxxii. 9., means that they shall prostrate themselves so low towards the earth, that they shall seem to lick the dust. Similar expressions occur in Isai. xlix. 23.; Micah vii. 17, &c. The phrase, *coming from a far country, and from the end of heaven*, in Isai. xiii. 5., is taken from the opinion which anciently obtained, and was founded on the appearance to the eye, viz. that the *heavens* are not spherical but hemispherical, ending at the extremities of the earth, upon which the extremities of heaven appear to rest. Hence the *ends of the earth* denote the remotest places. The same phrase occurs in Deut. iv. 32. and xxx. 4.; Neh. i. 9.; Matt. xxiv. 31.

XVI. *Sometimes the action or affection, which is conversant about any object, or placed upon it, is put for the object itself.*

Thus, the *senses* are put for the *objects* perceived by them, as *hearing* for doctrine or speech, in Isai. xxviii. 9. (marg. rend.), and liii. 1. (Heb.). In John xii. 38., and Rom. x. 16., the Greek word ἀκοή, translated *report*, literally means hearing, and so it is rendered in Gal. iii. 2, 5. Hearing is also put for fame or rumour in Psal. cxii. 7. (Heb.); Ezek. vii. 26.; Obad. 1.; Hab. iii. 2 (Heb.); Matt. iv. 24., xiv. 1., and xxiv. 6.; Mark i. 28., and xiii. 7, &c. The *eye*, in the original of Numb. xi. 7.; Lev. xiii. 55.; Prov. xxiii. 31.; Ezek. i. 4., viii. 2., and x. 9., is put for colours which are seen by the eye. *Faith* denotes the doctrine, received and believed by faith, in Acts vi. 7.; Gal. i. 23., and iii. 23, 25.; Eph. iv. 5.; 1 Tim. iv. 1.; Tit. i. 13.; Jude 3.; Rev. ii. 13. *Hope*, in Psal. lxv. 5., and lxxi. 5.; Jer. xiv. 8., and xvii. 7, 13., is God, in whom we have hope, or place our confidence. *Hope* also denotes Christ, or the benefits which we receive by him, in Acts xxvi. 6—8., xxviii. 20.; Col. i. 27.; 1 Tim. i. 1. *Hope* is sometimes also put for *men*, in whom we confide, or from whom we expect some good, as in Isai. xx. 5, 6., and for the thing hoped for, as in Prov. xiii. 12; Rom. viii. 24., and Gal. v. 5., in which last place *the hope of righteousness by faith* means eternal life, which is promised to the just by faith, and also in Tit. ii. 13. *Love* is put for the object of affection, Jer. ii. 33., and xii. 7. (marginal rendering). *Desire*, Ezek. xxiv. 16, 21., is the thing desired. In like manner, the *lust* or desire of the eyes, 1 John ii. 16., is the object of the eyes which we eagerly desire. So *fear* is put for the object that is feared, in Psal. liii. 5.; Prov. i. 26.; Isai. viii. 13.

XVII. *Sometimes the sign is put for the thing signified.*

Thus, *sovereign power* and authority are expressed by a *sceptre, crown, diadem, throne,* and *shutting and opening without resistance* in Gen. xlix. 10.; Isai. xxii. 22.; Ezek. xxi. 26.; Zech. x. 11.; and Rev. iii. 7. War is denoted by bows, spears, chariots, and swords, Psal.

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[1] A similar mode of speech occurs in the Iliad, where Homer repeatedly calls Menelaus and Agamemnon the sons of Atreus, though they were in reality the children of his son Plisthenes, and, consequently, the grandchildren of Atreus. In consequence of their father's death, while they were very young, they were educated by their grandfather; who, from his attention to them, was universally acknowledged their protector and father. Hence arose their appellation of Atridæ, or sons of Atreus.

[2] Diog. Laert. lib. i. cap. 10. § 11. tom. i. p. 123. edit. Longolii.

xlvi. 9.; Lam. v. 9.: Ezek. xxi. 3, 4.; Matt. x. 34. So, to lift up the hand is sometimes to swear, Gen. xiv. 22.; Deut. xxxii. 40., and sometimes to pray, Lam. iii. 41.; 1 Tim. ii. 8. In like manner, to stretch forth the hand is to call for audience, Psal. xliv. 20.; Prov. i. 24.

To *kiss* the hand, or to kiss another, is to yield reverence, Job xxxi. 27.; 1 Sam. x. 1.; Psal. ii. 12.; 1 Kings xix. 18.; Hos. xiii. 2. To *bow the knee* is to *worship*, Isai. xlv. 23.; Eph. iii. 14.; Phil. ii. 10. *To give the hand*, or to *strike hands*, is to *swear*, *join in fellowship*, *engage*, or *become surety for another*, Job xvii. 3.; Prov. vi. 1.; Ezek. xvii. 18.; Gal. ii. 9. *To put on sackcloth* is *to mourn*, Psal. lxix. 11. *To beat swords into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks* is *to live in peace and security*, Isai. ii. 4.

XVIII. *Lastly, the names of things are often put for the things themselves.*

Thus, the *name* of God denotes the *Almighty* himself, Psal. xx. 1., cxv. 1.; Prov. xviii 10.; Isai. xxx. 27.; Jer. x. 25.; Joel ii. 32.; Acts ii. 21.; and Rom. x. 13. Names are likewise put for persons, Acts i. 15.; Rev. iii. 4., and xi. 13. (Gr.). In like manner we find that names are given to persons to express their state or condition, although they are not ordinarily called by such names, as in Isai. i. 26., *Thou shalt be called the city of righteousness* or justice, that is, thou shalt be so. Similar expressions occur in Isai. lxii. 4. and Jer. iii. 17.

SECTION III.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE METAPHORS.

Nature of a metaphor.— Sources of Scripture metaphors.—I. The works of nature.—II. The occupations, customs, and arts of life.— III. Sacred topics, or religion and things connected with it.—IV. Sacred history.

A METAPHOR is a trope, by which a word is diverted from its proper and genuine signification to another meaning, for the sake of comparison, or because there is some analogy between the similitude and the thing signified. Of all the figures of rhetoric, the metaphor is that which is most frequently employed, not only in the Scriptures, but likewise in every language; for, independently of the pleasure which it affords, it enriches the mind with *two* ideas at the *same* time, the *truth* and the *similitude*.

In order to understand metaphors aright, it should be observed that the foundation of them consists in a likeness or similitude between the thing from which the metaphor is drawn, and that to which it is applied. When this resemblance is exhibited in one or in a few expressions, it is termed a single metaphor. When it is pursued with a variety of expressions, or there is a continued assemblage of metaphors, it is [though improperly] called an *allegory*. When it is couched in a short sentence, obscure and ambiguous, it is called a *riddle*. If it be conveyed in a short saying only, it is a *proverb*; and, if the metaphorical representation be delivered in the form of a history, it is a *parable*.[1] When the resemblance is far-fetched, as *to see a voice* (Rev. i. 12.), it is termed a *catachresis*. This last-mentioned species of figure, however, is of less frequent occurrence in the Scriptures than any of the preceding.

The various sources, whence the sacred writers have drawn their metaphors, have been discussed at great length by Bishop Lowth[2],

[1] See below, p. 344., note 4.

[2] In his lectures on Hebrew Poetry, lect. vi.–ix.

and his annotator Michaelis, and also by Glassius[1]; from whose elaborate works the following observations are abridged. The sources of Scripture metaphors may be classed under the four following heads, viz. natural, artificial, sacred, and historical.

I. *The works of nature furnish the first and most copious, as well as the most pleasing, source of images in the sacred writings.*

Thus the images of *light* and *darkness* are commonly made use of, in all languages, to denote prosperity and adversity; and an uncommon degree of light implies a proportionate degree of joy and prosperity, and *vice versâ*, Isai. xiii. 10., xxx. 26., lix. 9., lx. 19, 20.; Jer. xv. 9.; Amos viii. 9.; Micah iii. 6.; Joel ii. 10. The same metaphors are also used to denote knowledge and ignorance, Isai. viii. 20., ix. 2.; Matt. iv. 16.; Eph. v. 8. The sun, moon, and stars figuratively represent kings, queens, and princes or rulers, as in Isai. xxiv. 23.; Ezek. xxxii. 7.

Nothing is more grateful to the inhabitants of the East than springs, rivers, and rain; for, as showers rarely fall in their countries, the grass and flowers of the field become consumed by the intolerable heat, unless watered in some way or other. Hence, flowing springs, copious showers, and nightly dews, which fertilize the fields, furnish them with a variety of pleasing images, Isai. xxxv. 1, 6, 7., and xli. 18. The blessings of the gospel are delineated under the metaphors of dew, Isai. xxvi. 19., moderate rains, Hos. vi. 3., gentle streams and running waters, Isai. xxvii. 3. and xliv. 3. On the other hand, no metaphor is more frequent than that by which sudden and great calamities are expressed under the figure of a deluge of waters. With this metaphor the Hebrews appear to have been extremely familiar, as if it were directly taken from the nature and state of their country. Immediately before their eyes was the river Jordan, which annually overflowed its banks[2]; for, the snows of Lebanon and the neighbouring mountains being melted in the beginning of summer, the waters of the river were often suddenly augmented by the descending torrents. The whole country, also, being mountainous, was exposed to frequent floods after the great periodical tempests of rain. To this David alludes, Psal. xlii. 7. Immoderate rains, hail, floods, inundations, and torrents, denote judgments and destruction, Isai. viii. 7.; Jer. xlvii. 2.; Ezek. xxxviii. 22.

To the class of metaphors derived from natural objects we may refer the *anthropopathy*, a metaphor by which things belonging to creatures, and especially to man, are ascribed to God, and the *prosopopœia*, or personification, that is, the change of things to persons. Both these figures are nearly allied to the metaphor, and still more to the metonymy; but they are noticed in this place, as being upon the whole the most convenient arrangement.

1. In the consideration of *anthropopathies*, the two following important rules must be constantly kept in mind; viz.

[i.] *That we understand them in a way and manner suitable to the nature and majesty of the Almighty, refining them from all that imperfection with which they are debased in the creatures, and so attribute them to the Deity.*

Thus, when the members of a human body are ascribed to God, we must understand those perfections, of which such members in us are the instruments. The *eye*, for instance,

[1] Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. pp. 916—1243. edit. Dathii.
[2] Josh. iii. 15.; 1 Chron. xii. 15; Ecclus. xxiv. 26.

being that member by which we discern or observe any thing, is employed to denote God's *perfect and exact knowledge of all things*, Job xxxiv. 21.; Psal. xi. 4.; and Heb. iv. 13.: as also *his watchful providence*, Deut. xi. 12.; 1 Kings ix. 3.; Psal. xxxiv. 15. In like manner, *ears* are attributed to him, to signify his *gracious acceptance* of his people's prayers, Psal. xxxi. 2., or the *exact notice* which he takes of the sins of others, James v. 4. By his *arm* we are to understand his *power* and *strength*, Exod. xv. 16., which is also expressed by his *right hand*, Exod. xv. 6., and Psal. cxviii. 15, 16. So, his *work* is expressed by his fingers, Exod. viii. 19.; and Psal. viii. 3.; and his *love* and compassion by his *bowels*, Isai. lxiii. 15.; Jer. xxxi. 20.; Luke i. 78., *through the* bowels *of the mercy of our God* (διὰ σπλάγχνα), *whereby the day-spring* from on high hath visited us. There are a thousand similar instances in the Scriptures.

[ii.] Further, when human affections are attributed to Jehovah, we must be careful not to interpret them in a manner that shall imply the least imperfection in him, but must thereby conceive, (1.) Either *a pure act of his will, free from all perturbation to which men are liable*, or else, (2.) The effect of such human affections, the antecedent being put for the consequent, that is, one thing being expressed while another thing is understood, which is usually its effect, or at least follows it — a figure of very frequent occurrence in the sacred writings.

Thus, when God is said to *repent*, we are not to imagine any change of mind in him with whom there is no variableness or shadow of turning, or any sorrow or trouble that is inconsistent with his perfect happiness; but, either his purpose to undo what he has done, or desist from what he is doing, which are the ordinary effects of repentance in man: so that the change is not in the disposition of the Supreme Mind, but in the dispensations of his providence; as in Gen. vi. 6.; 1 Sam. xv. 11, 35.; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16.; Psal. cvi. 45. Again, God is said in very many passages to be *angry*, to have *fury*, &c., to make us apprehend how much he hates sin, and will punish sinners. The same remark will apply to other affections which are attributed to him.

In a similar manner are we to understand all those passages in which *human actions* are ascribed to God, as in Gen. xviii. 21.; where, as men have to examine to become acquainted with a thing, God is said to go down and see what was done in Sodom, in order that he might *know*. To *search the heart* and *try the reins* is to discern exactly, as in Psal. vii. 9.; and Jer. xvii. 10. Lastly, *human relations* are likewise ascribed to God, to express the *properties* of such relations: thus, he is called a *King*, Psal. xcv. 3., a *Father*, Psal. ciii. 13.; Rom. viii. 15., a *Husband*, Isai. liv. 5.; Hosea ii. 19., a *Shepherd*, Psal. xxiii. 1., to express his power and authority, his love, pity, tender care, and watchful providence.

2. Of the *prosopopœia*, or personification, there are two kinds; one, when actions and character are attributed to irrational, or even inanimate objects; the other, when a probable but fictitious speech is assigned to a real character:

[i.] The former, Bishop Lowth remarks, evidently partakes of the nature of the metaphor, and is by far the boldest of that class of figures: it is most frequently and successfully introduced by the sacred writers.

In Psal. lxxxv. 10., how admirable is the personification of the divine attributes!

Mercy and truth are met together;
Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.

How just, elegant, and splendid does it appear, if applied only (according to the literal sense) to the restoration of the Jewish nation from the Babylonish captivity! But, if we consider it in a most sacred and mystical sense, which is not obscurely shadowed under the ostensible image, viz. that of the method of redemption by the sacrifice and mediation of Jesus Christ, in which the divine perfections were so harmoniously displayed, it is beyond measure grand and elevated. Again, what can be more sublime or graceful than the personification of wisdom, so frequently introduced in the Proverbs of Solomon, particularly in chapter viii. verses 22—31.? She is exhibited not only as the directress of human life and morals, as the inventress of arts, as the dispenser of honours and riches, as the source of true felicity, but also as the eternal daughter of the omnipotent Creator, and as the eternal associate in the divine counsels. Similar passages, exquisitely imagined, and from the boldness of the

fiction extremely forcible, occur in Job xviii. 13., xxviii. 22.; Isai. v. 14., xlvii. 1, 5.; Lam. i. 1, 6, 17.; Hos. xiii. 14.; and 1 Cor. xv. 54.[1]

[ii.] The second kind of prosopopœia, by which a probable but fictitious speech is assigned to a real person, though less calculated to excite admiration and approbation by its novelty, boldness, and variety, than the former, is nevertheless possessed of great force, evidence, and authority. It would, as Bishop Lowth remarks, be an infinite task to specify every instance in the sacred poems, which on this occasion might be referred to as worthy of notice.

A reference to one example, therefore, must suffice; one more perfect it is not possible to produce. It is expressive of the eager expectation of the mother of Sisera, from the inimitable ode of the prophetess Deborah (Judg. v. 28—30.).

The first sentences exhibit a striking picture of maternal solicitude, both in words and actions; and of a mind suspended and agitated between hope and fear (v. 28.).

Immediately, impatient of his delay, she anticipates the consolations of her friends; and, her mind being somewhat elevated, she boasts with all the levity of a fond female (vv. 29, 30.).

Let us next observe how well adapted every sentiment, every word, is to the character of the speaker. She takes no account of the slaughter of the enemy, of the valour and conduct of the conqueror, of the multitude of the captives, but

Burns with a female thirst of prey and spoils.

Nothing is omitted which is calculated to attract and engage the passions of a vain and trifling woman — slaves, gold, and rich apparel. Nor is she satisfied with the bare enumeration of them; she repeats, she amplifies, she heightens every circumstance; she seems to have the very plunder in her immediate possession; she pauses and contemplates every particular (v. 30).

To add to the beauty of this passage, there is also an uncommon neatness in the versification, great force, accuracy, and perspicuity in the diction, the utmost elegance in the repetitions, which, notwithstanding their apparent redundancy, are conducted with the most perfect brevity. In the end, the fatal disappointment of female hope and credulity, tacitly insinuated by the sudden and unexpected apostrophe,

So let all thine enemies perish, O JEHOVAH!

is expressed more forcibly by this very silence of the person who was just speaking, than it could possibly have been by all the powers of language.

But whoever wishes to understand the full force and excellence of this figure, as well as the elegant use of it in the Hebrew ode, must apply to Isaiah, whom we may justly pronounce to be the sublimest of poets. Bishop Lowth considers his fourteenth chapter as the grandest specimen of that prophet's poetry, and as exemplifying almost every form of the prosopopœia, and indeed of all that constitutes the sublime in composition.

II. *The Hebrews derived many of their figures from the ordinary occupations and customs of life, as well as from such arts as were practised at that time.*

This source, indeed, is common to all nations; and, in proportion as they are more polished, and cultivate more numerous arts, they are supplied with a greater variety of images. The whole course and method of common and domestic life among the ancient Hebrews was simple in the highest degree. There did not exist that variety of studies and pursuits, of arts, conditions, and employments, which afterwards obtained among other nations. The Hebrews were a nation of husbandmen and shepherds: the patriarchs were possessed of great flocks and herds which they tended; though their descendants afterwards applied themselves to agriculture.

[1] The late Mr. Gilpin has pointed out many very striking personifications and other metaphorical allusions used by St. Paul. See his Sermons, vol. iv. p. 405., &c.

Every Israelite, on the conquest of Canaan, received his allotted portion of land, which he cultivated, and which, as it could not be alienated by sale, descended without diminution to his posterity. Hence, very numerous metaphors in the sacred writings are derived from pastoral and rural occupations. Thus kings are said to feed their people; who again are compared to a flock of sheep, which the shepherd conducts to pasture, and guards from danger.

Then Jehovah threshes out the heathen, and tramples them beneath his feet, Hab. iii. 12. He delivers the nations to Israel to be beaten in pieces by an indented flail, or to be crushed by their brazen hoofs, Joel iii. 14. (Heb.); Isai. xxi. 10.; Jer. li. 33.; Mic. iv. 13. He scatters his enemies like chaff upon the mountains, and disperses them with the whirlwind of his indignation, Psal. lxxxiii. 13—15.; Isai. xvii. 13. But nothing can surpass the magnificent delineation of the Messiah coming to take vengeance on his adversaries expressed by imagery taken from the wine-press, which is of frequent occurrence with the sacred poets. See Isai. lxiii. 1—3.

The pastoral and rural allusions in the New Testament are almost equally numerous with those of the Old Testament. Thus, in our Lord's parable, the world is compared to a *field*, the children of the kingdom to the *wheat*, and the children of the wicked to *tares*, Matt. xiii. 38. The end of the world is the *harvest*, and the angels are *reapers*, Matt. xiii. 39 A preacher of the word is the *sower*, Matt. xiii. 3. The word of God is the *seed*. The heart of man is the *ground*, Luke viii. 15. The cares, riches, and pleasures of life are the *thorns*, Luke viii. 14. The preparation of the heart by repentance is *ploughing and breaking up the fallow ground*, Hos. x. 12. The minister, who serves under God in his husbandry, is the *labourer*, Matt. ix. 37, 38.; 1 Cor. iii. 9. The wicked are *stubble*, Isai. xlvii. 14. And the temptations and trials of the godly are the *sifting of the wheat*, Luke xxii. 31.[1]

III. *Sacred topics, that is to say, religion, and things connected with it, furnished many images to the sacred writers.*

Numerous and diversified sacred rites were enjoined to the Israelites by Moses; and their religious worship was conducted with great pomp and splendour.

Thus, the images derived from the temple and its magnificent service chiefly serve to denote the glory of the Christian church, the excellency of its worship, God's favour towards it, and his constant presence with it; the prophets speaking to the Jews in terms accommodated to their own ideas, as in Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26. compared with Heb. viii. 10. Further, "much of the Jewish law is employed in discriminating between things clean and unclean; in removing and making atonement for things polluted or proscribed; and under these ceremonies, as under a veil, a meaning the most important and sacred is concealed. Among the rest are certain diseases and infirmities of the body, and some customs in themselves evidently indifferent: these, on a cursory view, seem light and trivial; but, when the reasons of them are properly investigated, they are found to be of considerable importance. We are not to wonder, then, if the sacred poets have recourse to these topics for imagery, even on the most momentous occasions; as when they display the universal depravity of the human heart, Isai. lxiv. 6., or upbraid their own people for the corruptness of their manners, Isai. i. 5, 6, 16.; Ezek. xxxvi. 17.; or when they deplore the abject state of the virgin, the daughter of Sion, polluted and exposed, Lam. i. 8, 9, 17. and ii. If we consider these metaphors, without any reference to the religion of their authors, they will doubtless appear in some degree inelegant; but, if we refer them to their genuine source, the peculiar rites of the Hebrews, they will not be found wanting either in force or dignity."

The pontifical vestments, which were extremely splendid, suggested a variety of images expressive of the glory of both the Jewish and Christian church. We have an instance of this in Ezek. xvi. 10, 13, 18.; and particularly in the following passage of the evangelical prophet:—

I will greatly rejoice in JEHOVAH:
My soul shall exult in my God;
For he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation,
He hath covered me with the mantle of righteousness;
As the bridegroom decketh himself with a priestly crown;
And as the bride adorneth herself with her costly jewels.

Isai. lxi. 10.

[1] A Key to the Language of Prophecy, by the Rev. W. Jones. Works, vol. v. p. 282.

In this verse, Isaiah is describing, in his peculiar manner, the exultation and glory of the church, after her triumphal restoration. He decorates her with the vestments of salvation, and clothes her in the robe of righteousness: he afterwards compares the church to a bridegroom dressed for the marriage, to which comparison incredible dignity is added by the word יְכַהֵן, a metaphor plainly taken from the priest's apparel, the force of which, therefore, no modern language can express. No imagery, Bishop Lowth further remarks, which the Hebrew writers could employ, was equally adapted with this to the display (as far as human powers can conceive or depict the subject) of the infinite majesty of God. Jehovah is, therefore, introduced by the psalmist as *clothed with glory and with strength* (Psal. xciii. 1.), and he is *girded with power* (Psal. lxv. 6.), which are the very terms appropriated to the description of the dress and ornaments of the priests. The epistle to the Hebrews is an admirable comment on many parts of the Mosaic ritual.

IV. *The Hebrews derived many of their metaphors from sacred history.*

Thus, as the devastation of the land of Israel is frequently represented by the restoration of ancient chaos (as in Jer. iv. 23—26.; Isai. xxxiv. 4, 11., and Joel iii. 15, 16.), so the same event is sometimes expressed in metaphors suggested by the universal deluge (as in Isai. xxiv. 1, 18—20.), and also from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Isai. xxxiv. 9.). See also Psal. xi. 6.

The departure of the Israelites from Egypt, while it affords materials for many magnificent descriptions, is commonly applied, in a metaphorical manner, to represent other great deliverances; as in Isai. xliii. 16—19., xlviii. 21., and li. 10. But the figurative application of the history of the Exodus is much plainer in the New Testament. There we see Zacharias, in his prophetical hymn, on occasion of the birth of John the Baptist, celebrating the blessings of the Christian redemption in terms borrowed from the past redemption of Israel out of Egypt.[1]

Lastly, when Jehovah is described as coming to execute judgment, to deliver the pious, and to destroy his enemies, or in any manner to display his divine power upon earth, the description is embellished from that tremendous scene which was exhibited on Mount Sinai [2] at the delivery of the law. Two sublime examples of this sort, to mention no more, occur in Psal. xviii. 7—15.; and Mic. i. 3, 4.[3]

SECTION IV.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE ALLEGORIES.

I. *The allegory defined.—Different species of allegory.*—II. *Rules for the interpretation of Scripture allegories.*

Another branch of the figurative language of Scripture is the allegory; which, under the literal sense of the words, conceals a foreign

[1] This interesting and important topic is well illustrated in the Lectures on the Figurative language of Scripture, lect. vi. Jones's Works, vol. iii. pp. 92—100.

[2] See Exod. xix. 16, 18.; Deut. iv. 11, 12.

[3] Michaelis, in his additions to Bishop Lowth's ninth lecture, has endeavoured to prove that the sacred writers drew largely from poetic fable, which they derived from the Egyptians, in common with the Greeks and Romans. As it respects the latter, his argument is convincing and satisfactory; but with regard to the Hebrews, as it depends chiefly on his *own* Latin versions, which (the English translator of the Bishop's lectures remarks) are by no means so faithful to the original as our common version, his point does not appear to be demonstrated. On this account the present brief notice of Michaelis's hypothesis may be deemed sufficient: it is, however, adopted by Bauer in his Hermeneutica Sacra, pp. 209, 210.

or distant meaning. [Fairbairn defines an allegory to be "a narrative, either expressly feigned for the purpose, or — if describing facts which really took place — describing them only for the purpose of representing certain higher truths or principles than the narrative, in its literal aspect, whether real or fictitious, could possibly have taught. The ostensible representation, therefore, is either invented, or at least used, as a mere cover for the higher sense, which may refer to things ever so remote from those immediately described, if only the corresponding relations are preserved."[1]] Of this species of figure Bishop Lowth has three kinds[2], viz.

1. The ALLEGORY[3] properly so called, and which he terms a *continued metaphor.* [This definition is, however, inaccurate: a metaphor has but one meaning; an allegory, as shown in the subsequent quotation from Bishop Marsh, two, the literal and the figurative.]

2. The PARABLE, or similitude, which is discussed in the following section; and,

3. The MYSTICAL ALLEGORY, in which a double meaning is couched under the same words, or when the same prediction, according as it is differently interpreted, relates to different events, distant in time, and distinct in their nature.

The *mystical allegory* differs from the two first-mentioned species in the nature of its materials; it being allowable in the former to make use of imagery from different objects, while the mystical allegory is exclusively derived from things sacred. There is likewise this further distinction, that, in those other forms of allegory, the exterior or ostensible imagery is fiction only; the truth lies altogether in the interior or remote sense, which is veiled as it were under this thin and pellucid covering. But in the mystical allegory each idea is equally agreeable to truth. The exterior or ostensible image is not a shadowy colouring of the interior sense, but is in itself a reality; and, although it sustains another character, it does not wholly lay aside its own. As, however, the interpretation of the mystical and typical parts of Scripture is treated of in a subsequent part of this volume[4], we shall, in the present section, direct our attention to the allegory, properly and strictly so called.

As every such allegory is a representation of real matters of fact under feigned names and feigned characters, it must be subjected to a twofold examination. "We must first examine the immediate representation, and then consider what other representation it was intended to excite. Now, in most allegories the immediate representation is made in the form of a narrative; and, since it is the object of an allegory to convey a moral, not an historic truth, the narrative itself is commonly fictitious. The immediate representation is of no

[1] The Typology of Scripture (2nd edit.), book i. chap. i. vol. i. p. 18.

[2] Lectures on Hebrew poetry, vol. i. lectt. x. and xi.

[3] Ἀλληγορία, or *allegory*, is derived from ἄλλο ἀγορεύεται: i e. *a different thing is said* from that which is *meant.* It differs from a metaphor, in that it is not confined to a word, but extends to a whole thought, or, it may be, to several thoughts. An allegory may be expressed moreover by pictures, by actions, as in Ezek. iii. iv. v., and Luke xxii. 36., or by any significant thing.

[4] See pp. 377—394. *infra,* on the mystical and typical interpretations of Scripture; and pp. 404—408. *infra,* on the double sense of prophecy.

further value, than as it leads to the ultimate representation. It is the application or the moral of the allegory which constitutes its worth."[1] [Allegories, it may be added, "have been divided into the *pure* and *impure*, or *perfect* and *mixed*. A pure allegory does not mention any part of the principal object, but carefully and entirely keeps it concealed. Such a kind occurs but seldom in the Scriptures. Most of the biblical allegories are *mixed;* and in this case their application is more easily seen, because unfigured expressions are introduced, by which the principal object is indicated. The parable of the prodigal son in Luke (chap. xv.) is an instance of a pure or perfect allegory; the 80th Psalm presents an example of the mixed or impure."[2]]

In the investigation of an allegory, the following rules may assist us to determine its ultimate meaning: —

I. *Plain matters of fact are not to be considered allegorical.*

This rule is of the greatest importance; from not attending to it, the ancient Jews, as the Therapeutæ, the author of the book of Wisdom, Josephus, and Philo, and, in imitation of them, Origen[3] and many of the fathers (whose example has also been followed by some modern expositors), have respectively turned even historical passages of Scripture into allegories.

II. *The proper or literal meaning of the words must be ascertained before we attempt to explain an allegory.*

For this purpose, the primary word itself must first be ascertained, and its force expressed by an appropriate literal word; and to this sense all the other figurative words of the passage should be referred, and explained agreeably to it. The *primary* word in an allegory is that which contains the foundation and reason why the passage under consideration is expressed by that particular image; and such primary word is to be ascertained both from the *scope* as well as from the *explanation* which may be subjoined, and also from the *subject* or *thing* itself which is treated of. Thus, in 1 Cor. v. 6—8., the apostle speaks of leaven in such a manner, that the whole of that passage contains an earnest exhortation to a holy life; for the context shows that the design of the allegorical admonition was that the Corinthians should not be tainted with wickedness and depravity of life. The occasion of the allegory was their admittance of an incestuous person into the church at Corinth. Now, as the apostle says, *Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?* and accommodates the remaining sentence of the passage to the same image, the consideration of the primary word will readily lead us to this sense: one man may be injurious to the whole congregation by his corrupt example. St. Paul further adds an explanation of his meaning, when he says, *Let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness,* &c. Here the meaning of ἑορτάζειν (keep the feast) is not to celebrate the festival of the passover, as it literally means, but to serve and worship God in Christ: in other words, to be a sincere Christian, and in such a manner that, being cleansed from all former sins, we should serve and worship God in true holiness. In like manner we are to understand the expression, *Destroy this temple; and in three days I will raise it up* (John ii. 19.). The primary word *temple* must be changed into a proper or literal one, namely, the *body of Christ*, as the evangelical history suggests; and to this the rest of the passage must be referred.

III. *The design of the whole allegory must be investigated.*

The consideration of this rule will embrace a variety of particulars.

1. *In investigating the design of an allegory, the* CONTEXT *is first to be*

[1] Bishop Marsh, Lectures, part iii. pp. 80, 81. The seventeenth and eighteenth lectures, in which the subject of figurative interpretation is ably discussed at considerable length, are particularly worthy of perusal.

[2] Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. viii. p. 309.

[3] Dr. A. Clarke (note on Exod, i. 22) has given a curious specimen of Origen's mode of allegorizing, to which the reader is referred on account of its length.

examined and considered*[1], *by comparing the preceding and subsequent parts of the discourse.

In 2 Tim. ii. 20., we read thus: *In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour and some to dishonour.* Here the apostle employed an allegory, the design of which is to be ascertained by the aid of the context. In the preceding verses, 15 and 16., he had exhorted Timothy to *study to show himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth,* and *to shun vain and profane babblings.* Hence it appears that St. Paul was speaking of the qualifications of a teacher. The *great house* then, in which are vessels of several kinds, will signify the Christian church, in which are various teachers, and of different value. In the following verses, 21 and 22., Timothy is exhorted to avoid novel doctrines, to separate himself from false teachers, and to make himself a vessel fitted for the master's use, prepared for every good work. The design of the allegory, therefore, is to intimate, that, as in a great house there is a variety of utensils, some of a more precious and others of a coarser material, so in the church of God, which is the house of God, there are teachers of different characters and capacities. Some of them, being faithful, are employed in the honourable work of leading men in the paths of truth and piety; while others, being unfaithful, are permitted to follow the dishonourable occupation of seducing those who love error, that the approved may be made manifest.

2. ***The* OCCASION *which gave rise to the allegory, and which is indicated by the context, is also to be considered.***

Thus, in the gospels, we meet with numerous instances of persons who asked questions of our Saviour, or who entertained erroneous notions; an allegory is delivered by way of reply, to correct the error, and at the same time to instruct the inquirer. In John vi. 25—65., many things are announced relative to the eating of bread: these are to be understood of spiritual food, the doctrines of Christ, which are to be received for the same purpose as we take food, namely, that we may be nourished and supported. The *occasion* of this allegorical mode of speaking is related in verse 31. *Our fathers,* said the Jews, *did eat manna in the desert, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat. I,* says Christ, *am the living bread, which cometh down from heaven.* The meaning of the whole evidently is that by eating the flesh of Christ we are to understand the same idea as is implied in eating bread, namely, to derive support from it. The argument of our Lord, then, may be thus expressed: "The manna which our fathers did eat in the wilderness could preserve only a mortal life. That is the true bread of life which qualifies every one who eats it for everlasting happiness. I call myself this bread, not only on account of my *doctrine,* which purifies the soul, and fits it for a state of happiness, but also because I shall give my own life to procure the life of the world."

3. ***As the context frequently indicates the meaning of an allegory, so likewise its* SCOPE *and* INTERPRETATION *are frequently pointed out by some explanation that is subjoined.***

In Luke v. 29., it is related that our Lord sat down to eat with publicans and sinners. When questioned by the Pharisees for this conduct, he replied, *They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick;* and added the following explanation: I am not come to call the *righteous,* those who arrogantly presume themselves to be such, *but sinners to repentance.* The scope, occasion, and explanation being severally known, the meaning of the allegory becomes evident. Sometimes, however, this explanation of an allegory is conveyed in a single word, as in 1 Thess. v. 8. Here we are commanded to put on a breast-plate and helmet; it is added, by way of exposition, the breast-plate of faith and love, and the helmet of hope. The sense of the figure is: Prepare yourself for your spiritual warfare with faith, love, and hope, lest you suffer loss.

4. ***Sometimes the allegory proposed is explained in its several parts by the person speaking.***

Thus, in Eph. vi. 11—19., many things are said of the Christian's armour; and the girdle, breast-plate, greaves, shield, and sword, are distinctly specified. That these terms are allegorical is evident. In the tenth verse, the exhortation, *to be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might,* precedes: in the eleventh and following verses the apostle explains what he intended to be understood, in its several parts: thus, the sword is the word of God, the girdle is integrity, the shield is faith, &c. In such passages as this, an explanation is desirable; otherwise the allegory it contains could not be interpreted upon any certain principle.

[1] On the investigation of the context, see pp. 256—262. *supra.*

5. *Sometimes also the* CONTEXT *incidentally presents some proper word, by which the meaning of the whole allegory may be discerned.*

In John xii. 35., our Lord says, *Yet a little while is the light with you.* A single proper word is almost immediately subjoined, *believe* in the light (verse 36.). Hence it appears that by light is meant himself, the divine teacher: it is equally plain that to continue in darkness means to continue in ignorance. Another instance occurs in Matt. v. 14., *Ye are the light of the world: a city that is set on an hill cannot be hid,* &c. It is afterwards subjoined, *that men may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.* From this expression, *good works,* which is the key to the whole passage, we perceive that our Lord's discourse treats of that example of a holy life and conversation, which it is the duty of Christians to set before others.

IV. *In the examination of an allegorical passage,* HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES *should be consulted.*

For it sometimes happens that history throws light on the passage.

[John xxi. 18., Matt. xiii. 31—34., and Prov. v. 15—18., are alleged in proof of this rule; but the meaning in all these passages is sufficiently clear from the context.]

V. *The nature of the thing spoken of is also to be considered in the exposition of an allegory.*

It is necessary that the nature of the thing should be considered, in order that the *tendency* of every comparison may appear, and also the literal meaning which is concealed under the figurative expressions.

1. Thus in Matt. v. 13, we read, *Ye are the salt of the earth; but, if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.* Now, what is the meaning of this admonition? What is the primary word? *Salt.* But with what proper word can it be interpreted? Here the nature of the thing is to be consulted, which shows that it is the property of salt to render food savoury, as well as to correct the taste. [The salt, too, of Syria contains much sulphate of lime; and this would be the insipid residuum when the chloride of sodium (which almost exclusively forms *our* salt) was dissolved by moisture.] Hence it is clear in what sense the disciples are said to be the *salt of the earth;* for they were teachers by whom some were corrected and made better. The general meaning of the passage is, Ye, who embrace my religion, like salt shall purify the world; but ye must first be pure yourselves.

2. In Luke v. 36., the following passage occurs: *No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent; and the piece that was taken out of the new agreeth not with the old.* Nothing is adduced by way of explanation: in a preceding verse the Pharisees had asked Christ why his disciples did not fast, but lived more cheerfully than those of John. Our Saviour replied in the words above cited; nothing, then, can lead us to understand the passage but the nature of the subject. Now, in common life we know that no one voluntarily and readily acts indiscreetly, or in an unbecoming manner. Therefore, says Christ, since no one in common life acts thus indiscreetly, neither do I require my disciples to do so; since there is no need for them to undergo such austerities. The time will come (verse 35.) when they will fare hardly enough; then they will have sufficient trials. At present neither circumstances, time, nor place require it; things must be accommodated to circumstances. The passage being thus considered, the meaning of the allegory becomes very evident.

VI. *Comparison is not to be extended to all the circumstances of the allegory.*

"Thus, in the parable of the good Samaritan, the point to be illustrated is *the extent of the duty of beneficence.* Most of the circumstances in the parable go to make up merely the verisimilitude of the narration, so that it may give pleasure to him who hears or reads it. But how differently does the whole appear, when it comes to be interpreted by an allegorizer of the *mystic* schools! The man going down from Jerusalem to Jericho is Adam wandering in the wilderness of this world; the thieves, who robbed and wounded him, are evil spirits; the priest, who passed by without relieving him, is the Levitical law; the Levite is good works; the good

Samaritan is Christ; the oil and wine are grace, &c. What may not a parable be made to mean, if imagination is to supply the place of reason and philology." [1]

VII. *We must not explain one part literally and another part figuratively.*

Thus, the whole of 1 Cor. iii. 9—15. is allegorical: a comparison is there instituted between the office of a teacher of religion, and that of a builder. Hence a Christian congregation is termed a building: its ministers are the architects; some of whom lay the foundation on which others build; some erect a superstructure of gold and silver; others of wood, hay, and stubble. The sense concealed under the allegory is apparent: a Christian congregation is instructed by teachers; some of whom communicate the first principles; others impart further knowledge; some deliver good and useful things (*the truth*); while others deliver useless things (*erroneous doctrines*, such as at that time prevailed in the Corinthian church). That day (the great day of judgment) will declare what superstructure a man has raised; that is, whether what he has taught be good or bad. And, as fire is the test of gold, silver, and precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, so the great day will be the test of every man's work. Though the whole of this passage is obviously allegorical, yet it is understood literally by the church of Rome, who has erected upon it her doctrine of the fire of purgatory. How contrary this doctrine is to every rule of right interpretation is too plain to require any exposition.[2]

[A better interpretation of this passage is to regard the gold, &c., as meaning persons rather than doctrines. For it would be difficult to point out any other place in Scripture where the setting forth of doctrines is described in such terms. *Tria genera enumerat, quæ ignem ferunt: totidem, quæ comburuntur. Illa denotant homines vere fideles; hæc, hypocritas*, says Bengel, *in loc.* Believers are the stones of which the spiritual temple, raised upon the foundation Christ, is composed, see Eph. ii. 19—22.; 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5. Such are the gold and gems which the faithful teacher builds up, and for which he receives a reward, Dan. xii. 3.; Phil. iv. 1.; 1 Thess. ii. 19, 20. Of any one not so successful, whose converts were but wood and stubble, mere pretenders whom the fire of persecution and judgment would convict and destroy, it is said, ζημιωθήσεται, according to Bengel's paraphrase, *mercede excidet, non salute.* Though preaching the truth, peradventure his zeal was cold and his labour careless; therefore he had but little fruit—still he might be saved. If, however, they were erroneous *doctrines* that he set forth, surely the personal salvation of such a faithless teacher would be endangered. The ordinary interpretation of this passage makes it very incongruous. The foundation is Christ, a person: it is natural therefore to expect that the superstructure must be of persons too. The consistency of the whole would else be destroyed.]

Before we proceed to other topics, we cannot but notice the admirable allegorical delineation of old age by Solomon, Eccl. xii. 2—6. It is, perhaps, one of the finest allegories in the Old Testa-

[1] Professor Stuart, Elements of Interpretation, translated from the Latin of Ernesti, part v. chap. v. pp. 116, 117. London, 1827.

[2] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 221—226.; Ernesti, Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. pp. 110, 111.; Morus, Acroases in Ernesti, tom. i. pars i. sect. ii. cap. iv. pp. 301—313.; Glassius, Phil. Sac. lib. ii. pp. 1294—1304.; Ramiresius de Prado, Pentecontarchus, c. 28. apud Fabricii Observationes Selectæ, pp. 173—179.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Institutiones Herm. Sacr. cap. xiii. pp. 740—753.

ment: the inconveniences of increasing years, the debility of mind and body, the torpor of the senses, are expressed most learnedly and elegantly indeed, but with some degree of obscurity, by different images, derived from nature and common life; for, by this enigmatical composition, Solomon, after the manner of the oriental sages, intended to put to trial the acuteness of his readers. It has on this account afforded much exercise to the ingenuity of the learned; many of whom have differently, it is true, but with much learning and penetration, explained the passage.

There is also in Isaiah (xxviii. 23—29.) an allegory, which, with no less elegance of imagery, is perhaps more simple and regular, as well as more just and complete in the colouring, than any of those above cited. In the passage referred to, the prophet is examining the design and manner of the divine judgments, and is inculcating the principle, that God adopts different modes of acting in the chastisement of the wicked, but that the most perfect wisdom is conspicuous in all; that he will, as before urged, "exact judgment by the line, and righteousness by the plummet;" that he ponders, with the most minute attention, the distinctions of times, characters, and circumstances, as well as every motive to lenity or severity. All this is expressed in a continued allegory, the imagery of which is taken from the employments of agriculture and threshing, and is admirably adapted to the purpose.[1] [These two are examples rather of successive metaphors than of allegory.]

SECTION V.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE PARABLES.

I. *Nature of a parable.*—II. *Antiquity of this mode of instruction.*—III. *Rules for the interpretation of parables.*—IV. *Parables, why used by Jesus Christ.*—V. *Remarks on the distinguishing excellences of Christ's parables, compared with the most celebrated fables of antiquity.*

I. A PARABLE (*παραβολή*, from *παραβάλλειν*, to collate, compare together, assimilate[2]) is a similitude taken from natural things in order to instruct us in things spiritual. The word, however, is variously

[1] Lowth, Prælectiones, No. x., or vol. i pp. 220, 221. of Dr Gregory's translation.

[2] A verbo *παραβάλλειν*, quod significat *conferre, comparare, assimilare* (cf. Marc. iv. 30.) ductum est nomen *παραβολῆς*; quod *similitudinem, collutionem* Quinctilianus (Inst. Or. lib. v. c. 11.; lib. viii. c. 3. pp. 298, 302, 470.) interpretatur, Seneca (Ep. lix.) *imaginem*. Itaque *collatio*, sive, ut Ciceronis (lib. i. de Invent. c. 30.) definitione utamur, *oratio, rem cum re ex similitudine conferens*, Græco nomine *parabola* appellatur. Eo sensu Christus (Marc. iii. 23.) *ἐν παραβολαῖς* locutus dicitur, quando per varias *similitudines* (vv. 24—27.) probavit se non Satanæ ope, sed altiore virtute dæmonia ejicere. G. C. Storr, De Parabolis Christi, in Opusc. Academic. vol. i. p. 89. The whole disquisition, to which this section is largely indebted, is well worthy of perusal. See also Rambach, Institutiones Hermeneut. lib. ii. cap. iv. pp. 186., &c.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Instit. Hermeneut. Sacr. cap. xiii. pp. 753—773.; and Chladenius, Institutiones Exegeticæ, pp. 190., &c. [For various definitions of a parable see Trench, Notes on the Parables of our Lord (2nd edit.), chap. i. note 2.]

used in the Scriptures, to denote a *proverb* or short saying (Luke iv. 23.); a *famous* or received *saying* (1 Sam. x. 12.[1]; Ezek. xviii. 2.); a thing gravely spoken, and comprehending important matters in a few words (Numb. xxiii. 7. 18.; xxiv. 3, 15.; Job xxvii. 1.; Psal. xlix. 4. and lxxviii. 2.); a *thing darkly* or figuratively *expressed* (Ezek. xx. 49.; Matt. xiii. 35.); a *visible type* or *emblem*, representing something different from and beyond itself (Heb. ix. 9., and xi. 19. Gr.); a *special instruction* (Luke xiv. 7.); and a *similitude* or *comparison* (Matt. xxiv. 32.; Mark iii. 23.).[2]

According to Bishop Lowth, a parable is that kind of allegory which consists of a continued narration of a fictitious event, applied by way of simile to the illustration of some important truth. By the Greeks, an allegory was called *αἶνος* or *αἴνη*, an *apologue*, and by the Romans *fabula*, a *fable*[3]; and the writings of the Phrygian sage, or those composed in imitation of him, have acquired the greatest celebrity. Nor did our Saviour himself disdain to adopt the same method of instruction; of whose parables it is doubtful whether they excel most in wisdom and utility, or in sweetness, elegance, and perspicuity. As the appellation of PARABLE has been applied to his discourses of this kind, the term is now restricted from its former extensive signification to a more confined sense.[4] This species of composition also occurs very frequently in the prophetic poetry, and particularly in that of Ezekiel.

II. The use of parables is of very great antiquity. In the early ages of the world, when the art of reasoning was little known, and the minds of men were not accustomed to nice and curious speculations, we find that the most ancient mode of instruction was by parable and fable: its advantages, indeed, are many and obvious. It has been remarked by an acute observer of men and morals, that "little reaches the understanding of the mass but through the medium of the senses. Their minds are not fitted for the reception of abstract truth. Dry argumentative instruction, therefore, is not proportioned to their capacity: the faculty, by which a right conclusion is drawn, is in them the most defective: they rather feel strongly than judge accurately; and their feelings are awakened by the impression made on their senses."[5] Hence, instruction by way of parable is naturally adapted to engage attention: it is easily comprehended, and suited to the meanest capacity; and, while it opens

[1] In this and the other references to the Old Testament in the above paragraph, the original is מָשָׁל, a parable.

[2] Glassius, Phil. Sacr. lib. ii. pp. 1304—1306., edit. Dathii; Parkhurst and Schleusner in voce παραβολή.

[3] Storr, Opusc. Acad. vol. i. pp. 89., &c.

[4] [Trench, Notes on the Parables of our Lord (2nd edit.), chap. i. p. 10., well distinguishes between the parable and kindred modes of speaking: "The parable differs from the fable, while it moves in a spiritual world, and never transgresses the actual order of things natural—from the mythus, while in that there is an unconscious blending of the deeper meaning with the outward symbol, the two being separate and separable in the parable—from the proverb, while it is longer carried out, and, not merely accidentally and occasionally, but necessarily, figurative from the allegory, while it compares one thing with another, but does not transfer the properties and qualities of one to the other."]

[5] Mrs. More, Christian Morals, vol. i. p. 106.

the doctrine which it professes to conceal, it gives no alarm to our prejudices and passions, it communicates unwelcome truths in the least disagreeable manner, points out mistakes, and insinuates reproof with less offence and with greater efficacy than undisguised contradiction and open rebuke. Of this description, we may remark, are the parables related by Nathan to David (2 Sam. xii. 1—4.), and by the woman of Tekoah to the same monarch (2 Sam. xiv. 4—11.). The New Testament abounds with similar examples. "By laying hold on the imagination, parable insinuates itself into the affections; and, by the intercommunication of the faculties, the understanding is made to apprehend the truth which was proposed to the fancy."[1] In a word, this kind of instruction seizes us by surprise, and carries with it a force and conviction which are almost irresistible. It is no wonder, therefore, that parables were made the vehicle of national instruction in the most early times; that the prophets, especially Ezekiel, availed themselves of the same impressive mode of conveying instruction or reproof; and that our Lord also adopted it.

III. Although a parable has some things in common with an allegory, so that the same rules which apply to the latter are in some degree applicable to the former, yet, from its peculiar nature, it becomes necessary to consider the parable by itself, in order that we may understand and interpret it aright.

1. *The first excellence of a parable is that it turns upon an image well known and applicable to the subject, the meaning of which is clear and definite; for this circumstance will give it that perspicuity which is essential to every species of allegory.*

How clearly this rule applies to the parables of our Lord is obvious to every reader of the New Testament. It may suffice to mention his parable of the *ten virgins* (Matt. xxv. 1—13.), which is a plain allusion to those things which were common at the Jewish marriages in those days: the whole parable, indeed, is made up of the rites used by the orientials, as well as by the Roman people, at their nuptials; and all the particulars related in it were such as were commonly known to the Jews, because they were every day practised by some of them. In like manner, the parables of the *lamp* (Luke viii. 16.), of the *sower* and the seed, of the *tares*, of the *mustard-seed*, of the *leaven*, of the *net cast into the sea*, all of which are related in Matt. xiii., as well as of the *householder* that planted a vineyard and let it out to husbandmen (Matt. xxi. 33—41.), are all representations of usual and common occurrences, and such as the generality of our Saviour's hearers were daily conversant with, and they were, therefore, selected by him as being the most interesting and affecting.

The parables of the prophets will appear in general founded upon such imagery as is frequently used, and similarly applied by way of metaphor and comparison in Hebrew poetry. Examples of this kind occur in the deceitful vineyard (Isai. v. 1—7.), and in the useless vine which is given to the fire (Ezek. xv., and xix. 10—14.); for under this imagery the ungrateful people of God are more than once described. Similar instances of apposite comparison present themselves in the parable of the lion's whelps falling into the pit (Ezek. xix. 1—9.), in which is displayed the captivity of the Jewish princes; and also in that of the fair, lofty, and flourishing cedar of Lebanon (Ezek. xxxi. 3—18.), which once raised its head to the clouds, at length cut down and neglected; thus exhibiting, for a warning to Pharaoh, the prosperity and the fall of the king of Assyria. To these may be added one more example, namely, that in which the love of God towards his people, and their piety and fidelity to him, are expressed by an allusion to the solemn covenant of marriage. Ezekiel has pursued this image with uncommon freedom in two parables (Ezek. xvi. and xxiii.); and it has been alluded to by almost all the sacred poets.

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[1] Mrs. More, Christian Morals, vol. i. p. 107.

2. ***The image, however, not only must be apt and familiar, but must also be elegant and beautiful in itself, and all its parts must be perspicuous and pertinent; since it is the purpose of a parable, and especially of a poetic parable, not only to explain more perfectly some proposition, but frequently to give it animation and splendour. It must also be consistent throughout; the literal not being confounded with the figurative sense.***

Of all these excellences there cannot be more perfect examples than the parables which have just been specified: to which we may add the well-known parables of Jotham (Judg. ix. 8—15.), of Nathan (2 Sam. xii. 1—4.), and of the woman of Tekoah (2 Sam. xiv. 4—11.). The admirably devised parable of Nathan is perhaps one of the finest specimens of the genuine pathetic style that can be found in the Old Testament; and David's eager condemnation of the unsuspected offender at the same time displays a striking instance of the delusion of sin and the blindness of self-love.

3. Every parable is composed of three parts: 1. The ***sensible similitude***, which has variously been termed the ***bark*** and the ***protasis***, and consists in its literal sense; 2. The ***explanation*** or ***mystical sense***, also termed the ***apodosis*** and the ***sap*** or fruit, or the thing signified by the similitude proposed. This is frequently not expressed; for, though our Saviour sometimes condescended to unveil the hidden sense, by disclosing the moral meaning of his parables (as in Matt. xiii. 3—8, 18—23., compared with Luke viii. 4—15., and Matt. xiii. 24—30, 36—43.), yet he usually left the application to those whom he designed to instruct by his doctrine. Of this description are the parables of the grain of mustard-seed, of leaven, of the hidden treasure, and the pearl of great price (Matt. xiii. 31—33, 44—46.), between which and the kingdom of heaven a comparison is instituted, the mystical sense of which is to be sought in the similitudes themselves. 3. The third constituent part of a parable is the ***root*** or ***scope*** to which it tends.[1]

4. ***For the right explanation and application of parables, their general SCOPE and design must be ascertained.***

Where our Saviour has not himself interpreted a parable, its immediate scope and design are to be sought with great attention: this, indeed, will generally appear from the context, being either expressed at its commencement or at its conclusion; or it is sufficiently evident from the occasion on which it was delivered. More particularly the scope of a parable may be ascertained,

(1) *From the clear declaration* prefixed *to it;*

As in the parable of the rich glutton (Luke xii. 16—20.), which is prefaced by the following caution in verse 15., *Take heed and beware of covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.* Thus in Luke xviii. 2—8. the parable of the unjust judge is preceded by this declaration, which plainly points out one of its senses, *He spake a parable unto them, that men ought always to pray and not to faint.* And again, in verse 9., *He spake this parable* (of the Pharisee and publican, verses 10—14.) *unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others.*

(2.) *From the declaration* subjoined *to a parable;*

Thus our Saviour concludes the parable of the unmerciful creditor, who would not forgive his debtor the minutest portion of his debt, though much had been forgiven him (Matt. xviii. 23—35.), by the following explanation, *So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.* Similar declarations are annexed to the parables of the wedding feast (Matt. xxv. 13.; Luke xiv. 11.), of the rich

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[1] In parabolis, si integre accipiantur, tria sunt; *radix*, *cortex*, et *medulla* sive *fructus*. *Radix* est scopus, in quem tendit parabola. *Cortex* est similitudo sensibilis, quæ adhibetur, et *suo sensu literali* constat. *Medulla* seu fructus est *sensus parabolæ mysticus*, seu ipsa res ad quam parabolæ fit accommodatio, seu quæ per similitudinem propositam significatur. Glassius, Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. pars i. tr. 2. sect. 5. canon. 3. col. 488. (Lipsiæ, 1725.) It is not a little remarkable that the nine very useful canons for the interpretation of parables, by Glassius, should be altogether omitted in Professor Dathe's valuable edition of his work. [Davidson describes the three parts of a parable, as "(1.), the thing to be illustrated; (2.) the example illustrating; (3.) the *tertium comparationis*, or the similitude existing between them." Sacr. Herm. chap. ix. p 311.]

glutton (Luke xii. 21.), and of the unjust steward (Luke xvi. 9.). The prophetic writings will furnish similar instances: thus Isaiah (v. 1—7.), having delivered the parable of a vineyard, planted with the choicest vines, and cultivated with the utmost care, yet which produced only wild fruit, announces at its close, that by the vineyard were intended the Jews, and by the wild fruit their enormous wickedness, for which they deserved the severest judgments. Nathan, also, in the beautiful parable already cited, subjoined a declaration of its scope. In the short parable, or apologue, communicated from Jehoash king of Israel to Amaziah king of Judah (2 Kings xiv. 9, 10.), the application of it to the latter is explicitly stated at its conclusion.

(3.) *Where no declaration is prefixed or subjoined to a parable, its scope must be collected from a consideration of the subject-matter, context, or the occasion on account of which the parable was delivered.*

Thus, in the parable of the barren fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6—9.), Jesus Christ has indicated nothing concerning its scope. But, from the consideration of the context of his discourse, and of the occasion of the parable, we learn that it was to teach the Jews that, unless they repented within the space allotted to them by Infinite Mercy, severe punishments would await them, and their civil and religious polity be destroyed. The immediate occasion of the parable was, his disciples telling him of certain Galileans, who had come up to the temple at Jerusalem, to worship, and whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. On hearing this circumstance, Christ said, *Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such things? I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish.* Having repeated the last sentence a second time, he delivered the parable of the barren fig-tree.

In like manner, to the parable of the prodigal son nothing is prefixed or subjoined; but the relation occurs immediately after two others, in which it was declared that the return of penitent sinners affords joy in heaven. This, however, is an important topic, and will require to be more particularly considered. From the observations already made on the general nature of parables, it will be perceived that the objects of our Lord's parables were various; such as the conveying of either instruction or reproof, the correcting or preventing of errors, the instructing of men in the knowledge of some truths which could be viewed with advantage only at a distance, or of others, which would have startled them when plainly proposed. Further, there were truths which were necessary to be conveyed, respecting the establishment of his religion, and the conduct of his disciples on *occasion* of that event. These subjects required to be touched with a delicate hand; and a few instances will show that each of them was conducted with the highest grace and propriety.

Thus, the *worldly spirit* of the Pharisees is delicately yet strikingly reproved in the parables of the rich man whose grounds brought forth plentifully (Luke xii. 15—21.); which was spoken to show the folly of covetousness, of the unjust steward (Luke xvi. 1—8.), to show the proper use of wealth, and of the rich man and the beggar (Luke xvi. 19—31.), to show the danger of abusing it. The *selfishness* and *bigotry* of the same sect, which characteristic in some degree applied to the whole Jewish nation, who "trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others," are convicted in the parables of the Pharisee and the publican praying in the temple, of the two sons commanded to work in the vineyard, of the guest who chose the highest seat at the table, of the lost sheep and money, of the prodigal son, and of the good Samaritan. In several of these parables the comparative merit of the Jew and Gentile world is justly though faintly stated, on purpose to abase the pride of the one and to exalt the humble hopes of the other.

Another class of parables is designed to deliver some general lessons of wisdom and piety: such are the parables of the ten virgins and the talents. The parables of the sower and of the tares, and many of the lesser parables, are designed to show the nature and progress of the gospel dispensation, together with the opposition which would be made to it from the malice of Satan, and the folly and perverseness of mankind. With these are closely connected such parables as have for their object the rejection of the Jews, and the calling of the gentiles: under this head are comprised the parables of the murmuring labourers, of the cruel and unjust husbandmen, the barren fig-tree, and the marriage-feast. By considering the occasions upon which these and other parables were delivered by the Redeemer of the world, we shall be enabled, not only to ascertain their scope and design, but also to perceive their wisdom, beauty, and propriety.

5. *Wherever the words of Jesus seem to be capable of different senses, we may with certainty conclude that to be the true one which lies most level to the apprehension of his auditors.*

Allowing for those figurative expressions which were so very frequent and familiar with them, and which, therefore, are no exceptions to this general rule, this necessary canon of interpretation, of all others, demands the most attention.

6. ***As every parable has two senses, the* LITERAL *or external, and the* MYSTICAL *or internal sense, the literal sense must be first explained, in order that the correspondence between it and the mystical sense may be the more readily perceived.***

For instance, "the parable of the unforgiving servant represents, *literally*, that his lord forgave him a debt of ten thousand talents; *mystically*, or spiritually, that God remits to the penitent the punishment of innumerable offences. *Literally*, it states that this servant, on his refusal to exercise forbearance towards his fellow-servant, was delivered over to the tormentors; *mystically*, that God will inflict the severest judgments on all who do not forgive others their trespasses. The unity of sense in both interpretations is easily perceptible[1];" whence it follows that every parable must be consistent throughout, and that the literal sense must not be confounded with the mystical sense. Hence also it follows that, since the scope and application of parables are the chief points to be regarded,

7. ***It is not necessary, in the interpretation of parables, that we should anxiously insist upon every single word; nor ought we to expect too curious an adaptation or accommodation of it in every part to the spiritual meaning inculcated by it; for many circumstances are introduced into parables which are merely ornamental, and designed to make the similitude more pleasing and interesting.***

Inattention to this obvious rule has led many expositors into the most fanciful explanations: resemblances have been accumulated, which are for the most part futile, or at best of little use, and manifestly not included in the scope of the parable. Where, indeed, circumstantial resemblances (though merely ornamental) will admit of an easy and natural application, they are by no means to be overlooked; and it is worthy of remark that, in those parables which our Lord himself explained to his disciples, there are few of the circumstantial points left unapplied; but here great judgment is necessary neither to do too little, nor to attempt too much.[2] In the application, then, of this rule, there are two points to be considered:—

(1.) *Persons are not to be compared with persons, but things with things; part is not to be compared with part, but the whole of the parable with itself.*

Thus, we read in Matt. xiii. 24., *The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field;* and in verse 45., *The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a merchantman seeking goodly pearls* The similitude here is not with the men, but with the *seed* and the *pearl;* and the construction is to be the same as in verses 31. and 33., where the progress of the gospel is compared to the grain of mustard-seed, and to leaven. [Care, however, must be taken not to press this rule too far. Comp. v. 38.]

(2.) *In parables it is not necessary that all the actions of men, mentioned in them, should be just actions, that is to say, morally just and honest.*

For instance, the unjust steward (Luke xvi. 1—8.) is not proposed either to justify his dishonesty, or as an example to us in cheating his lord, but as a pattern of care and prudence, in providing for the future. From the conduct of this man, our Lord took occasion to point out the management of worldly men, as an example of attention to his followers in their spiritual affairs; and at the same time added an impressive exhortation to make the things of this life subservient to their everlasting happiness; assuring them that, if they did not use temporal blessings as they ought, they could never be qualified to receive spiritual blessings. So again, in Luke xii. 39. and Rev. iii. 3., the coming of Christ is compared to the coming of a thief, not in respect of theft, but of the sudden surprise. "It is not necessary," says a great master of eloquence, "that there should be a

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[1] Bishop Vanmildert, Bampton Lectures, 1815, p. 234.

[2] Ibid. p. 236. [See some valuable observations on this point by Dr. Trench, Notes on the Parables of our Lord (2nd edit.), chap. iii. pp. 29—36. Tholuck's rule, which he cites from *Auslegung der Berypredigt*, p. 201., is perhaps as good as any that can be given: "It must be allowed that a similitude is perfect in proportion as it is on all sides rich in applications; and hence, in treating the parables of Christ, the expositor must proceed on the presumption that there is import in every single point, and desist from seeking it only when it does not result without forcing, or when we can clearly show that this or that circumstance was added merely for the sake of giving intuitiveness to the narrative. We should not assume anything to be non-essential except when, by holding it fast as essential, the unity of the whole is marred and troubled."]

perfect resemblance of one thing in all respects to another; but it is necessary that a thing should bear a likeness to that with which it is compared."[1]

8. *Attention to* HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES, *as well as an acquaintance with the nature and properties of the things whence the similitudes are taken, though the interpretation may be otherwise clear, will contribute to the illustration of parables.*

(1.) Some of the parables related in the New Testament are supposed to be true histories: in the incidental circumstances of others, our Saviour evidently had a regard to historical propriety. Thus, the scene of the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke x. 30—37.) is very appositely placed in that dangerous road which lay between Jerusalem and Jericho; no way being more frequented than this, both on account of its leading to Peræa, and especially because the classes or stations of the priests and Levites were fixed at Jericho as well as at Jerusalem; and hence a priest and a Levite are mentioned as travelling this way.[2] At that very time too Judæa in general was overrun by robbers; and the road between Jericho and Jerusalem was particularly infested by banditti, whose depredations it favoured, as it lay through a dreary solitude. On account of these frequent robberies, we are informed by Jerome that it was called the *Bloody Way.*[3]

(2.) Again, in the parable of *a nobleman who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return* (Luke xix. 12.), our Lord alludes to a case, which, no long time before, had actually occurred in Judæa. Those who, by hereditary succession, or by interest, had pretensions to the Jewish throne, travelled to Rome, in order to have it confirmed to them. Herod the Great first went that long journey to obtain the kingdom of Judæa from Antony, in which he succeeded; and, having *received the kingdom*[4], he afterwards travelled from Judæa to Rhodes, in order to obtain a confirmation of it from Cæsar, in which he was equally successful.[5] Archelaus, the son and successor of Herod, did the same; and to him our Lord most probably alluded. Every historical circumstance is beautifully interwoven by our Saviour in this instructive parable.

(3.) Of the further benefit to be derived from history in the illustration of parables, the similes in Matt. xiii. 31—33. will afford a striking example: in these parables the progress of the gospel is compared to a grain of mustard-seed, and to leaven. And ecclesiastical history informs us that, from small beginnings, the church of Christ has grown into a vast congregation, that is, spread over the whole world. In order, however, that we may enter fully into the meaning of this parable of our Lord, it may be not irrelevant to observe that in eastern countries the mustard-plant (or, at least, a species of the σίναπι, which the orientals comprehended under that name) attains a greater size than with us. It appears that the orientals were accustomed to give the denomination of *trees* to plants growing to the height of ten or twelve feet, and having branches in proportion.[6] To such a height the mustard-plant grows in Judæa; and its branches are so strong and well covered with leaves, as to afford shelter to the feathered tribe. [The plant intended seems to be the *Khardal Roomee* or *Salvadora Persica.* See Prof. Royle on the Mustard-tree of Scripture, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Nov. 1844.] Such is the image by which Jesus Christ represents the progress of his gospel. *The kingdom of heaven,* said he, *is like to a grain of mustard-seed*—small in its beginning; *which is indeed the least of all seeds,* that is, of all those seeds with which the Jews were then acquainted (for our Lord's words are to be interpreted by popular use; and we learn from Matt. xvii. 20. that *like a grain of mustard-seed* was a proverbial expression to denote a small quantity); *but, when it is grown, it becometh a tree; so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.* Under this simple and beautiful figure does Jesus Christ describe the admirable development of his gospel from its origin to its final consummation.

(4.) We have said that parables are illustrated by an *acquaintance with the properties of the things whence the similitudes are derived.* Besides the diffusive effects of *leaven* already adverted to, which sufficiently indicate the certain spread of the gospel, we may adduce an example from the prophet Jeremiah; who, parabolically describing a furious invader (xlix. 19.), says, *He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan against the habitation of the strong.* The propriety of this will appear, when it is known that in ancient times

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[1] Non enim res tota toti rei necesse est similis sit; sed ad ipsum, ad quod conferetur, similitudinem habeat, oportet. Cicero ad Herennium, lib. iv. c. 48. tom. i. p. 122. edit. Bipont.

[2] Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. in loc.

[3] Jerome, cited by Calmet, in loc. [Et locum *Adomim* quod interpretatur *sanguinum,* quia multus in eo sanguis crebris latronum fundebatur incursibus. Epist. ad Eustoch lxxxvi. (al. cviii.) 12.]

[4] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. cap. xiv. §§ 4, 5. [5] Ibid. lib. xv. cap. vi. §§ 6, 7.

[6] See Lightfoot and Schoettgenius, Horæ Hebr. et Talmud. in Matt. xiii. 31, 32.

the river Jordan was particularly infested with lions, which concealed themselves among the thick reeds upon its banks.[1] Let us then imagine one of these monarchs of the desert asleep among the thickets upon the banks of that river: let us further suppose him to be suddenly awakened by the roaring, or dislodged by the overflowing, of the rapid tumultuous torrent, and in his fury rushing into the upland country; and we shall perceive the admirable propriety and force of the prophet's allusion.

9. ***Lastly, although in many of his parables Jesus Christ has delineated the future state of the church, yet he intended that they should convey some important moral precepts, of which we should never lose sight in interpreting parables.***

Thus, the parable of the sower (Matt. xiii. 3—23.; Mark iv. 3—20.; and Luke viii. 4—15.) has a moral doctrine; for our Lord himself soon after subjoins the following important caution, *Take heed how ye hear.* Again, the parable of the tares (Matt. xiii. 24. &c.) refers to the mixture of the wicked with the good in this world: when, therefore, our Lord intimated (in verses 27—29.) that it is not our province to judge those whom he has reserved for his own tribunal, and in the 30th verse added, *let both grow together*, he evidently implied that, since God tolerates incorrigible sinners, it is the duty of men to bear with them: the propagation of false doctrines is an offence against God, who alone is the judge and punisher of them; man has no right to punish his brethren for their sentiments.[2] The parables which are delivered in the same chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and also in Luke xiii. 19, 21., delineate the excellence of the religion of Jesus, and are admirably adapted to inspire us with love and admiration for its Divine Author. Further, the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt. xx. 1—16.), besides predicting the future reception of the gospel, teaches us that no one should despair of the divine mercy so long as he lives, and that God will bestow upon the faithful a larger measure of blessedness than they can venture to expect, and also that we should not be moved with envy, if others enjoy a greater portion of gifts or talents than are bestowed upon ourselves. In fact, as an able expositor has remarked, since our Saviour's parables frequently have a double view, this parable seems to illustrate not only the case of the Jews and Gentiles, but also the case of all individuals of every nation, whom God accepts according to their improvement of the opportunities they have enjoyed.[3] In like manner, the parable of the royal nuptials, related in Matt. xxii. verses 1—14., was designed chiefly to show the Jews, that the offers of grace which they rejected would be made to the Gentiles. But the latter part of it also seems intended to check the presumption of such as pretend to the divine favour without complying with the conditions on which it is promised. It was customary for the bridegroom to prepare vestments for his guests; and the man mentioned in verses 11—13. is said to have intruded without the requisite garment.[4]

IV. From the preceding remarks it will have been seen that parables are of more frequent occurrence in the New than in the Old

[1] "After having descended," says Maundrell, "the outermost bank of Jordan, you go about a furlong upon a level strand, before you come to the immediate bank of the river. This second bank is so beset with bushes and trees, such as tamarisks, willows, oleanders, &c., that you can see no water till you have made your way through them. In this thicket anciently, and the same is reported of it at this day, several sorts of wild beasts were wont to harbour themselves; whose being washed out of the covert by the overflowings of the river gave occasion to that allusion, *He shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan,*" &c. Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 110. (London, 1810). Agreeably to this account, Ammianus Marcellinus states, that "innumerable lions wander about among the reeds and copses on the borders of the rivers in Mesopotamia." lib. xviii. cap. 7. tom. i. p. 177. (edit. Bipont.).

[2] It is with pleasure the author transcribes the following explicit declaration of the learned Romanist, Viser. Having cited the passages above adduced, he says, *Facile apparet eos huic precepto nequaquam satisfacere, qui* VI, METU, AC MINIS, HOMINES STUDENT A SUA RELIGIONE ABDUCERE. Hermeneutica Sacra Nov. Test. pars iii. p. 131.

[3] Gilpin, Exposition of the New Test. vol. i. p. 78., note †.

[4] The authorities consulted for this section, independently of those already cited incidentally, are Ernesti, Instit. Interp. Nov. Test. p. 112.; Morus. Acroas. in Ernesti, tom. i. pars i. sect. ii. cap. iv. pp. 314—320.; Bauer, Herm. Sac. pp. 226—229.; Glassius, Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. pars i. tract. 2. sect. 5. canons 3—9. coll. 473—492.; Turretin, de Interpret. Script. pars ii. cap. ii. 17. Op. tom. ii. pp. 87—89.; Pfeiffer, Herm. Sacr. cap. iii. § 13. Op. tom. ii. pp. 635, 636.; Chladenius, Inst. Exeget. pp. 190, 191.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. cap. xiii. pp. 753—773.; Alber, Hermeneut. Sacr. Nov. Test. vol. i. pp 50—56.; Brouwer, de Parabolis Christi (Lugd. Bat. 1825); Scholten, Diatribe de Para-

Testament[1]; and, although a few hints have been already offered[2], to account for the adoption of this mode of instruction, yet as some have taken occasion, from the prophecy of Isaiah (vi. 9, 10.), as cited by Matthew (xiii. 13—15.), to insinuate that our Lord spake in parables in order that the perverse Jews might *not* understand, it may not be irrelevant to conclude the present strictures on parabolic instruction, with remarks on the reasons why it was adopted by Christ.

1. The practice was familiar to the Jews in common with the other inhabitants of the East, as already stated; and some of our Lord's parables were probably suggested by Jewish customs; as the royal nuptials (Matt. xxii. 1—14.), the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19—31.), and the wise and foolish virgins (Matt. xxv. 1—13.).[3] This method of teaching, therefore, was intelligible to an attentive auditory. See Matt. xv. 10. and Mark iv. 13.

2. It was customary for the disciples of the Jewish doctors, when they did not understand the meaning of their parables, to request an explanation; in like manner, Christ's hearers might have applied to him, if they had not been *indisposed* to receive the doctrines he taught, and had they not preferred to be held in error by the Scribes and Pharisees.

3. Parabolic instruction was peculiarly well calculated to veil offensive truths or *hard sayings*, until, in due season, they should be disclosed with greater evidence and lustre, when they were able to bear them, lest they should revolt at the premature disclosure of the mystery. Compare Mark iv. 33. with John xvi. 12, 25.

4. It was a necessary screen from the malice of the chief priests, Scribes, and Pharisees; who would not have failed to take advantage of any *express* declaration which they might turn to his destruction (John x. 24.); but yet they could not lay hold of the most pointed parables, which, they were clear-sighted enough to perceive, were levelled against themselves. See Matt. xxi. 45.; Mark xii. 12.; and Luke xx. 19.[4]

5. The parables did not contain the fundamental precepts and doctrines of the gospel, which were delivered in the audience of the people with sufficient perspicuity in Matt. v.—vii. and elsewhere, but only the mysteries relative to its progress among both Jews and Gentiles.

6. Lastly, the Jews were addressed in parables, because, as their perverseness *indisposed* them to receive profit from his more plain discourses, Jesus Christ would not vouchsafe to them a clearer knowledge of these events. To "have ears and hear not" is a pro-

bolis Christi (Lugd. Bat. 1827); Schultze, De Parabolarum Jesu Christi Indole Poeticâ Commentatio (Gottingæ, 1827); and Unger, De Parabolarum Jesu Natura (Lipsiæ, 1828).

[1] [The parables of our Lord are found exclusively in the first three gospels. St. John narrates allegories, as of the good Shepherd, x. 11—16., and of the true vine, xv. 1—6., but no parables properly so called. It may also be observed that παραβολή never occurs in St. John, nor παροιμία in the other evangelists. The latter word is rendered "parable" in our authorized version, John x. 6. Comp. xvi. 25, 29.]

[2] See pp. 344, 345. *supra.*

[3] Sheringham, in Præf. ad Joma, Cod. Talm. cited by Whitby on Matt. xiii. 10.

[4] Dr. Hales, New Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 773., or vol. iii. p. 112. (edit. 1830).

verbial expression, to describe men who are so wicked, and slothful, that they either do not attend to, or *will not* follow, the clearest intimations and convictions of their duty. See instances of this expression in Jer. v. 21.; and Ezek. xii. 2.[1] To this remark we may add, with reference to the quotations from Isai. vi. 9, 10., that it is common for God to speak, by his prophets, of events that would happen, in a manner as if he had enjoined them.[2]

V. Whoever attentively considers the character of our Saviour, merely as a moral teacher and instructor of mankind, will clearly perceive his superiority to the most distinguished teachers of antiquity. Through the whole of his gospel, he discovers a thorough insight into human nature, and seems intimately acquainted with all the subtle malignities and latent corruptions of the human heart, as well as with all the illusions and refinements of self-idolatry, and the intricacies of self-deceit. How admirably the manner in which he conveyed his instructions was adapted to answer the end and design of them, we have already seen; we might, indeed, almost venture to appeal to his parables alone for the authenticity of our Lord's mission as a divine teacher: all of them are distinguished by a dignity of sentiment, and a simplicity of expression, perfectly becoming the purity and excellence of that religion which he came to establish. The whole system of heathen mythology was embellished by poetic fancy, a mere farrago of childish and romantic stories. As the far greater part of their fables and allegories are founded on this fictitious history of the gods, so they were plainly subservient to the support of that system of polytheism which the gospel was designed to overthrow. If any secret meaning was conveyed under these allegorical representations (which seems, however, to be very doubtful), it was too refined to be understood by the common people, whose religious knowledge and belief extended no farther than the literal sense of the words. The moral instruction, if any was intended, must be dug out of the rubbish of poetical images and superstitious conceits. And, as these were founded on a false system of the universe, and on unworthy sentiments of God and his moral government, they could never contribute to the religious improvement of mankind. Let any man of true taste and judgment compare the abstruse allegories of Plato, or the monstrous fables of the Jewish Talmuds, with the parables of our Saviour, and he will be at no loss which to prefer; while tired and disgusted with the one, he will be struck with admiration at the beauty, elegance, and propriety of the other.

Further, the parables of Jesus far excel the fables of antiquity in perspicuity, which made them remarkably fit for the instruction of the ignorant and prejudiced, for whom they were originally designed. Our Saviour's images and allusions are taken not only from nature, but especially from those objects and occurrences which are most familiar to our observation. It requires no laborious search to

[1] Grotius and Whitby on Matt. xiii. 10. Dr. Whitby has collected passages showing the proverbial use of *having ears and hearing not*, from Philo, Alleg. lib. ii. p. 72. D. and lib. iii. p. 850. E., and from Demosthenes, Orat. in Aristogeiton. 20.

[2] See Bishop Lowth's note on Isai. vi. 10. [See also Trench, Notes on the Parables of our Lord, 2nd edit. chap. ii. pp. 11—13.]

discover his meaning, in all cases where he intended instruction or reproof; as appears evident from the impressions immediately produced on the minds of his hearers, according to their different tempers. Such of his parables, indeed, as predicted the nature and progress of the gospel dispensation, and the opposition which it would meet from the malice of Satan and the folly of mankind [1], were purposely left to be explained by the events to which they refer, and with which they so exactly correspond, that their meaning soon became obvious to all. It is, moreover, particularly worthy of observation, that the moral instructions conveyed by the parables of the gospel are of the most important nature, and essential to our duty and best interests. They do not serve merely to amuse the imagination, but to enlighten the understanding, and to purify the heart. They aim at no less an object than the happiness of mankind in a future and eternal state. The doctrines of the soul's immortality and a future judgment are the ground-work of our Lord's parables; and to illustrate and confirm these fundamental principles is their leading design. They all terminate in this point, and describe the awful scenes of eternity, and the interesting consequences of that decisive trial, in language, though unadorned, yet amazingly impressive. But the fabulous representations of the heathen poets on this subject were more fitted to amuse than to instruct: they served rather to extinguish than revive the genuine sentiments of nature, and, consequently, to weaken the influence of this doctrine as a principle of virtuous conduct.

There is, also, a pleasing variety in the parables of Jesus. Some of them comprehend no dialogue, and scarcely any action, and are little more than a simple comparison between the subject to be investigated and something very well known. In others may be traced the outlines of a complete drama. The obscurity which may be thought to lie in some of them wholly arises from our not clearly understanding *his character*, or that of his audience, or the occasion on which he spoke; except where the subject itself rendered some obscurity unavoidable.

Conciseness is another excellence of the parables of Christ. Scarce a single circumstance or expression can be taken away from any of them, without injuring the whole. They also comprehend the most extensive and important meaning in the shortest compass of narration, and afford at the same time the largest scope to the judgment and reflection of the reader. An extraordinary candour and charity likewise pervade all the parables of Jesus. He gives the most favourable representations of things. In the parable of the lost sheep, he supposes but one of a hundred to go astray; yet the good shepherd leaves the rest, to go in quest of this. In the parable of the ten virgins, he supposes the number of the wise to be equal to that of the foolish. In that of the prodigal, for one son that takes a riotous course, there is another that continued in his duty. In that of the ten talents, two are supposed to improve what is committed to

[1] Of this description, for instance, are the parables of the sower, of the tares, and of the labourers in the vineyard.

them, for one that does not improve it. In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Abraham uses the term *son* to the former, though in the place of punishment; and he is represented as still retaining kind regards to his brethren. A name is delicately withheld from the character that is blamable; while one is given to the good.

An exact propriety is observed in all the parables of Christ; and every thing that is spoken is suited to the character of the person who speaks it. His parables surpass all others, in being so natural, that they have the air of truth rather than of fiction.[1] Generosity and decorum are so strongly manifested in the character of the compassionate Samaritan, that the Jewish lawyer, whose prejudices would be excited by the very name, could not withhold his approbation of it. There is also great candour and propriety in the selection and adjustment of the two characters. Had a Jew or a Samaritan been represented as assisting a fellow-countryman, or a Jew assisting a Samaritan, the story would have been less convincing.

Besides the regard paid by Jesus Christ to historical propriety in the incidental circumstances (which has been already noticed in p. 349), it is a peculiar excellence of the parables of Christ, that the *actors* in them are not the inferior creatures, but *men*. He leads us sometimes to draw instruction from the inferior animals, and the process of things in the vegetable world, as well as nature in general. But men are the more proper *actors* in a scene, and *speakers* in a dialogue, formed for the instruction of mankind. Men add to the significance without diminishing the ease and familiarity of the narration. In the fables of Æsop, and of the Hindoos [2], as well as of the Jewish prophets, inferior creatures, and even vegetables are introduced as actors.

Another distinguishing feature of our Lord's parables is the frequent introduction of *his own character* into them, as the principal figure, and in views so various, important, and significant; for instance, the sower; the vine-dresser; the proprietor of an estate; the careful shepherd; the just master; the kind father; the splendid bridegroom; the potent nobleman; the heir of a kingdom; and the king upon his throne of glory judging the whole world of mankind. A striking contrast hence arises between the simplicity of the descriptions and the dignity of the speaker.

A further material circumstance which characterizes these parables is that he spake them just as occasions were offered; in the ordinary course of his conversation and instruction; privately as well as publicly; to his own disciples, to the multitude, and to the Pharisees and chief rulers. An accidental question or unexpected event appears to have been the occasion of some of them. For instance, that of the good Samaritan, when he was asked, "Who is my neighbour?" that of the rich man whose ground brought forth plentifully, when he was desired to determine a suit concerning an estate; that of the barren fig-tree, when he was told of the

[1] Law, Life of Christ, p. 325. note.
[2] See Wilkins's, or Sir W Jones's, Translation of the Fables of Veshnoo-Sarma.

Galilæans whom Pilate had massacred; that of a certain man who made a great supper, when he was present at a splendid entertainment; and those of the careful shepherd, the prodigal son, the unjust steward, and the inhuman rich Jew, when a great number of publicans and sinners, and of Pharisees and Scribes, happened to be present, and the latter murmured against him, and insulted him.

Again, the parables of our Lord were admirably adapted to the time when, the place in which, and the persons to whom, they were delivered. These compositions were likewise all original. Dr. Lightfoot and others have shown that Jesus often borrowed proverbs and phrases from the Jews. But an inspired teacher would not surely propose *whole parables*, that were in common use, for his own. Nor does it appear that any body used the parables of Christ, before his time; for those which are alleged out of the Talmudical or other Jewish writers were all penned ages after his birth. For instance, the parable of the householder and the labourers[1], which is extant in the Jerusalem Gemara, was written an age and a half at least after the destruction of the temple. It is more probable, therefore, that it was written in imitation of Christ, than borrowed from any ancient tradition. The same may be said of many others; as of that from the book of Musar, which resembles Matt. xviii. 23—35.; and of another parable like that of the ten virgins[2] in Matt. xxv. 1—13.

If Jesus had borrowed whole parables, or discourses, it would scarcely have been remarked so often, that he spake as one who had authority, and not as the Scribes; nor would the extraordinary wisdom of his instructions have so much astonished his auditors. Further, the Scribes and Pharisees would have been glad to expose him.

To conclude, it is a singular excellency in the gospel parables, that, though they were for the most part occasional, and wisely adapted by our Saviour to the characters and circumstances of the persons to whom they were originally addressed, yet they contain most wholesome instructions and admonitions for all ages of the world, and for every future period of his church. They are at once excellently accommodated to the comprehensions of the vulgar, and capable of instructing and delighting the most learned and judicious. In short, *all* the parables of Christ "are beautiful, the truest delineation of human manners, embellished with all those graces which an unaffected lovely simplicity of diction is able to bestow, graces beyond the reach of the most elaborate artifice of composition. But two of the number shine among the rest with unrivalled splendour; and we may safely challenge the genius of antiquity to produce, from all his stores of elegance and beauty, such specimens of pathetic unlaboured description, as the parables of the prodigal son and the good Samaritan."[3]

[1] Similar to that in Matt. xx. 1—16. [2] Le Clerc on Matt. xx. 15.

[3] Dr. Gray, Delineation of the Parables, pp. 19, 21. (Edinburgh, 1814, 8vo.); Monthly Review, O. S. vol. lvii. p. 196.; Wakefield, Internal Evidences of Christianity, p. 36.; Simpson, Internal and Presumptive Evidences of Christianity, pp. 403—422. See also Fairbairn, Herm. Man. part i. sect. ix. pp. 151—166.

SECTION VI.

ON SCRIPTURE PROVERBS.

I. *Nature of proverbs.—Prevalence of this mode of instruction.*—II. *Different kinds of proverbs.*—III. *The proverbs occurring in the New Testament, how to be interpreted.*

I. The inhabitants of Palestine, in common with other oriental nations, were much in the use of Proverbs, or detached aphorisms; that is, concise and sententious common sayings, founded on a close observance of men and manners

This method of instruction is of very remote antiquity, and was adopted by those who, by genius and reflection, exercised in the school of experience, had accumulated a stock of knowledge which they were desirous of reducing into the most compendious form, and comprising, in a few maxims, such observations as they apprehended to be most essential to human happiness. Proverbial expressions were peculiarly adapted to a rude state of society, and more likely to produce effect than any other; for they professed not to dispute, but to command, not to persuade, but to compel; they did not conduct men by circuitous argument, but led them immediately to the approbation and practice of integrity and virtue. That this kind of instruction, however, might not be altogether destitute of attraction, the teachers of mankind decorated them with metaphors, comparisons, allusions, and other embellishments of style.

Proverbial instruction was a favourite style of composition among the Jews, which continued to the latest ages of their literature; and obtained among them the appellation of *Mashalim*, a word applied equally to parables and proverbs, the idea of *comparison* or *resemblance* lying at the basis of each. A proverb usually exhibits a parallelism, similar or antithetic, of its clauses or members. The proverbs of the Old Testament are classed by Bishop Lowth among the didactic poetry of the Hebrews, of which many specimens are extant, particularly the book of Proverbs, composed by Solomon. The royal sage has, in one of his proverbs, himself explained the principal excellences of this form of composition; exhibiting at once a complete definition of a proverb, and a very happy specimen of what he describes:

> Apples of gold in a net-work of silver
> Is a word seasonably spoken. Prov. xxv. 11.

Thus intimating that grave and profound sentiments should be set off by a smooth and well-turned phraseology; as the appearance of the most beautiful and exquisitely-coloured fruit, or the imitation of it, perhaps in the most precious materials, is improved by the circumstance of its shining (as through a veil) through the reticulations of a silver vessel exquisitely carved. In the above-cited passage he further insinuates that it is not merely a neat turn and polished diction by which proverbs must be recommended; but that truth itself acquires additional beauty when partially discovered through the veil of elegant fiction and imagery.

1. The first excellence of a proverb is *brevity*, without which it can retain neither its name nor its nature. The discriminating sentiment should be expressed in few words; otherwise it is no longer a proverb. Accordingly, the language must be strong and condensed, rather omitting some circumstances which may appear necessary, than admitting anything superfluous. Solomon expresses this sentiment in his own parabolic manner:

> The words of the wise are like goads,
> And like nails that are firmly fixed. Eccles. xii. 11.

That is, they penetrate deeply and are firmly retained. Even the obscurity, which is generally attendant on excessive brevity, has its use; as it sharpens the understanding, keeps alive the attention, and exercises the genius by the labour of investigation, while no small gratification results from the acquisition of knowledge by our own efforts.

2. Another excellence, essential to a proverb, is *elegance;* which is inconsistent neither with brevity, nor with some degree of obscurity. Elegance in this connection respects the sentiment, the imagery, and the diction; and those proverbs which are the plainest, most obvious, and simple, or which contain nothing remarkable either in sentiment or style, are not to be considered as destitute of their peculiar elegance, if they possess only brevity, and that neat compact form, and roundness of period, which alone are sufficient to constitute a proverb. Examples of this kind occur in the maxim of David, recorded in 1 Sam. xxiv. 13., and in that of Solomon, Prov. x. 12.[1]

II. Proverbs are divided into two classes, viz. 1. Entire SENTENCES; and, 2. Proverbial PHRASES, which by common usage are admitted into a sentence.

1. Examples of entire proverbial sentences occur in Gen. x. 9., and xxii. 14.; 1 Sam. x. 12., and xxiv. 13.; 2 Sam. v. 8., and xx. 18.; Ezek. xvi. 44., and xviii. 2.; Luke iv. 23.; John iv. 37.; and 2 Peter ii. 22.; in which passages the inspired writers expressly state the sentences to have passed into proverbs.

2. Examples of proverbial phrases, which, indeed, cannot be correctly termed proverbs, but which have acquired their form and use, are to be found in Deut. xxv. 4.; 1 Kings xx. 11.; 2 Chron. xxv. 9.; Job vi. 5., xiv. 19., and xxviii. 18.; Psal. xlii. 7., and lxii. 9. Of this description also is that beautiful and memorable sentence, THE FEAR OF THE LORD IS THE BEGINNING OF WISDOM, Psal. cxi. 10., which is repeated in Prov. i. 7., ix. 10., and in Job xxviii. 28. The book of *Proverbs* likewise contains very many similar sentences; from among which it may suffice to refer to Prov. i. 17, 32., iii. 12., vi. 6, 27., x. 5, 13, 19, 25., xi. 15, 22, 27., xii. 11, 15., xv. 2, 33., xvii. 1, 10, 19, 28., xix. 2, 24., xx. 4, 11, 14, 21, 25., xxii. 6, 13., xxv. 11, 16, 27., xxvi. 4, 10, 11, 14, 17, 28., xxvii. 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 17, 22., xxviii. 21. So in the book of *Ecclesiastes*, i. 15, 18., iv. 5, 12., v. 2, 6, 8, 9, 10., vi. 9., vii. 17., ix. 4, 18., x. 1, 2, 8, 15, 19, 20., xi. 3, 4, 6, 7., xii. 12. And in the *Prophets*, Jer. xiii. 23., xxiii. 28.; Ezek. vii. 5.; Micah vii. 5, 6.; Habak. ii. 6.; Mal. ii. 10., &c. And likewise in the *New*

[1] Lowth, Prælect. xxiv. pp. 312—318. (edit. 1763), or vol. ii. pp. 162—173. of Dr. Gregory's translation.

Testament, as in Matt. v. 13—15., vi. 3, 21, 24, 34., vii. 2, 5, 16., ix. 12, 16., x. 10, 22, 24, 26., xii. 34., xiii. 12, 57., xv. 14., xxiii. 24., xxiv. 28.; Mark ix. 50.; Luke ix. 62., xii. 48., xxiii. 31.; Acts ix. 5., xx. 35.; 1 Cor. v. 6., x. 12., xv. 33.; 2 Cor. ix. 6, 7.; 2 Thess. iii. 10.; Tit. i. 15.[1]

III. The proverbs occurring in the New Testament are to be explained, partly by the aid of similar passages from the Old Testament, and partly from the ancient writings of the Jews, especially from the Talmud; whence it appears how much they were in use among that people, and that they were applied by Christ and his apostles, agreeably to common usage. The proverbs contained in the Old and New Testaments are collected and illustrated by Drusius and Andreas Schottus; whose works are comprised in the ninth volume of the Critici Sacri, and also by Joachim Zehner, who has elucidated them by parallel passages from the fathers as well as from the heathen writers, in a treatise published at Leipsic in 1601. The proverbs which are found in the New Testament have been illustrated by Vorstius[2] and Viser[3], as well as by Lightfoot and Schoettgenius in their *Horæ, Hebraicæ, et Talmudicæ*, and by Buxtorf in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum;* from which last-mentioned works Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, Dr. Whitby, Dr. A. Clarke, and other commentators, both British and foreign, have derived their illustrations of the Jewish parables and proverbs.

SECTION VII.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE OF SCRIPTURE.

I. *Synecdoche.*—II. *Irony.*—III. *Hyperbole.*—IV. *Paronomasia.*

Besides the figures already discussed, the right understanding of which is of the greatest importance for ascertaining the sense of Scripture, Glassius, and other writers, have enumerated a great variety of other figures which are to be found in the bible. Our attention, however, can be directed only to a few of those *principal figures* which have not been yet mentioned.

The most important of these are, 1. Synecdoche; 2. Irony; 3. the Hyperbole; and, 4. the Paronomasia.

I. *Synecdoche.*

Synecdoche is a trope in which, 1. The *whole* is put for a *part;* 2. A *part* is put for the *whole;* 3. A *certain* number for an *uncertain* one; 4. A *general* name for a *particular* one; and, 5. *Special* words for *general* ones. A very few examples will suffice to illustrate this figure.

[1] Glassius, Philol. Sacr. (edit. Dathii), p. 1313.
[2] Vorstius's Diatriba de Adagiis Novi Testamenti is printed in Crenius's Fasciculus Tertius Opusculorum quæ ad Historiam et Philologiam Sacram spectant. 18mo. Rotterdam, pp. 475—576.; and also in Fischer's second edition of Leusden, De Dialectis N.T. (8vo. Lipsiæ), pp. 168—252.
[3] Viser, Hermeneutica Sacra Novi Testamenti, part ii. sect. ix. cap. 2. pp. 132—150.

1. ***The whole is sometimes put for a part:***

As the *world* for the *Roman empire*, which was but a small though very remarkable part of the world, in Acts xxiv. 5., and Rev. iii. 10. The *world* for the *earth*, which is a part of it, 2 Pet. iii. 6.; Rom. i. 8.; 1 John v. 19. Thus, the whole person is put for a part, as *man* for the *soul*, Luke xvi. 23., where the rich man, Abraham, and Lazarus, are respectively put for their souls; *man* for the *body*, John xix. 42., xx. 2, 13., with Luke xxiv. 3.; in which passages Jesus is put for his dead body. *Time* for a *part* of time, as Dan. ii. 4., which simply means, we wish you a long life and reign. Gen. xvii. 19., where the words *everlasting covenant* denote while the Jewish polity subsists, that is, until Messiah come (Gen. xlix. 10.). See also Exod. xxi. 6., where the expression *for ever* would seem to mean till the year of jubilee.

To this class of synecdoche may be referred those instances, in which the *plural* number is sometimes put for the *singular*; as the mountains of Ararat (Gen. viii. 4.), which term might refer to the bi-topped form of that mountainous range; the cities where Lot dwelt, Gen. xix. 29.; the sides of the house, Amos vi. 10.; the sides of the ship, Jonah i. 5.; the ass and foal, on which Jesus Christ was set, Matt. xxi. 7., compared with Zech. ix. 9.; the prophets, John vi. 45.; in which places only one of those things or persons mentioned is to be understood. So, children is put for child, Gen. xxi. 7.; so daughters and sons' daughters, Gen. xlvi. 7., when Jacob had but one daughter (verse 15.), and one grand-daughter (verse 17.). So the sons of Dan (verse 23), when he had but one. So the cities of Gilead are mentioned in Judg. xii. 7.; whereas Jephthah was buried in one city in that region. In like manner, by the sons of Jehoiada is intended only Zechariah, 2 Chron. xxiv. 25. compared with verses 20. and 21.; and our Saviour speaks of himself in the plural number, John iii. 11.

2. *Sometimes the part for the whole.*

Thus in Gen. i. 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31., the *evening and morning*, being the principal parts of the day, are put for the entire day. So the *soul* comprehends the entire man, Acts xxvii. 37. See similar expressions in Gen. xii. 5., xvii. 14.; Exod. xii. 19.; Lev. iv. 2.; Psal. iii. 2., xi. 1., xxv. 13.; Isai. lviii. 5.; Ezek. xviii. 4.; Acts ii. 41, &c.

So, the *singular* number is sometimes put for the *plural.*

This chiefly takes place when the scriptures speak of the multitude collectively, or of an entire species. Thus, in Gen. iii. 8., *tree* in the Hebrew is put for *trees*. Exod. xiv. 17. (Heb.), *I will get me honour upon Pharaoh and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen*, that is the whole multitude of his chariots which are enumerated in verse 7. So, in Exod. xv. 1, 21., *the horse and his rider* are put collectively for the horses and horsemen who were in the Egyptian army. So the *Hivite*, *Canaanite* and *Hittite*, Exod. xxiii. 28; the *ox* and the *ass*, Isai. i. 3.; the *stork*, the *turtle*, the *crane*, the *swallow*, Jer. viii. 7.; the *palmer-worm*, Joel i. 4.; *street*, Rev. xxi. 21.; are respectively put for the Hivites, oxen, storks, &c. &c. It is proper to remark that in very many instances the learned and pious translators of our authorized version have justly rendered the singular words in the plural number where the sense evidently required it.

3. ***Very frequently a certain or definite number is put for an uncertain and indefinite number.***

Thus we find *double* for *much* or sufficient, in Isai. xl. 2., lxi. 7.; Jer. xvi. 18.; Zech. ix. 12.; Rev. xviii. 6. *Twice* for several times, in Psal. lxii. 11. *Five* for a few, 1 Cor. xiv. 19., in which verse *ten thousand* are put for many. *Ten* for many, Gen. xxxi. 7.; and 1 Sam. i. 8. But most frequently we have *seven* for an indefinite number. See Gen. iv. 15.; Lev. xxvi. 18, 21, 24, 28.; Ruth iv. 15.; 1 Sam. ii. 5.; Psal. cxix. 164.; Prov. xxiv. 16., xxvi. 25.; Isai. iv. 1.; Jer. xv. 9.; Ezek. xxxix. 9, 12.; Zech. iii. 9.; Matt. xii. 45. *One hundred* for many, indefinitely, in Eccl. vi. 3., viii. 12.; Prov. xvii. 10.; Matt. xix. 29.; Luke viii. 8. A *thousand* for a great many, Exod. xx. 6., xxxiv. 7.; Deut. i. 11.; 1 Sam. xviii. 7.; Psal. cxix. 72. *Ten thousand* for an immense number, 1 Sam. xviii. 7.; Psal. iii. 6.; and *ten thousand thousand* for a countless host, in Numb. x. 36. (Heb.); Dan. vii. 10.; Rev. v. 11. &c.

4. A *general name* is put for a *particular* one,

As in Mark xvi. 15., where *every creature* means *all mankind*; as *flesh* also does in Gen. vi. 12.; Psal. cxlv. 21.; Isai. xl. 5, 6., lxvi. 23.; Matt. xxiv. 22.; Luke iii. 6.; and Rom. iii. 20.

5. ***Sometimes special words or particular names are put for such as are general:***

Thus Jehovah is, in Psal. xlvi. 9., said to *break the bow, and cut the spear in sunder, and*

to burn the chariot in the fire: that is, God destroys all the weapons of war, and blesses the world with peace. Again, in Dan. xii. 2., we read, *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* Here *many* is put for *all.* So *man*, generally, is put for all mankind, both male and female, Psal. i. 1.; Mark xvi. 16. Numerous similar passages might be adduced. So, *father* is put for *any ancestor*, Psal. xxii. 4., xliv. 1., cvi. 6. *Father* for *grandfather*, 2 Sam. ix. 7.; Dan. v. 11. *Mother* for *grandmother*, 1 Kings xv. 10, 13., compared with verses 2, 8 *Brother* for *kinsman*, Gen. xiii. 8., and xiv. 14., with Gen. xii. 5.; Matt. xii. 46.; John vii. 3, 5. In the same manner, *son* is put for any of the posterity: thus Laban is said to be Nahor's son, in Gen. xxix. 5., when he was the son of Bethuel, and grandson or nephew of Nahor. Compare Gen. xxii. 20, 23., with xxiv. 29. So Rebekah is called Abraham's brother's daughter, Gen. xxiv. 48. *Father* and *mother* intend all superiors, Exod. xx. 12. In like manner the Greeks, who are the most eminent of the heathen nations, are put for the whole Gentile world, in Rom. i. 16.; Gal. iii. 28.; and Col. iii. 11. So *bread* denotes all the necessaries of life, in Matt. vi. 11. and numerous other places. The *fatherless* and *widows* are put for any who are in distress or affliction, Isai. i. 17, 23.; James i. 27. &c.

II. *Irony.*

Irony is a figure, in which we speak one thing and design another, in order to give the greater force to our meaning. Irony is distinguished from the real sentiments of the speaker or writer, by the accent, the air, the extravagance of the praise, the character of the person, or the nature of the discourse.

Very numerous instances of irony are to be found in the Scripture, which might be produced; but the following will suffice to show the nature of this figure.

Thus, the prophet Elijah speaks in irony to the priests of Baal, *Cry aloud; for he is a God: either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked* (1 Kings xviii. 27.). So the prophet Micaiah bids Ahab *go* to battle against Ramoth-Gilead *and prosper* (1 Kings xxii. 15.). We meet with irony in Job xii. 2., *No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you.* St. Paul also has a fine example of irony in 1 Cor. iv. 8 *Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us; and I would to God ye did reign, that we also might reign with you.*

[Gen. iii. 22.; Eccles. xi. 9., &c., are sometimes given, but erroneously, as examples of irony.

Under this figure we may include the Sarcasm, which may be defined to be irony in its superlative keenness and asperity. As an instance of this kind, we may consider the soldiers' speech to our Lord; when, after they had arrayed him in mock majesty, they bowed the knee before him, and said, *Hail, King of the Jews* (Matt. xxvii. 29.). So, again, while our Redeemer was suspended on the cross, there were some who thus derided him, *Let Christ, the King of Israel, descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe* (Mark xv. 32.).

III. *Hyperbole.*

This figure, in its representation of things or objects, either magnifies or diminishes them beyond or below their proper limits: it is of frequent occurrence in the Scripture.

Thus, things, which are very lofty, are said to reach up to heaven, Deut. i. 28., ix. 1.; Psal. cvii. 26. So, things which are beyond the reach or capacity of man are said to be in *heaven*, in the *deep*, or *beyond the sea*, Deut. xxx. 12.; Rom. x. 6, 7. So, a great quantity or number is commonly expressed by the *sand of the sea, the dust of the earth*, and *the stars of heaven*,

Gen. xiii. 16., xli. 49.; Judges vii. 12.; 1 Sam. xiii. 5.; 1 Kings iv. 29.; 2 Chron. i. 9.; Jer. xv. 8.; Heb. xi. 12. In like manner we meet, in Numb. xiii. 33., with *smaller than grasshoppers*, to denote extreme diminutiveness; 2 Sam. i. 23., *swifter than eagles*, to intimate extreme celerity; 1 Kings i. 40., the earth *rent;* Psal. vi. 6., *I make my bed to swim;* Psal. cxix. 136., *rivers* of tears run down mine eyes. So we read of *angels' food*, Psal. lxxviii. 25.; the *face of an angel*, in Acts vi. 15.; *the tongue of an angel*, in 1 Cor. xiii. 1. See also Gal. i. 8. and iv. 14. In Ezek. xxi. 6., we read, *Sigh with the breaking of thy loins*, that is, most deeply. So, in Luke xix. 40., we read that *the stones would cry out*, and, in verse 44., They shall not leave in thee *one stone upon another;* that is, there shall be a total desolation.[1]

IV. *Paronomasia.*

PARONOMASIA is the name given to an expression, which contains two words, that are purposely chosen, so that they may resemble each other in *sound*, while they may differ in sense. It is a very favourite figure of rhetoric among the Hebrews, and is common among the oriental languages in general. Paronomasia differs from our rhyme, inasmuch as the words which constitute it do not necessarily stand at the end of parallelisms or strophes, but may be placed together in any part of a sentence, and are found in prose as well as in poetry. [The following are examples: פַּחַד וָפַחַת וָפָח, Jer. xlviii. 43.; בְּגַת אַל־תַּגִּידוּ בָּכוֹ אַל־תִּבְכּוּ בְּבֵית לְעַפְרָה עָפָר הִתְפַּלָּשְׁתִּי, Micah i. 10. See also Gen. ix. 27.; Jer. vi. 1., xlviii. 2.] The paronomasia also occurs very frequently in the New Testament, especially in the writings of St. Paul, where it seems to be sometimes unpremeditated, and sometimes to be the result of design on the part of the writer. Professor Winer, to whom we are indebted for this paragraph, divides the paronomasia into two kinds, viz:—

1. *Where words of a like sound are employed in the same sentence, without regard to their sense.*

In Rom. i. 29., we have πορνείᾳ, πονηρίᾳ — φθόνου, φόνου: 31. ἀσυνέτους, ἀσυνθέτους: 1 Cor. ii. 13, ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες: Luke xxi. 11., καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ ἔσονται. These instances of paronomasia cannot be equivalently expressed in English.

In order to form a paronomasia of this kind, unusual words or forms of words are sometimes employed; as in Gal. vv. 7, 8., πείθεσθαι — ἡ πεισμονή.

2. *Where the words are not only the same in sound, but there is also a resemblance or antithesis in the sense.*

Thus, Gal. iv. 17., Ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς. . . . ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε, *They* ZEALOUSLY AFFECT *you* . . . . *that ye might* [ZEALOUSLY] *affect them;* that is, they earnestly desire to draw you over to their party, that you may be devoted to their interests.

Rom. v. 19., Ὥσπερ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἁμαρτωλοὶ κατεστάθησαν οἱ πολλοί, οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς, *As by one man's* DISOBEDIENCE *many* [or multitudes] *were made sinners, so by the* OBEDIENCE *of one shall many* [or multitudes] *be* made righteous.

Other instances of this kind of paronomasia occur in Phil. iii. 2, 3.; 2 Cor. iv. 8., v. 4.; 2 Thess. iii. 11.; Philem. 10, 11, 20.; Acts viii. 30.; 1 Cor. iii. 17., vi. 2., xi. 29, 31. (Gr.)

In this manner a paronomasia is sometimes formed by repeating the same word in a

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[1] Glassius, Phil. Sacr. pp. 55, 56, 897—916, 1243—1276, 1283—1294.; Turretin, De Interp. Sacr. Scrip. pars ii. cap. ii. 25. Op. tom. ii. pp. 94, 95.

different sense; as in Matt. viii. 22., *Let the* DEAD *bury* their dead. See the proper import of this passage explained in page 318. *supra.*

Similar instances of paronomasia occur in the Greek apocryphal writings of the Old Testament. Compare particularly Dan. xiii. (Hist. Sus.) 54, 55, 58, 59.[1]

CHAPTER II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE POETICAL PARTS OF SCRIPTURE.

I. *A large portion of the Old Testament proved to be poetical;—Cultivation of poetry by the Hebrews.*—II. *The sententious parallelism, the grand characteristic of Hebrew poetry.—Its origin and varieties.*—1. *Parallel lines gradational;*—2. *Parallel lines antithetic;*—3. *Parallel lines constructive;*—4. *Parallel lines introverted;*—III. *The poetical dialect not confined to the Old Testament.—Reasons for expecting to find it in the New Testament.—Existence of the poetical dialect there;—De Wette's system of rhythmical parallelism;—Cautions against the exaggerations of some writers.*—IV. *Different kinds of Hebrew poetry.*—1. *Prophetic poetry;*—2. *Elegiac poetry;*—3. *Didactic poetry;*—4. *Lyric poetry;*—5. *The idyl;*—6. *Dramatic poetry;*—7. *Acrostic or alphabetical poetry.*—V. *General observations for the better understanding of Hebrew poetry.*

I. It is obvious that among the books of the Old Testament there is such an apparent diversity in style, as sufficiently discovers which of them are to be considered as poetical, and which as prose compositions. While the historical books and legislative writings of Moses are evidently prosaic in their composition, the book of Job, the Psalms of David, the Song of Solomon, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, a great part of the prophetic writings, and several passages occasionally scattered through the historical books, bear the most plain and distinguishing marks of poetical writing.[2] We can have no reason to doubt that these were originally written in verse, or in some kind of measured numbers; though, as the ancient pronunciation of the Hebrew language is now lost, we can only very imperfectly ascertain the nature of the Hebrew verse.

From the manner, however, in which Josephus, Origen, and Jerome have spoken of the Hebrew poetry, it should seem that in their time its beauty and rules were well known. Josephus repeatedly affirms that the songs composed by Moses are in heroic verse, and that David composed several sorts of verses and songs, odes and hymns, in honour of God: some of which were in trimeters or verses of three metrical feet, and others in pentameters or verses of five metrical feet.[3] Origen and Eusebius[4] are said to have espoused the same notion; and Jerome, probably influenced by the

[1] Winer, Greek Grammar of the New Testament, pp. 161, 162. (Andover, 1825.)

[2] In illustration of this remark, we may mention the song of Moses at the Red Sea (Exod. xv.); the prophecies of Balaam (Numb. xxiii. xxiv.); the song of Deborah and Barak (Judg. v.). Nor is it improbable that the *Book of the Wars of the Lord* (Numb. xxi. 14.), and the *Book of Jasher* (Josh. x. 13.; 2 Sam. i. 18.), were written in poetic measures.

[3] Antiq. Jud. lib. ii. cap. xvi. § 4. lib. iv. cap. viii. § 44. and lib. vii. cap. xii. § 3.

[4] Euseb. Præp. Evang. Col. 1688. lib. xi. 5. pp. 513, 514.

manner in which he found the poetical parts of the Old Testament exhibited in the manuscripts of the Septuagint version, fancied that he perceived iambic, alcaic, and sapphic verses in the psalms, similar to those occurring in the works of Pindar and Horace; hexameters and pentameters in the songs of Deuteronomy and Isaiah, the book of Job, and those of Solomon; and sapphic verses in the Lamentations of Jeremiah.[1] Among modern writers, the nature and genius of Hebrew poetry have been warmly contested[2]; but by no one have these subjects been illustrated with more elegance and ability than by Bishop Lowth. In the third of his Lectures on Hebrew Poetry[3], he has collected much information respecting the nature of Hebrew metre; but many of his arguments are controverted by Bishop Jebb, in his Sacred Literature[4]; to which work, and to Bishop Lowth's Lectures, the reader is necessarily referred. The construction, characteristics, and different kinds of Hebrew poetry, including also the poetical style of the New Testament, are the subjects now to be considered; and our account of them is chiefly abridged from the Lectures of Bishop Lowth, and from his preliminary dissertation prefixed to his version of the prophet Isaiah, together with Bishop Jebb's volume above cited.

The peculiar excellence of the HEBREW POETRY will appear when we consider that its origin and earliest application have been clearly traced to the service of religion. To celebrate in hymns and songs the praises of Jehovah, to decorate the worship of the Most High with all the charms and graces of harmony, to give force and energy to the devout affections, was the sublime employment of

[1] Jerome, Præfat. in Chronic. Euseb.; Præfat. in Job.

[2] Carpzov, Introd. ad Libros Canonicos Vet. Test. pars ii. pp. 28, 29., has given a list of ancient and modern writers who have treated on Hebrew poetry; and in pp. 2—27. he has noticed the various discordant opinions on this topic. The hypothesis of Bishop Hare on Hebrew metre was refuted by Bishop Lowth at the end of his lectures, and also in his Larger Confutation, published in 1766, in 8vo. in answer to Dr. Edwards's Latin Letter in defence of Hare's system, published in the preceding year. The general opinion of the learned world has coincided with the arguments of Lowth.

[3] The first edition of these Lectures appeared in 1753, in 4to., under the title of De Sacra Poësi Hebræorum Prælectiones Academicæ: a second edition was printed by Bishop Lowth in 1763, in two volumes, octavo; the second volume consisting of additions made by Michaelis, who had reprinted the Prælectiones at Göttingen. Subsequent editions have issued from the Clarendon press; particularly that of 1821, including (besides the additions of Michaelis) the further observations of Rosenmüller (whose edition appeared at Leipsic in 1815), Richter, and Weiss. In 1787, Dr. George Gregory printed his excellent English translation of Bishop Lowth's Lectures, in two octavo volumes, with additional notes; reprinted in 1816. In 1787 Herder published at Leipsic two octavo volumes *On the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, from which a selection was translated and published in 1801, under the title of *Oriental Dialogues*. Both these publications are distinguished by that bold criticism, which for the last fifty or sixty years has characterized too many of those German divines, to whose researches in other respects biblical literature is so largely indebted. Sir William Jones has a few observations on Hebrew metres in his Poeseos Asiaticæ Comment. cap. ii. (Works, vol. vi. pp. 22—59.). See also An Essay on Hebrew Poetry, Ancient and Modern. By Philip Sarchi, LL.D. London, 1824; the latter portion of the volume, which treats on modern Hebrew poetry, is both curious and interesting. Pareau has also given an abstract of the most material observations on Hebrew poetry, in his Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti, pp. 426—457.

[4] Pp. 4—22. The title at length is, Sacred Literature: comprising a Review of the Principles of Composition, laid down by the late Robert Lowth, D.D., Lord Bishop of London, in his Prælections and Isaiah, and an Application of the Principles so reviewed to the Illustration of the New Testament. By John Jebb, A.M. (afterwards D.D. and Bishop of Limerick). London, 1820, 8vo.

the sacred muses; and it is more than probable that the very early use of sacred music in the public worship of the Hebrews contributed not a little to the peculiar character of their poetry, and might impart to it that appropriate form, which, though chiefly adapted to this particular purpose, it nevertheless preserves on every other occasion. In the Old Testament we have ample evidence that music and poetry were cultivated from the earliest ages among the Hebrews. In the days of the Judges, mention is made of the schools or colleges of the prophets; in which the candidates for the prophetic office, under the direction of some superior prophet, being altogether removed from intercouse with the world, devoted themselves entirely to the exercises and study of religion; and, though the sacred history affords us but little information concerning their institutes and discipline, yet it is manifest, from 1 Sam. x. 5—10. and xix. 20—24., that a principal part of their occupation consisted in celebrating the praises of Jehovah in hymns and poetry, with choral chants accompanied with various musical instruments. But it was during the reign of David that music and poetry were carried to the greatest perfection. For the service of the tabernacle he appointed four thousand Levites, divided into twenty-four courses, and marshalled under several leaders, whose sole business it was to sing hymns, and to perform instrumental music in the public worship. Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun were the chief directors of the music, and, from the titles of some of the psalms, we may infer that they also were excellent composers of hymns or sacred poems. In the first book of Chronicles (xxv.) we have an account of the institutions of David; which were more costly, splendid, and magnificent than any that ever obtained in the public service of other nations.

II. According to Bishop Lowth, there are four principal CHARACTERISTICS OF HEBREW POETRY, viz. 1. The acrostical or alphabetical commencement of lines or stanzas; 2. The admission of foreign words and certain particles, which seldom occur in prose composition, and which thus form a distinct poetical dialect[1]; 3. Its sententious, figurative, and sublime expressions; and, 4. Parallelism, the nature of which is fully illustrated in the subsequent pages. But the existence of the first three of these characteristics has been disputed by Bishop Jebb.

The grand, and, indeed, the sole characteristic of Hebrew poetry is what Bishop Lowth intitles PARALLELISM[2], that is, a certain equality, resemblance, or relationship, between the members of each period; so that, in two lines, or members of the same period, things shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure. Such is the general strain of the Hebrew poetry; instances of which occur in almost every part of the Old Testament, particularly in the ninety-sixth psalm.

The origin of this form of poetical composition among the Hebrews

[1] On the diction of Hebrew poetry see Hävernick, Einleitung, § 29.

[2] Seine Dictung lebt vorzugweise im Gedanken, und hat daher einen Gedanken-Rhythmus, *thought-rhythm*, De Wette, Einleitung, § 129. p. 154.

Bishop Lowth has satisfactorily deduced from the manner in which they were accustomed to sing or chant their sacred hymns. They were accompanied with music, and were alternately sung by opposite choirs: sometimes one choir performed the hymn itself; while the other sang a particular distich, which was regularly interposed at stated intervals. In this manner we learn that Moses with the Israelites chanted the ode at the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 20, 21.); and the same order is observable in some of the psalms which are composed in this form. On some occasions, however, the musical performance was differently conducted, one of the choirs singing a single verse to the other, while the other constantly added a verse in some respect correspondent. Of this the following distich is an example: —

> Sing praises to Jehovah, for he is good,
> Because his mercy endureth for ever.
>
> Psal. cxxxvi. 1.

Which Ezra informs us (iii. 10, 11.) was sung by the priests and Levites in alternate choirs, "after the ordinance of David, king of Israel;" as indeed may be collected from the hundred and thirty-sixth psalm itself, in which the latter verse sung by the latter choir forms a perpetual epode. Of the same nature is the song of the women concerning Saul and David (1 Sam. xviii. 7.); and in the very same manner does Isaiah describe the seraphim as chanting the praises of Jehovah: "they cried one to another," that is, alternately,

> Holy, holy, holy, Jehovah, God of hosts!
> The whole earth is filled with his glory!
>
> Isai. vi. 3.

In determining the length of his lines, Bishop Lowth considers only that relation and proportion of one verse to another which arises from the correspondence of terms, and from the form of construction, whence results a rhythmus of propositions, and a harmony of sentences. From this correspondence of the verses one with another arises a certain relation also between the composition of the verses, and the composition of the sentences; so that generally periods coincide with stanzas, members with verses, and pauses of the one with pauses of the other. This correspondence is called parallelism, the corresponding lines are called parallel lines, and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms.

The nature of parallelism, thus defined and illustrated, is sometimes so evident as to strike even a careless reader, and sometimes so subtle and obscure as to require considerable practice, and some familiarity with the system, in order to distribute the pauses and develope the different members of the sentences in probable order and connection. Thus, much doubt has arisen not only as to what books, but as to what parts of books, are to be accounted poetical. Sometimes, according to Bishop Jebb, it is continuous and unmixed, as in the Psalms, Proverbs, and Canticles; sometimes it characterizes the main body of a work, with a prosaic introduction and conclusion, as in the book of Job; sometimes it predominates throughout a whole book with an occasional mixture of prose, as in most of the prophets;

sometimes the general texture is prose, with an occasional mixture of verses, as in the historical books, and the book of Ecclesiastes.

The poetical parallelism has much variety and many gradations, being sometimes more accurate and manifest, sometimes more vague and obscure: it may, however, on the whole, be said to consist of four species, viz. Parallel Lines *Gradational*[1], Parallel Lines *Antithetic*, Parallel Lines *Synthetic*, and Parallel Lines *Introverted*.

1. Parallel Lines Gradational are those in which the second or responsive clause so diversifies the preceding clause, as generally to rise above it, sometimes by a descending scale in the value of the related terms and periods, but in all cases with a marked distinction of meaning. This species of parallelism is the most frequent of all: it prevails chiefly in the shorter poems, in many of the psalms, and very frequently in the prophecies of Isaiah. Three or four instances will suffice to show the nature of parallel lines gradational. The first example shall be taken from the first psalm.

> O the happiness of that man,
> Who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly;
> And hath not stood in the way of sinners;
> And hath not sat in the seat of the scornful.
>
> Psal. i. 1.

The exclamation with which the psalm opens belongs equally to each line of the succeeding triplet. In the triplet itself each line consists of three members; and the lines gradually rise, one above the other, not merely in their general sense, but specially, throughout their corresponding members. To *walk* implies no more than casual intercourse: to *stand*, closer intimacy; to *sit*, fixed and permanent connection; the *counsel*, the ordinary place of meeting, or public resort; the *way*, the select and chosen footpath; the *seat*, the habitual and final resting-place; the *ungodly*, negatively wicked; *sinners*, positively wicked; the *scornful*, scoffers at the very name or notion of piety and goodness."[2]

Again:—

> Who shall ascend the mountain of Jehovah?
> And who shall stand within his holy place?
> The clean of hands, and the pure in heart.
>
> Psal. xxiv. 3, 4.

"To *ascend* marks progress; to *stand*, stability and confirmation; the *mountain of Jehovah*, the site of the divine sanctuary; *his holy place*, the sanctuary itself; and, in correspondence with the advance of the two lines which form the first couplet, there is an advance in the members of the third line: *the clean of hands; and the pure in heart*: *the clean of hands shall ascend the mountain of Jehovah; the pure in heart shall stand within his holy place*."[3]

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[1] Bishop Lowth has ranged the different kinds of parallelism under *three* classes only, viz.: parallels synonymous, parallels antithetic, and parallels synthetic. The last two terms, it will be perceived, we have retained, and in lieu of parallels *synonymous* we have adopted the term *parallel lines gradational*. Bishop Jebb has assigned satisfactory reasons for changing the bishop's phraseology. According to Lowth, parallel lines synonymous are those which correspond one to another by expressing the same sentiment in different but nearly equivalent terms. But Bishop Jebb proves, from an examination of the bishop's examples, that this definition does not hold good: he therefore proposes that of *cognate parallels*, as preferably applicable to this kind of parallels. Sacred Literature, pp. 34—50. A learned critic, however, has suggested the term *gradational parallelism*, as being most expressive, and also most applicable to the examples adduced by these eminent prelates. British Critic for 1820, vol. xiv. pp. 585, 586. We have, therefore, adopted this term in the present chapter. Bp. Jebb had further considered the *introverted parallel* as a variety of the Hebrew parallelism; but, as the same critic has assigned good reasons for constituting it a *distinct* class, we have availed ourselves of his authority, and have accordingly adopted it.

[2] Bp. Jebb, Sacred Literature, p. 41.

[3] Ibid. p. 40.

The prophetic muse is no less elegant and correct. Isaiah especially abounds in beautiful instances of this mode of gradation. Thus he says,

Seek ye Jehovah, while he may be found,
Call ye upon him, while he is near;
Let the wicked forsake his way,
And the unrighteous man his thoughts;
And let him return to Jehovah; and he will compassionate him;
And unto our God; for he aboundeth in forgiveness.

Isai. lv. 6, 7.

In Isai. li. 1, 4, 7., there is another example of moral gradation, which is illustrated by Bishop Jebb.[1] But Isaiah is not unrivalled in this kind of composition: the other prophets contain abundant examples; we shall, however, adduce only two instances. The first, from Hosea, is exquisitely pathetic:—

How shall I give thee up, O Ephraim?
Abandon thee, O Israel?
How shall I make thee as Admah,
Place thee in the condition of Zeboim?
My heart is turned upon me;
My bowels yearn all together.
I will not execute the fury of mine anger:
I will not return to make destruction of Ephraim;
For God I am, and not man;
The Holy One in the midst of thee, although I am no frequenter of cities.

Hosea xi. 8, 9. (Bp. Horsley's Translation.)

The other passage is from Joel, and is highly animated.

Like mighty men shall they rush on;
Like warriors shall they mount upon the wall;
And, every one in his way, shall they march;
And they shall not turn aside from their paths.

Joel ii. 7.

The prophet is denouncing a terrible judgment on the land of Judah, by the devastation of locusts; and all naturalists and travellers, who have witnessed the desolation caused by those destructive insects, attest and confirm the fidelity of Joel's description of their progress and ravages.

2. Parallel Lines Antithetic are those, in which two lines correspond one with another, by an opposition of terms and sentiments; when the second is contrasted with the first, sometimes in expressions, sometimes in sense only. This is not confined to any particular form. Accordingly, the degrees of antithesis are various, from an exact contraposition of word to word, sentiment to sentiment, singulars to singulars, plurals to plurals, down to a general disparity with something of a contrariety in the two propositions.

This species of parallelism is of less frequent occurrence in the prophetical poems of the Old Testament, especially those which are elevated in the style, and more connected in the parts; but it is admirably adapted to adages, aphorisms, proverbs, and detached sentences. Much, indeed, of the elegance, acuteness, and force, of a great number of the proverbs of Solomon, arises from the antithetic form, the opposition of diction, and sentiment; as in the following examples:—

A wise son rejoiceth his father;
But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.

Prov. x. 1.

[1] Bp. Jebb, Sacred Literature, pp. 46—49.

Here every word has its opposite; the terms *father* and *mother* being relatively opposite.

> The memory of the just is a blessing;
> But the name of the wicked shall rot.
>
> Prov. x. 7.

In this instance there are only two antithetic terms; for *memory* and *name* are synonymous. See also Prov. xi. 24., xvi. 33., and xxix. 26.

But, though the antithetic parallel be of comparatively rare occurrence in the superior kinds of Hebrew poetry, it is not inconsistent with them. Thus, we have a beautiful instance of it in the thanksgiving ode of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii. 4—7., and in some of the psalms, as in Psal. xx. 7, 8., xxx. 5., and xxxvii. 10, 11. Isaiah, also, by means of it, without departing from his usual dignity, greatly increases the beauty of his composition.

> For the mountains shall be removed;
> And the hills shall be overthrown;
> But my kindness from thee shall not be removed;
> And the covenant of my peace shall not be overthrown.
>
> Isai. liv. 10.

See likewise Isai. liv. 7, 8., ix. 10, and lxv. 13, 14.

3. Parallel Lines Synthetic or Constructive are those, in which the parallelism consists only in the similar form of construction; in which word does not answer to word, and sentence to sentence, as equivalent or opposite; but there is a correspondence and equality between the different propositions, in respect of the shape and turn of the whole sentence, and of the constructive parts; such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative. This species of parallel includes such as do not come within the two former classes. Accordingly, Bishop Lowth remarks that the variety of this form is very great; the parallelism being sometimes more, sometimes less exact, and sometimes hardly at all apparent. The nineteenth psalm will furnish a beautiful instance of parallel lines constructive:—

> The law of Jehovah is perfect, restoring the soul;
> The testimony of Jehovah is sure, making wise the simple;
> The precepts of Jehovah are right, rejoicing the heart;
> The commandment of Jehovah is clear, enlightening the eyes;
> The fear of Jehovah is pure, enduring for ever;
> The judgments of Jehovah are truth, they are just altogether;
> More desirable than gold, or than much fine gold,
> And sweeter than honey, or the dropping of honey-combs.
>
> Psal. xix. 7—10.

Additional instances of the constructive parallelism occur in Psal. cxlviii. 7—13.; Job xii. 13—16.; Isai. xiv. 4—9., and lviii. 5—8.

Respecting the three preceding species of parallelism, Bishop Jebb remarks that, separately, "each kind admits many subordinate varieties, and that, in combinations of verses, the several kinds are perpetually intermingled; circumstances which at once enliven and beautify the composition, and frequently give peculiar distinctness and precision to the train of thought." He has illustrated this observation by some instances of such subordinate varieties. The six following are taken partly from his volume, and partly from the nineteenth of Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew poetry. Thus,

(1.) Sometimes the lines are *bi-membral;* that is, they consist each of double members, or two propositions (or sentiments, as Lowth terms them). —For example,

> The nations raged; the kingdoms were moved:
> He uttered a voice; the earth was dissolved.
> Be still, and know that I am God:
> I will be exalted in the nations; I will be exalted in the earth.
>
> Psal. xlvi. 6, 10.

(2.) "Parallels are sometimes formed by a repetition of part of the first sentence:—

> My voice is unto God, and I cry aloud;
> My voice is unto God; and he will hearken unto me.
> I will remember the works of Jehovah;
> Yea, I will remember thy works of old.
> The waters saw thee, O God;
> The waters saw thee; they were seized with anguish.
>
> Psal. lxxvii. 1, 11, 16.

(3.) "Sometimes, in the latter line, a part is to be supplied from the former, to complete the sentence:—

> The mighty dead tremble from beneath;
> The waters, and they that dwell therein.
>
> Job xxvi. 5.

(4.) "There are parallel triplets; where three lines correspond together, and form a kind of stanza; of which, however, only two lines are commonly synonymous:—

> The wicked shall see it; and it shall grieve him:
> He shall gnash with his teeth, and pine away;
> The desire of the wicked shall perish.
>
> Psal. cxii. 10."[1]

Other instances of parallel triplets occur in Job iii. 4., and Micah vi. 15.

(5.) "There are parallels consisting of four lines; two distichs being so connected together by sound and construction, as to make one stanza:—

> The ox knoweth his owner;
> And the ass the crib of his lord:
> But Israel doth not know;
> My people doth not consider.
>
> Isai. i. 3. See also Psal. xxvii. 1, 2.

In stanzas of four lines, sometimes the parallel lines answer to one another, alternately; the first to the third, and the second to the fourth:—

> As the heavens are high above the earth;
> So high is his goodness over them that fear him:
> As remote as the east is from the west;
> So far hath he removed from us our transgressions.
>
> Psal. ciii. 11, 12."[2]

Sometimes, however, in the alternate quatrain, by a peculiar artifice in the distribution of the sentences, the third line forms a continuous sense with the first, and the fourth with the second:—

> From the heavens JEHOVAH looketh down:
> He seeth all the children of men;
> From the seat of his rest he contemplateth
> All the inhabitants of the earth.
>
> Psal. xxxiii. 13, 14.

[1] Bp. Jebb, Sacred Literature, pp. 27, 28. [2] Ibid. p. 29.

(6.) Some periods also may be considered as forming stanzas of five lines, in which the odd line or member usually either comes in between two distichs; or the line that is not parallel is generally placed between the two distichs; or, after two distichs, makes a full close:—

> Who is wise, and will understand these things?
> Prudent, and will know them?
> For right are the ways of JEHOVAH;
> And the just shall walk in them;
> And the disobedient shall fall therein.
>
> Hos. xiv. 9.

The preceding are the chief varieties of the parallel lines, gradational, antithetic, and constructive: a few others of less note are discussed both by Bishops Lowth and Jebb; for which the reader is necessarily referred to their respective works. We now proceed to notice,

4. PARALLEL LINES INTROVERTED. These are stanzas so constructed, that, whatever be the number of lines, the first line shall be parallel with the last; the second with the penultimate or last but one; and so throughout, in an order that looks inward, or, to borrow a military phrase, from flanks to centre. This may be called the *introverted parallelism.*

Bishop Jebb has illustrated this definition with several apposite examples, from which we have selected the following:—

> "My son, if thy heart be wise;
> My heart also shall rejoice;
> Yea, my reins shall rejoice;
> When thy lips speak right things.
>
> Prov. xxiii. 15, 16.

> "The idols of the heathen are silver and gold:
> The work of men's hands;
> They have mouths but they speak not;
> They have eyes but they see not;
> They have ears, but they hear not;
> Neither is there any breath in their mouths:
> They who make them are like unto them;
> So are all they who put their trust in them.
>
> Psal. cxxxv. 15—18."

The parallelisms here marked out are very accurate. In the first line of this example we have the idolatrous heathen; in the eighth, those who put their trust in idols; in the second line, the fabrication; in the seventh the fabricators; in the third line, mouths without articulation; in the sixth, mouths without breath; in the fourth line, eyes without vision; and, in the fifth line, ears without the sense of hearing.

The parallelism of the extreme members, Bishop Jebb proceeds to state, may be rendered yet more evident by reducing the passage into two quatrains; thus:

> The idols of the heathen are silver and gold;
> The work of men's hands;
> They who make them are like unto them;
> So are all they who put their trust in them.
>
> They have mouths, but they speak not:
> They have eyes, but they see not;
> They have ears, but they hear not;
> Neither is there any breath in their mouths.[1]

[1] Sacred Literature, pp. 53, 54, 57, 58

III. Such is the nature, and such are the species of the parallelisms, which are variously distributed throughout the Old Testament. Nor should it be omitted that the Hebraic parallelism occurs also, with much variety, in the Apocrypha: the book of Ecclesiasticus, for example, is composed of pure parallelisms. One other fact remains: namely, that, in the sententious *formulæ* of the rabbinical writers, the manner of Hebrew poetry is frequently observed, with much accuracy, though with a manifest declension of spirit.[1]

Such being the fact, we are authorized by analogy to expect a similar parallelism in the New Testament. It is a work supplementary to and perfective of the Old Testament; composed under the same guidance; written by native Jews, Hebrews of the Hebrews, by men whose minds were moulded in the form of their own sacred writings, and whose sole stock of literature (with the exception of Paul, and probably also of Luke and James) was comprised in those very writings. Now, it is improbable that such men, when they came to write such a work, should, without any assignable motive, and in direct opposition to all other religious teachers of their nation, have estranged themselves from a manner, so pervading the noblest parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, as the sententious parallelism. But we are not left to analogical reasoning. The Greek style of the New Testament leads us to expect a construction similar to that which we find in the Old. The New Testament is not written in what is termed strictly classical Greek. From the intermixture of oriental idioms and expressions with those which are properly Greek, the language of the New Testament has been termed *Hellenistic* or *Hebraïc Greek.* The difference in style and manner which subsists between the writers of the New Testament and the Greek classic authors is most strongly marked; and this difference is not confined to single words and combinations of words, but pervades the whole structure of the composition; and in frequent instances a poetical manner is observable. This poetical style has been noticed briefly by Boecler, Ernesti, Michaelis, Schleusner, Dr. Campbell, and other critics; but it was reserved for Bishop Jebb to develope the existence of the poetical parallelism in the New Testament, and to place its numerous beauties in a point of view equally novel and delightful to the biblical student.

[Ingenious men have carried their notions of parallelism to an extreme. It may be questioned whether the inspired writers really intended to produce all those varieties of verses, stanzas, &c., which have been ascribed to them. That the general principles of parallelism are distinctly to be traced in Hebrew poetry no one would deny; but the minute subdivisions, under which different passages have been ranked, seem hardly to exist save in the imagination of the fanciful critic. To the term "gradational parallel" there appears some objection. In several of the examples usually adduced of it there is no real gradation of thoughts: either "synonymous," or "cognate," would

[1] Sacred Literature, p. 76. Bp. Jebb has illustrated the remarks in the text by numerous apposite examples from the apocryphal and rabbinical writings; for which the reader is referred to his work, pp. 84—90.

be better appellations. The "introverted parallel," too, is a mere sequence of clause after clause, and seems to have been thought of only in order to account for examples not easily reducible to any of the other heads. With the licence assumed by some writers on the subject, it would be no difficult matter to arrange almost every composition, especially of an elevated or oratorical cast, in parallelisms of some kind.

De Wette has written at length on Hebrew rhythmical parallelism. His system is elaborate and ingenious. According to his view there are four different classes.

I. The "original perfect kind of parallelism of members, which coincides with metre and rhyme, yet without being the same with them. Such is the kind of parallelism in which the song of Lamech is composed, Gen. iv. 23, 24."

II. The unequal parallelism, Psal. lxviii. 32., subdivided into —

(1.) The simple unequal.
(2.) The complex, with the first or second member composed of two propositions, embracing —
 (*a*) The synonymous.
 (*b*) The antithetic.
 (*c*) The synthetic.
(3.) That with the simple member disproportionably small.
(4.) That with the complex member increased to three or four propositions.
(5.) That with a short clause or supplement, for the most part of the second member, instead of the full subordinate parallelism.

III. The double parallelism, "the equality being restored by both members becoming complex," *e.g.* Psal. xxxi. 10.

Of this kind also there are —
 (*a*) The synonymous.
 (*b*) The antithetic.
 (*c*) The synthetic.

IV. The rhythmical parallelism, where the thoughts do not correspond either by their resemblance, or by antithesis, or by synthesis, but where there is a simply external rhythmical form, *e.g.* Psal. xix. 11.

This is subdivided into examples: —

(1.) With the number of words nearly equal.
(2.) With striking inequality in the number of the words.
(3.) With a double and a simple member.
(4.) With two double members.[1]

De Wette, Köster, and Ewald have further attempted to show that there is a strophical character in Hebrew poetry. Verses consist of parallel members; and so strophes are said to be composed of parallel verses. Köster published, it seems, the books of Job, and of Ecclesiastes, and the Psalms, arranged after this fashion.[2]

[1] De Wette, On the Rhythmical Parallelism of the Hebrews, translated by Torrey, in the American Biblical Repository, July, 1833, and reprinted by the Rev. N. Morren, in Biblical Theology: the Rule of Faith, Edinb. 1835, Append., pp 1—31. Conf. Einleitung, §§ 127—134.

[2] De Wette, Einleitung, § 134.

But perhaps it is into the New Testament that the greatest amount of exaggeration has been carried. That Hebrew parallelism may be discovered there, it is but reasonable to admit; seeing that there are several inspired songs (*e.g.* Luke i. ii.), that quotations from the poetical portions of the Old Testament are numerous, and that the apostles and evangelists had naturally their minds impregnated with the modes of diction used by the writers of the earlier dispensation. But it is profitless to follow Bishop Jebb into the various couplets and stanzas which he professes to find in our Lord's discourses and elsewhere. Still more useless are the lucubrations of Boys, who has arranged in his *Tactica Sacra* several of the epistles in parallel lines. And this trifling is carried still farther by Forbes in his Symmetrical Structure of Scripture.[1] It would be of little service to produce examples from their works.]

IV. The sacred writers have left us DIFFERENT KINDS of poetical composition: they do not, however, appear to have cultivated either the *epic* or the *dramatic* species, unless we take these terms in a very wide sense, and refer to these classes those poems in which several interlocutors are introduced. Thus, Ilgen[2] and (after him) Dr. Good[3] conceive the book of Job to be a regular epic poem: while Velthusen and Ammon think that the Song of Songs exhibits traces of a dramatic or melo-dramatic structure. Bishop Lowth, however, reduces the various productions of the Hebrew poets to the following classes; viz.

1. PROPHETIC POETRY. Although some parts of the writings of the prophets are clearly in prose, of which instances occur in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Jonah, and Daniel, yet the other books, constituting by far the larger portion of the prophetic writings, are classed by Bishop Lowth among the poetical productions of the Jews; and (with the exception of certain passages in Isaiah, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel, which appear to constitute complete poems of different kinds, odes as well as elegies) form a particular species of poesy, which he distinguishes by the appellation of *prophetic*.

The predictions of the Hebrew prophets are pre-eminently characterized by the sententious parallelism, which has been discussed and exemplified in the preceding pages. The prophetic poesy, however, is more ornamented, more splendid, and more florid than any other. It abounds more in imagery, at least that species of imagery which, in the parabolic style, is of common and established acceptation, and which, by means of a settled analogy always preserved, is transferred from certain and definite objects to express indefinite and general ideas. Of all the images peculiar to the parabolic style, it most frequently introduces those which are taken from natural objects and sacred history: it abounds most in metaphors, allegories, comparisons, and even in copious and diffuse descriptions. It possesses all that genuine enthusiasm which is the

[1] See some very sensible remarks by Fairbairn, Herm. Man. part i. sect. x. pp. 166—180.
[2] Jobi, antiquissimi carminis Hebraici, Natura atque Virtutes, cap. iii. pp. 40—89.
[3] Introductory Dissertation to his version of the Book of Job, p. xx.

natural attendant on inspiration: it excels in the brightness of imagination, and in clearness and energy of diction, and, consequently, rises to an uncommon pitch of sublimity: hence, also, it is often very happy in the expression and delineation of the passions, though more commonly employed in exciting them.[1]

The following passage from one of Balaam's prophecies (which Bishop Lowth ranks among the most exquisite specimens of Hebrew poetry) exhibits a prophetic poem complete in all its parts. It abounds in splendid imagery, copied immediately from the tablet of nature, and is conspicuous for the glowing elegance of the style, and the form and diversity of the figures. The translation is that of the Rev. Dr. Hales.[2]

How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob.
And thy tabernacles, O Israel!
   As streams do they spread forth,
   As gardens by the river side;
As sandal-trees which THE LORD hath planted,
As cedar-trees beside the waters.

There shall come forth a man of his seed,
   And shall rule over many nations;
And his king shall be higher than Gog,
   And his kingdom shall be exalted.

(God brought him forth out of Egypt,
He is to him as the strength of a unicorn.)
He shall devour the nations, his enemies,
And shall break their bones,
And pierce them through with his arrows.

He lieth down as a lion,
He coucheth as a lioness:
Who shall rouse him?
Blessed is he that blesseth thee,
And cursed is he that curseth thee,

Numb. xxiv. 5—9

2. ELEGIAC POETRY. Of this description are several passages in the prophetical books[3], as well as in the book of Job[4], and many of David's psalms that were composed on occasions of distress and mourning: the forty-second psalm in particular is in the highest degree tender and plaintive, and is one of the most beautiful specimens of the Hebrew elegy. The lamentation of David over his friend Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 17—27.) is another most beautiful elegy; but the most regular and perfect elegiac composition is the book entitled The Lamentations of Jeremiah.

3. DIDACTIC POETRY is defined by Bishop Lowth to be that which delivers moral precepts in elegant and pointed verses, often illustrated by a comparison expressed or implied, similar to the γνώμη, or moral sentence, or adage, of the ancient sages. Of this species of poetry the book of Proverbs is the principal instance. To this class may be referred the book of Ecclesiastes.

4. Of LYRIC POETRY, or that which is intended to be accompanied with music, the Old Testament abounds with numerous

[1] Bp. Lowth, Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, lect. xviii., xix., and xx.
[2] Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 224—226., or vol. ii. pp. 204, 205. (edit. 1830).
[3] See Amos v. 1, 2, 16.; Jer. ix. 17—22.; Ezek. xxii. and xxxii.
[4] See Job iii., vi., vii., x., xiv., xvii., xix., xxix., xxx

examples. Besides a great number of hymns and songs which are dispersed through the historical and prophetical books, such as the ode of Moses at the Red Sea (Exod. xv.), his prophetic ode (Deut. xxxii.), the triumphal ode of Deborah (Judg. v.), the prayer of Habakkuk (iii.), and many similar pieces, the entire book of Psalms is to be considered as a collection of sacred odes.

5. Of the IDYL, or short pastoral poem[1], the historical psalms afford abundant instances. The seventy-eighth, hundred and fifth, hundred and sixth, hundred and thirty-sixth, and the hundred and thirty-ninth psalms, may be adduced as singularly beautiful specimens of the sacred idyl; to which may be added Isai. ix. 8.—x. 4.

6. Of DRAMATIC POETRY, Bishop Lowth adduces examples in the book of Job and the Song of Solomon, understanding the term in a more extended sense than that in which it is usually received.[2] Some critics, however, are of opinion that the Song of Solomon is a collection of sacred idyls; and Bauer is disposed to consider the former book as approximating nearest to the *Mekàma*, that is, "the assemblies," moral discourses, or conversations of the celebrated Arabian poet Hariri.[3]

Many of the psalms (and, according to Bishop Horsley, by far the greater part[4],) are a kind of dramatic ode, consisting of dialogues between persons sustaining certain characters. This dramatic or dialogue form admits of considerable variety. Its leading characteristic, however, is an alternate succession of parts, adapted to the purpose of alternate recitation of two semi-choruses in the Jewish worship.

To the preceding species of Hebrew poetry, we may add

7. The ACROSTIC or ALPHABETICAL POEMS. Bishop Lowth considered this form of poetry as one of the leading characteristics of the productions of the Hebrew muse; but this, we have seen[5], is not the fact. It may rather be viewed as a subordinate species, the form of which the bishop thus defines: The acrostic or alphabetical poem consists of twenty-two lines, or of twenty-two systems of lines, or periods, or stanzas, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; and every line, or every stanza, begins with each letter in its order, as it stands in the alphabet; that is, the first line, or first stanza, begins with א, the second with ב, and so on. This was certainly intended for the assistance of the memory, and was chiefly employed in subjects of common use, as maxims of morality, and forms of devotion. There are in the books of the Old Testament twelve[6] of these poems: three perfectly alphabetical[7], in which

[1] Bp. Lowth defines an idyl to be "a poem of moderate length, of a uniform middle style, chiefly distinguished for elegance and sweetness, regular and clear as to plot, conduct, and arrangement." Prælect. xxix.

[2] Lowth, Prælect. xxx—xxxiv.

[3] Bauer, Hermeneut. Sacr. p. 386.

[4] Bishop Horsley, Book of Psalms translated from the Hebrew, vol. i. pref. p. xv. [Horsley's view is exaggerated.]

[5] See p. 364. *supra*.

[6] Psal. xxv., xxxiv, xxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxix., cxlv.; Prov. xxxi. 10—31.; Lam. i., ii., iii., iv.

[7] Psal. cxi., cxii.; Lam. iii.

every line is marked by its initial letter; the other nine less perfectly alphabetical, in which every stanza only is so distinguished. Of the three former it is to be remarked, that not only every single line is distinguished by its initial letter, but that the whole poem is laid out into stanzas; two [1] of these poems each into ten stanzas, all of two lines, except the two last stanzas in each, which are of three lines; in these the sense and the construction manifestly point out the division into stanzas, and mark the limit of every stanza. The third [2] consists of twenty-two stanzas of three lines; but in this the initial letter of every stanza is also the initial letter of every line of that stanza; so that both the lines and the stanzas are infallibly limited. And in all the three poems the pauses of the sentences coincide with the pauses of the lines and stanzas. It is also further to be observed of these three poems, that the lines, so determined by the initial letters in the same poem, are remarkably equal to one another in length, in the number of words nearly, and, probably, in the number of syllables; and that the lines of the same stanza have a remarkable congruity one with another, in the matter and the form, in the sense and the construction.

Of the other nine poems less perfectly alphabetical, in which the stanzas only are marked with initial letters, six [3] consist of stanzas of two lines, two [4] of stanzas of three lines, and one [5] of stanzas of four lines; not taking into the account at present some irregularities which in all probability are to be imputed to the mistakes of transcribers. [There is little reason to suppose mistakes of transcribers. The poems were composed without a slavish adherence to the acrostic form. And, if we impute errors to copyists here where error was less likely, we shall subject the rest of the sacred text to more serious suspicion.] And these stanzas likewise naturally divide themselves into their distinct lines, the sense and the construction plainly pointing out their limits; and the lines have the same congruity one with another in matter and form, as was above observed, in regard to the poems more perfectly alphabetical.

Another thing to be observed of the three poems perfectly alphabetical is, that in two [6] of them the lines are shorter than those of the third [7] by about one third part, or almost half; and that, of the other nine poems the stanzas only of which are alphabetical, three [8] consist of the longer lines, and the six others of the shorter.

V. We have already had occasion to remark, that the poetry of the Hebrews derives its chief excellence from its being dedicated to religion. Nothing can be conceived more elevated, more beautiful, or more elegant, than the compositions of the Hebrew bards; in which the sublimity of the subject is fully equalled by the energy of the language and the dignity of the style Compared with them, the most brilliant productions of the Greek and Roman muses, who often employed themselves on frivolous or very trifling themes, are

[1] Psal. cxi., cxii.
[2] Lam. iii.
[3] Psal. xxv., xxxiv., cxix., cxlv.; Prov. xxxi.; Lam. iv.
[4] Lam. i., ii.
[5] Psal. xxxvii.
[6] Psal. cxi., cxii.
[7] Lam. iii.
[8] Lam. i., ii. iv.

infinitely inferior in the scale of excellence. The Hebrew poet, who worshipped Jehovah as the sovereign of his people, who believed all the laws, whether sacred or civil, which he was bound to obey, to be of divine enactment, and who was taught that man was dependent upon God for everything, meditated upon nothing but Jehovah; to him he devoutly referred all things, and placed his supreme delight in celebrating the divine attributes and perfections. If, however, we would enter fully into the beauties of the sacred poets, there are two GENERAL OBSERVATIONS[1], which it will be necessary to keep in mind whenever we analyze or examine the songs of Sion.

1. The first is, that *we carefully investigate their nature and genius.*

For, as the Hebrew poems, though various in their kinds, are each marked by a character peculiar to itself, and by which they are distinguished from each other, we shall be enabled to enter more fully into their elegance and beauty, if we have a correct view of their form and arrangement. For instance, if we wish critically to expound the psalms, we ought to investigate the nature and properties of the Hebrew ode, as well as the form and structure of the Hebrew elegies, &c., and ascertain in what respects they differ from the odes, elegies, &c. of the Greek poets. In like manner, when studying the Proverbs of Solomon, we should recollect that the most ancient kind of instruction was by means of moral sentences, in which the first principles of ancient philosophy were contained; and, from a comparison of the Hebrew, Greek and other gnomic sentences, we should investigate the principal characters of a proverb. In the book of Job are to be observed the unity of action, delineation of manners, the external form and construction of the poem, &c.

2. Further, in interpreting the compositions of the Hebrew bards, it ought not to be forgotten that *the objects of our attention are the productions of poets, and of oriental poets in particular.*

It is therefore necessary that we should be acquainted with the country in which the poet lived, its situation and peculiarities, and also with the manners of the inhabitants, and the idiom of the language. Oriental poetry abounds with strong expressions, bold metaphors, glowing sentiments, and animated descriptions, portrayed in the most lively colours. Hence the words of the Hebrew poets are neither to be understood in too lax a sense, nor to be interpreted too literally. In the comparisons introduced by them, the point of resemblance between the object of comparison, and the thing with which it is compared, should be examined, but not strained too far; and the force of the personifications, allegories, or other figures that may be introduced, should be fully considered. Above all, it should be recollected that, as the sacred poets lived in the East, their ideas and manners were totally different from ours, and, consequently, are not to be considered according to *our* modes of thinking. From inattention to this circumstance, neither have the productions of the Hebrew muse been correctly understood, nor their beauties duly felt and appreciated.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.[2]

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

IT has been a favourite notion with some divines, that the mystical or spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures had its first origin in

[1] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pars ii. sect. iii. § 92. pp. 387., &c.

[2] The present chapter is abridged from Rambach's Institutiones Hermen. Sacr. lib. i. cap. iii. pp. 67—82., compared with his Commentatio Hermen. de Sensus Mystici Criteriis ex genuinis principiis deducta, necessariisque cautelis circumscripta. 8vo. Jenæ, 1728. What is said above of the spiritual or mystical sense of scripture, pp. 243—245., may be referred to.

the synagogue, and was thence adopted by our Lord and his apostles, when arguing with the Jews; and that from them it was received by the fathers of the Christian church; from whom it has been transmitted to us. The inference deduced by many is that no such interpretation is admissible; while others have carried it to the extreme. But, if the argument against a thing from the possibility of its being abused be inadmissible in questions of a secular nature, it is equally inadmissible in the exposition of the sacred writings. All our ideas are admitted through the medium of the senses, and consequently refer in the first place to external objects; but no sooner are we convinced that we possess an immaterial soul or spirit, than we find occasion for other terms, or, for want of these, another application of the same terms to a different class of objects; and hence the necessity of resorting to figurative and spiritual interpretation. Now, the object of revelation being to make known things which "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive," it seems hardly possible that the human mind should be capable of apprehending them, but through the medium of figurative language or mystical representations.

"The foundation of religion and virtue being laid in the mind and heart, the secret dispositions and genuine acts of which are invisible, and known only to a man's self; therefore the powers and operations of the mind can only be expressed in figurative terms and signified by external symbols. The motives also and inducements to practice are spiritual, such as affect men in a way of moral influence, and not of natural efficiency; the principal of which are drawn from the consideration of a future state; and, consequently *these* likewise must be represented by allegories and similitudes, taken from things most known and familiar here. And thus we find in Scripture the state of religion illustrated by all the beautiful images that we can conceive; in which natural unity, order, and harmony consist, as regulated by the strictest and most exact rules of discipline, taken from those observed in the best-ordered temporal governments. In the interpretation of places, in which any of these images are contained, the principal regard is to be had to the *figurative* or *spiritual*, and not to the literal sense of the words. From not attending to which, have arisen absurd doctrines and inferences, which weak men have endeavoured to establish as Scripture truths; whereas, in the other method of explication, the things are plain and easy to every one's capacity, make the deepest and most lasting impressions upon their minds, and have the greatest influence upon their practice. Of this nature are all the rites and ceremonies prescribed to the Jews, with relation to the external form of religious worship; every one of which was intended to show the obligation or recommend the practice of some moral duty, and was esteemed of no farther use than as it produced that effect. And the same may be applied to the rewards and punishments peculiar to the Christian dispensation, which regard a future state. The rewards are set forth by such things, as the generality of men take the greatest delight, and place their highest satisfaction of this life in; and the punishments are such

as are inflicted by human laws upon the worst of malefactors; but they can neither of them be understood in the *strictly literal* sense, but only by way of analogy, and corresponding in the general nature and intention of the thing, though very different in kind."[1]

But, independently of the able argument *à priori*, here cited, in favour of the mediate, mystical, or spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures, unless such interpretation be admitted, we cannot avoid one of two great difficulties; for either "we must assert that the multitude of applications, made by Christ and his apostles, are fanciful and unauthorized, and wholly inadequate to prove the points for which they are quoted; or, on the other hand, we must believe that the obvious and natural sense of such passages was never intended, and that it was a mere illusion. The *Christian* will object to the former of these positions; the *philosopher* and the *critic* will not readily assent to the latter."[2] It has been erroneously supposed, that this mediate or mystical interpretation of Scripture is confined to the New Testament exclusively; we have, however, clear evidence of its adoption by some of the sacred writers of the Old Testament, and a few instances will suffice to prove its existence.

1. In Exod. xxviii. 38., Moses says that the diadem or plate of gold, worn upon certain solemn festivals upon the high priest's forehead, signified that he bore in a vicarious and typical manner the sin of the holy things, and made an atonement for the imperfection of the Hebrew offerings and sacrifices.

2. In Lev. xxvi. 41., and Deut. x. 16., and xxx. 6., he mentions the circumcision of the heart, which was signified by the circumcision of the flesh. (Compare Jer. iv. 4., vi. 10., and ix. 25, 26., with Exod. vi. 12, 30.)

3. Further, he explains the historical and typical import of all their great festivals.

Thus, in Exod. xiii. 13. and Numb. iii. 12, 13, 44—51. and xviii. 14—16., he shows the twofold meaning of the redemption of their first-born sons, viz. that the first-born of the Hebrews were preserved from the plague inflicted on the Egyptians, and that the first-born sons were formerly consecrated to the priesthood; which being afterwards transferred to the tribe of Levi, the first-born sons were exchanged for the Levites, and were thenceforth to be redeemed. The whole of the sacrificial law showed that the bloody sacrifices morally signified the punishment of the person for or by whom they were offered; and that the other sacred rites of the Hebrews should have a symbolical or spiritual import will be obvious to every one, who recollects the frequent use of symbols which obtained in Egypt, from which country Moses brought out the Hebrews.

The precepts delivered in the New Testament concerning the sacraments plainly intimate that those very sacred rites were then about to receive their real accomplishment, and their symbolical or spiritual meaning is explained.

1. See, for instance, Rom. vi. 3—11.; 1 Cor. vi. 11., xi. 23—27.; Eph. v. 26.; Tit. iii. 5.; and Col. ii. 12. In which last passage, as well as the first, baptism (by immersion in water probably) is said to signify not only the moral ablution of sin, but also the death and burial of guilty man, and (by his emersion from the water) his resurrection to a virtuous life; in other words, our death unto sin and our obligation to walk in newness of life. The spiritual import of the Lord's supper is self-evident.

[1] Dr. John Clarke, Enquiry into the Origin of Evil, in the folio collection of Boyle's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 229.

[2] See Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, p. 580. first edition.

2. Lastly, since we learn from the New Testament that some histories are to be interpreted allegorically or mystically (as Gal. iv. 22—31.), and that persons and things are there evidently types and emblems of the Christian dispensation, and its divine Founder, as in Matt. xii. 40.; John iii. 14, 15.; 1 Cor. x. 4.; and Heb. vii. 1—3.; it is plain that the mystical sense ought to be followed in the histories and prophecies[1] of the Old Testament, and especially in such passages as are referred to by the inspired writers of the New Testament; who having given us the key by which to unlock the mystical sense of Scripture, we not only may but ought *cautiously* and *diligently* to make use of it.

Where the inspired writers themselves direct us to such an interpretation, when otherwise we might not perceive its necessity, then we have an *absolute authority* for the exposition, which supersedes our own conjectures, and we are not only safe in abiding by that authority, but should be unwarranted in rejecting it.

SECTION II.

CANONS FOR THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

THE spiritual interpretation of the Bible, "like all other good things, is liable to abuse; and that it hath been actually abused, both in ancient and modern days, cannot be denied. He, who shall go about to apply, in this way, any passage, *before* he hath attained its literal meaning, may say in itself what is pious and true, but foreign to the text from which he endeavoureth to deduce it. St. Jerome, it is well known, when grown older and wiser, lamented that, in the fervours of a youthful fancy, he had spiritualized the prophecy of Obadiah, before he understood it. And it must be allowed that a due attention to the occasion and scope of the psalms would have pared off many unseemly excrescences, which now deform the commentaries of St. Augustine and other fathers upon them. But, these and other concessions of the same kind being made, as they are made very freely, men of sense will consider that a principle is not therefore to be rejected, because it has been abused; *since human errors can never invalidate the truths of God.*"[2]

The literal sense is, undoubtedly, first in point of *nature*, as well as in order of signification; and consequently this must be ascertained before we proceed to search out its mystical import; but the genuine mystical or spiritual sense excels the literal *in dignity*, the latter being the medium of conveying the former. For instance,

[1] On the Double Sense of Prophecy, see pp. 404—408. *infra.*

[2] Bishop Horne, Commentary on the Psalms, vol. i. Preface, Works, vol. ii. p. x. "The importance, then, of figurative and mystical interpretation can hardly be called in question. The entire neglect of it must, in many cases, greatly vitiate expositions, however otherwise valuable for their erudition and judgment. In explaining the prophetical writings and the Mosaic ordinances, this defect will be most striking; since, in consequence of it, not only the spirit and force of many passages will almost wholly evaporate, but erroneous conceptions may be formed of their real purport and intention." Bp. Vanmildert, Bampton Lectures, pp. 240, 241. Rambach has adduced several instances, which strongly confirm these solid observations, Inst. Herm. Sacr. lib. i. cap. iii. pp. 81, 82.

from Numb. xxi. 8, 9. compared with John iii. 14., we learn that the lifting up of the brazen serpent betokened the lifting up of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world.[1]

Though the spiritual sense of a text is undoubtedly to be most highly esteemed, it by no means follows that we are to look for it in every passage of Scripture; but spiritual interpretations are not to be rejected, although they should not be clearly expressed. The spiritual meaning of a passage is *there only* to be sought, where it is evident, from *certain* criteria, that such meaning was designed by the Holy Spirit.

These criteria either are *seated in the text itself*, or they are to be *found in some other passages.*

I. *Where the criteria are seated in the text, vestiges of a spiritual meaning are discernible, when things, which are affirmed concerning the person or thing immediately treated of, are so august and illustrious that they cannot in any way be applied to it, in the fullest sense of the words.*

The word of God is the word of truth: there is nothing superfluous, nothing deficient in it. The writings of the prophets, especially those of Isaiah, abound with instances of this kind. Thus, in chaps. xiv., xl., xli., xlix., the return of the Jews from Babylon is announced in the most magnificent terms. The prophet describes their way as levelled before them, valleys filled up, mountains reduced to plains, trees and fragrant herbs as springing up to refresh them on their journey, and declares that they shall suffer neither hunger nor thirst during their journey. The Jews, thus restored, he represents as a holy people, chosen by Jehovah, cleansed from all iniquity, and taught by God himself, &c. &c. Now, when we compare this description with the accounts actually given of their return, we do not find any thing corresponding with the events predicted by Isaiah: neither do they represent the manners of the people as reformed, agreeably to the prophet's statement. On the contrary, their profligacy is frequently reproved by Ezra, Nehemiah, and Haggai in the most pointed terms. In this description, therefore, of their deliverance from captivity, we must look beyond it to that infinitely-higher deliverance, which in the fulness of time was accomplished by Jesus Christ; "who, by himself once offered, hath thereby made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," and thus "hath opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers."

We proceed to show in what cases it will be proper to have recourse to other passages of Scripture.

II. *Where the spiritual meaning of a text is latent, the Holy Spirit sometimes clearly and expressly asserts that one thing or person was divinely constituted or appointed to be a figure or symbol of another thing or person; in which case the indisputable testimony of eternal truth removes and cuts off every ground of doubt.*

For instance, if we compare Psal. cx. 4. with Heb. vii., we shall find that *Melchisedek* was a type of Messiah, the great high-priest and king. So *Hagar and Sarah* were types of the Jewish and Christian churches (Gal. iv. 22—31.). *Jonah's deliverance from the whale* was a type of Christ's resurrection (Matt. xii. 40.); the *manna*, of Christ himself, and of his

[1] Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacr. p. 72.

heavenly doctrine (John vi. 32.). The rock in the wilderness, whence water issued on being struck by Moses, represented Christ to the Israelites (1 Cor. x. 4.); and the entrance of the high-priest into the holy of holies, on the day of expiation, with the blood of the victim, is expressly stated by St. Paul to have prefigured the entrance of Jesus Christ into the presence of God, with his own blood (Heb. ix. 7—20.).

III. *Sometimes, however, the mystical sense is intimated by the Holy Spirit in a more obscure manner; still we are led by various intimations to the knowledge of the spiritual or mystical meaning. This chiefly occurs in the following cases.*

1. *When the antitype is proposed under figurative names taken from the Old Testament.*

Thus, in 1 Cor. v. 7., Christ is called the Paschal Lamb: in 1 Cor. xv. 45., he is called the *last* Adam; the first Adam, therefore, was in some respect a type or figure of Christ; who in Ezek. xxxiv. 23., is further called David. In like manner, the kingdom of antichrist is mentioned under the appellations of Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon, in Rev. xi. 8. and xvi. 19.

2. *When, by a manifest allusion of words and phrases, the Scripture refers one thing to another; or when the arguments of the inspired writers either plainly intimate it to have a spiritual meaning, or when such meaning is tacitly implied.*

(1.) Thus, from Isai. ix. 4., which alludes to the victory obtained by Gideon (Judg. vii. 22.), we learn that this represents the victory which Christ should obtain by the preaching of the gospel, as Vitringa has largely shown on this passage.

(2.) So, when St. Paul is arguing against the Jews from the types of Sarah, Hagar, Melchisedek, &c., he supposes that in these memorable Old Testament personages there were some things in which Christ and his mystical body the church were delineated, and that these things were admitted by his opponents; otherwise his argument would be inconclusive. Hence it follows, that Isaac, and other persons mentioned in the Old Testament, of whom there is no typical or spiritual signification given in the scriptures, *in express terms*, were types of Christ in many things that happened to them, or were performed by them. In like manner, St. Paul shows, 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10., that the precept in Deut. xxv. 4., relative to the muzzling of oxen, has a higher spiritual meaning than is suggested by the mere letter of the command.

Such are the most important criteria, by which to ascertain whether a passage may require a spiritual interpretation or not. But, although these rules will afford essential assistance in enabling us to determine this point, it is another and equally important question, in what manner that interpretation is to be regulated.

The general principles already laid down[1], with respect to the figurative and allegorical interpretation of the scriptures, are applicable to the spiritual exposition of the sacred writings. It only remains to add, that all mystical or spiritual interpretations must be such as really illustrate, not obscure or perplex the subject. Agreeably to the sound maxim adopted by divines, they must not be made the foundation of articles of faith, but must be offered only to explain or confirm what is elsewhere more clearly revealed[2]; and, above all, they must on no account or pretext whatever be sought after in matters of little moment.

In the spiritual interpretation of Scripture, there are two extremes

[1] See chap. i., sections i., iii., iv. pp. 316—324, 332—343.

[2] Est regula theologorum, *sensum mysticum non esse argumentativum*, hoc est, non suppeditare firma ac solida argumenta, quibus dogmata fidei inaedificentur. Rambach, Inst. Herm. Sacr. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 72

to be avoided, viz. that we do not restrict such interpretation within too narrow limits; and, again, that we do not seek for mystical meanings in every passage, to the exclusion of its literal and common sense, when that sense is sufficiently clear. The latter of these two extremes is that to which men have in every age been most liable. Hence it is that we find instances of it in the more ancient Jewish doctors, especially in Philo, and among many of the fathers, as Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, and others, and particularly in Origen, who appears to have derived his system of allegorizing the sacred writings from the school of Plato. Nor are modern expositors altogether free from these extravagances.[1]

In these strictures, the author trusts he shall not be charged with improperly censuring "that fair and sober accommodation of the historical and parabolical parts to present times and circumstances, or to the elucidation of either the doctrines or precepts of Christianity, which is sanctioned by the word of God;" and which he has attempted to illustrate in the preceding criteria for ascertaining the mystical or spiritual meaning of the scriptures. Such an accommodation, it is justly remarked, is perfectly allowable, and may be highly useful; and in some cases it is absolutely necessary. "Let every truly pious man, however, be aware of the danger of extending this principle beyond its natural and obvious application; lest he should wander himself, and lead others also astray, from that clearly-traced and well-beaten path in which we are assured that even 'a wayfaring man though a fool should not err.' Let no temptations, which vanity, a desire of popularity, or the more specious, but equally fallacious, plea of usefulness may present, seduce him from his tried way. *On the contrary, let him adhere with jealous care to the plain and unforced dictates of the word of God;* lest, by departing from the simplicity of the gospel, he should inadvertently contribute to

[1] Thus, Cocceius represented the *entire* history of the Old Testament as a mirror, which held forth an accurate view of the transactions and events that were to happen in the church under the New Testament dispensation, to the end of the world. He further affirmed that by far the greatest part of the ancient prophecies foretold Christ's ministry and mediation, together with the rise, progress, and revolutions of the church, not only under the figure of persons and transactions, but in a literal manner, and by the sense of the words used in these predictions. And he laid it down as a fundamental rule of interpretation that the *words and phrases of Scripture are to be understood in* EVERY SENSE *of which they are susceptible*; or, in other words, that *they signify in effect every thing which they can signify* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. v. pp. 378, 379. edit. 1826. These opinions have not been without their advocates in this country; and, if our limits permitted, we could adduce numerous instances of evident misinterpretations of the scriptures which have been occasioned by the adoption of them: one or two, however, must suffice. Thus, the ten commandments, or *moral law*, as they are usually termed, which the most pious and learned men in every age of the Christian church have considered to be rules or precepts for regulating the manners or conduct of men, both towards God and towards one another, have been referred to Jesus Christ, under the mistaken idea that they *may* be read with a new interest by believers! (See an exposition of the ten commandments on the above principle, if such a perversion of sense and reason may be so called, in the Bible Magazine, vol. iv. pp. 13, 14.) A modern writer on the continent has pushed the Coccejan hypothesis to the utmost bounds. According to his scheme, the incest of Lot and his daughters was permitted, only to be a sign of the salvation which the world was afterwards to receive from Jesus Christ; and *Joshua the son of Nun* signifies the same thing as *Jesus the son of Man!!!* Kanne's Christus im Alten Testament, that is, Christ in the Old Testament, or Inquiries concerning the Adumbrations and Delineations of the Messiah. Nürnberg, 1818, 2 vols. 8vo. (Mélanges de Religion, de Morale, et de Critique Sacrée, published at Nismes, tom. i. pp. 159, 160.) Comp. pp. 249, 250. *supra.*

the adulteration of Christianity, and to the consequent injury which must thence arise to the spiritual interests of his fellow-creatures." [1]

IV. APPLICATION of the preceding principles to the spiritual interpretation of the miracles recorded in the New Testament.

Although (as we have already observed) the design of miracles[2] is to mark the divine interposition, yet, when reading of the miracles recorded in the sacred writings, we are not to lose sight of the moral and religious instruction concealed under them, and especially under the miracles performed by our Saviour. "All his miracles," indeed, "were undoubtedly so many testimonies that he was sent from God; but they were much more than this, for they were all of such a kind, and attended with such circumstances, as give us an insight into the spiritual state of man, and the great work of his salvation." They were significant emblems of his designs, and figures aptly representing the benefits to be conferred by him upon mankind, and had in them a spiritual sense.

Thus, he cast out evil spirits, who, by the divine providence, were permitted to exert themselves at that time, and to possess many persons. By this act he showed that he came to destroy the empire of Satan, and that, wheresoever his doctrine should prevail, idolatry and vice should be put to flight.—He gave sight to the blind, a miracle well suiting him who brought immortality to light, and taught truth to an ignorant world. *Lucem caliganti reddidit mundo*, applied by Quintus Curtius to a Roman emperor, can be strictly applied to Christ, and to him alone. No prophet ever did this miracle before him, as none ever made the religious discoveries which he made. Our Saviour himself leads us to this observation, and sets his miracle in the same view, saying upon that occasion, *I am the light of the world; I am come into this world, that they which see not might see.*—He cured the deaf, and the dumb, and the lame, and the infirm, and cleansed the lepers, and healed all manner of sicknesses, to show at the same time that he was the physician of souls, which have their diseases corresponding in some manner to those of the body, and are deaf, and dumb, and impotent, and paralytic, and leprous in the spiritual sense.—He fed the hungry multitudes by a miracle, which aptly represented his heavenly doctrine, and the gospel preached to the poor, and which he himself so explains, saying, *I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever.*—He raised the dead, a miracle peculiarly suiting him, who at the last day should call forth all mankind to appear before him; and, therefore, when he raised Lazarus he uttered those majestic words, *I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.*—He performed some miracles upon persons who were not of his own nation, and it was so ordered by divine providence, that these persons, as the centurion, the Syrophœnician woman, the Samaritan leper, should show a greater degree of faith and of

[1] Christian Observer for 1805, vol. iv. p. 133. The two preceding pages of this journal contain some admirable remarks on the evils of spiritualizing the sacred writings too much. The same topic is also further noticed in volume xvi. for 1817, pp. 319, &c. Many important observations on the history and abuses of spiritual interpretation will be found in the late Rev. J. J. Conybeare's Bampton Lectures for 1824. The whole of Bishop Horne's preface to his commentary on the Psalms is equally worthy of perusal for its excellent observations on the same question. The misapplication and abuse of spiritual interpretation are also pointed out by Bishop Vanmildert, Bampton Lectures, pp. 241. &c.

[2] The nature and evidence of miracles are discussed in Vol. I. pp. 203—270.

gratitude than the Jews to whom the same favours were granted. This was an indication that the gospel would be more readily received by the Gentiles than by the Jews, and this our Saviour intimates, saying, when he had commended the centurion's faith, *Many shall come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into utter darkness.*

It were easy to adduce other instances, but the preceding will suffice to establish the rule; especially as the spiritual import of the Christian miracles is particularly considered by every writer that has expressly illustrated them, but by no one with more sobriety than by Dr. Jortin, to whom we are indebted for most of the preceding illustrations.[1]

SECTION III.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TYPES.

I. *Nature of a type*—II. *Different species of types, Chevallier's classification.*—1. *Legal or ritual types.*—2. *Prophetical types.*—3. *Historical types.*—III. *Rules for the interpretation of types.*—IV. *Remarks on the interpretation of symbols.*

I. A TYPE, in its primary and literal meaning, simply denotes a rough draught, or less accurate model, from which a more perfect image is made; but, in the sacred or theological sense of the term, a type may be defined to be a symbol of something future and distant, or an example prepared and evidently designed by God to prefigure that future thing. What is thus prefigured is called the *antitype.*[2]

1. The first characteristic of a type is its ADUMBRATION OF THE THING TYPIFIED.

One thing may adumbrate another, either in something which it has in common with the other; as the Jewish victims by their death represented Christ, who in the fulness of time was to die for mankind, or in a symbol of some property possessed by the other; as the images of the cherubim, placed in the inner sanctuary of the temple, beautifully represented the celerity of the angels of heaven, not indeed by any celerity of their own, but by wings of curious contrivance, which exhibited an appropriate symbol of swiftness, or in any other way, in which the thing representing can be compared with the thing represented; as Melchisedek the priest of the Most High God represented Jesus Christ our priest. For, though Melchisedek was not an eternal priest, yet the sacred writers have attributed to him a slender and shadowy appearance of eternity, by not mentioning the genealogy of his parents, his birth or death, as they commonly do in the case of other eminent persons.

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[1] See Dr. Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. pp. 8—16. (edit. 1810.). See also Dr. Dodd, Discourses on the Miracles of the New Testament; and Dr. Collyer, Lectures on Scripture Miracles.

[2] Outram, De Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 18., or p. 215. of Mr Allen's accurate translation. This work is of singular value to the divinity student; as affording, in a comparatively small compass, one of the most masterly vindications of the vicarious atonement of Christ that ever was published.

2. The next requisite to constitute a type is THAT IT BE PREPARED AND DESIGNED BY GOD TO REPRESENT ITS ANTITYPE.[1]

This forms the distinction between a type and a simile; for many things are compared to others, which they were not made to resemble, for the purpose of representing them. For, though it is said that "all flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass" (1 Pet. i. 24.), no one can consider the tenuity of grass as a type of human weakness, or the flower of grass as a type of human glory. The same remark must be applied also to a metaphor, or that species of simile in which one thing is called by the name of another; for, though Herod from his cunning is called a *fox* (Luke xiii. 32.), and Judah for his courage a *lion's whelp* (Gen. xlix. 9.), yet no one supposes foxes to be types of Herod, or young lions types of Judah.

3. Our definition of a type implies, also, that the OBJECT REPRESENTED BY IT IS SOMETHING FUTURE.

Those institutions of Moses, which partook of the nature of types, are called "a shadow of things to come" (Col. ii. 17.); and those things which happened unto the fathers for types are said to have been written for our admonition, "upon whom the ends of the world are come" (1 Cor. x. 1—11.). In the same sense the Mosaic law, which abounded with numerous types, is declared to have had "a shadow of good things to come" (Heb. x. 1.). And those things which by the command of God were formerly transacted in the tabernacle are described as prefiguring what was afterwards to be done in the heavenly sanctuary (Heb. ix. 11, 12, 23, 24.). Hence it appears, that a type and a symbol differ from each other as a *species* and *genus*. A *symbol* may represent a thing, past, present, or future; whereas the object represented by a *type* is invariably future. So that all the rites which signified to the Jews any virtues that they were to practise ought to be called symbols rather than types; and those rites, if there were any, which were divinely appointed to represent things both present and future, may be regarded as both symbols and types; symbols, as denoting things present; and types, as indicating things future.

4. We may further remark that a type differs from a parable, in being grounded on a matter of fact, not on a fictitious narrative, but is much of the same nature in actions, or things and persons, as an allegory is in words.

II. In the examination of the sacred writings, three SPECIES of types present themselves to our consideration; viz. *Legal Types*, or those contained in the Mosaic law; *Prophetical Types*; and *Historical Types*.

[The passages already cited show that there is a sufficient basis for typical interpretation[2], *i.e.* that there is a real and designed connection between the Old Testament and the New, that in fact, as even De Wette confesses, "Christianity lay in Judaism as leaves and fruits do in the seed, though certainly it needed the divine Sun to bring them

[1] "It is essential," observes Bp. Vanmildert, "to a type, in the scriptural acceptation of the term, that there should be competent evidence of the divine *intention* in the correspondence between it and the antitype; a matter not left to the imagination of the expositor to discover, but resting on some solid proof from Scripture itself, that this was really the case." Bampton Lectures, p. 239.

[2] See the distinction noted between typical and allegorical interpretation by Fairbairn, The Typology of Scripture (2nd edit.), vol. i. book i. chap. i. pp. 18, 19.

forth."[1] For there was an unity in the religious spirit of the two dispensations; and as time rolled on there was a continued development of God's great purpose, every divinely-given rite and promise and prophecy disclosing more and more his counsels even to the completion of the whole plan in Christ. "The blessed Redeemer, whom the gospel reveals, is himself the beginning and the end of the scheme of God's dispensations: in him is found alike the centre of heaven's plan, and the one foundation of human confidence and hope. So that, *before* his coming into the world, all things of necessity pointed toward him, types and prophecies bore testimony to the things that concerned his work and kingdom, the children of blessing were blessed in anticipation of his looked-for redemption, and *with* his coming the grand reality itself came, and the higher purposes of heaven entered on their fulfilment." Setting out from this great truth, and taking always the New Testament as the key to the full understanding of the Old, we conclude that type was connected with antitype not merely by an accidental similarity of outward circumstance, but by a divinely-appointed inward relation of one to the other, involving the idea of fulfilment. Fairbairn illustrates this view at length[2], laying down as principles that the pre-ordained connection implied that the realities of the gospel were the ultimate objects always contemplated by God, who, before he exhibited these realities, subjected the earlier church to a course of preparatory training; and that, while the same great elements of truth were in the Old as in things they represented in the New Testament, "in the Old these must have been exhibited in a form more level to the comprehension, more easily and distinctly cognizable by the minds of men." The teaching by sensible objects was calculated to make a broad impression. And yet the whole purpose of God might not be comprehended at the time. The person who was a type, or the writer who made mention of a typical thing, might not always be aware of the fact. Still typical persons and things, pointing surely to the future, were not without their present use: they were "institutions in the existing worship, or events in the current providence of God," with a purpose to accomplish at the time, "apart from the prospective reference to future times." In this prospective aspect type was a kind of prophecy, distinguished indeed from ordinary prophecy, because it prefigured while prophecy predicted, but yet serving in a manner the same purpose, and admitting illustration on similar principles.

Various writers have made various classifications of types. By some they are said to be *prophetical*, and *historical*. And others describe *natural*, *legal*, and *moral* types. According to Chevallier there are three kinds: —

1. Those which are supported by accomplished prophecy delivered previously to the appearance of the antitype; as Moses, and Joshua the high priest (Zech. iii.).

2. Those supported by accomplished prophecy delivered in the

[1] Cited by Fairbairn, ibid. p. 45.
[2] The Typology of Scripture, chap. ii. pp. 61, 62.

person of the antitype; as the brazen serpent, the manna eaten in the desert, the paschal sacrifice, the miraculous preservation of Jonah in the great fish.

3. Those which in Scripture are expressly declared or clearly assumed to be typical, after the prefigured events had taken place; as the numerous types contained in the Levitical priesthood and sacrifices, as also Adam, Melchisedek, Joshua the son of Nun, David, Solomon, &c.[1]

But, perhaps, as natural a division as can be made is into *ritual* types, *prophetical* types, or the combination of type with prophecy, and *historical* types.]

1. Ritual Types. It evidently appears, from comparing the history and economy of Moses with the whole of the New Testament, that the ritual law was typical of the Messiah and of gospel blessings; and this point has been so clearly established by the great apostle of the Gentiles in his epistle to the Hebrews, that it will suffice to adduce a very few examples, to show the nature of *ritual types.*

Thus the entire constitution, and offerings of the Levitical priesthood, typically prefigured Christ the great high priest (Heb. v., vii., viii.); and especially the ceremonies observed on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi., with Heb. ix. throughout, and x. 1—22.). So, the passover and the paschal lamb typified the sacrifice of Jesus Christ (Exod. xii. 3., &c., with John xix. 36., and 1 Cor. v. 7.); and by a somewhat questionable extension of the principle it has been asserted that the privileges of the Jews were types of those enjoyed by all true Christians; "for their relation to God as his people, signified by the name *Israelite* (Rom. ix. 4.), prefigured the more honourable relation, in which believers, the *true Israel*, stand to God. Their *adoption* as the sons of God, and the privileges they were entitled to by that adoption, were types of believers being made partakers of the *divine nature* by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, and of their title to the inheritance of heaven. The residence of the *glory*, first in the tabernacle and then in the temple, was a figure of the residence of God by his Spirit in the Christian church, his temple on earth, and of his eternal residence in that church brought to perfection in heaven. The *covenant with Abraham* was the new or gospel covenant, the blessings of which were typified by the temporal blessings promised to him and to his *natural seed;* and the *covenant at Sinai*, whereby the Israelites, as the worshippers of the true God, were separated from the idolatrous nations, was an emblem of the final separation of the righteous from the wicked. In the *giving of the law*, and the formation of the Israelites into a nation or community, was represented the formation of the city of the living God, and of the general assembly of the church of the first-born. Lastly, the heavenly country, the habitation of the righteous, was typified by *Canaan*, a country given to the Israelites by God's promise."[2]

2. Care must be taken in using the term Prophetical Types, lest an incorrect idea be thereby suggested. Many, so called, are simply symbolical actions.[3]

Of this description is the prophet Isaiah's going naked (that is, without his prophetic garment) and barefoot (Isai. xx. 2.), to prefigure the fatal destruction of the Egyptians and Ethiopians. The hiding of a girdle in a rock on the banks of the Euphrates, which, on being subsequently taken thence, proved to be rotten, was to denote the destruction which would speedily befall the abandoned and ungrateful Jewish people (Jer. xiii. 1—7. compared with the following verses); the abstaining from marriage (Jer. xvi. 2.), mourning (ver. 5.), and feasting (ver. 8.), to indicate the woful calamities denounced by Jehovah against his people for their sins. Similar calamities are prefigured by breaking a potter's vessel (Jer. xviii. 2—10.). By making bonds and yokes (Jer. xxvii. 1—8.) is prefigured the subjugation of the kings of Edom, Moab, the Ammonites, Tyre, and Sidon, by Nebu-

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[1] On the Historical Types contained in the Old Testament, Hulsean Lectures, 1826, lect. iv. p. 76.

[2] Dr. Macknight on Rom. ix. 4. note 1.

[3] See Muenscher, On Types and Typical Interpretation of Scripture in Amer. Bibl. Repository, Jan. 1841, pp. 103—105.

chadnezzar; and, in like manner, Agabus's binding his own hands with Paul's girdle intimated the apostle's captivity at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 10, 11.).[1]

To this class may be referred *prophetical and symbolical visions* of future events: some of these have their interpretation annexed; as Jeremiah's vision of the almond-tree and a seething-pot (Jer. i. 11—16.), Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii.), with many similar instances recorded in the sacred writings.

[From the relation already pointed out between type and prophecy it is easy to imagine a combination of the two, and to expect that, by means of "the typical in action," a body and form might be supplied to "the prophetic in word." This actually occurs, according to Fairbairn's view, under four different modifications.

1. When a typical action is historically mentioned in the prophetic word; and thus the mention, being that of a prophetical circumstance, comes to possess a prophetical character.

Instances may be found of both a more general and a more specific character: *e. g.* Psal. xli. 9., compared with John xiii. 18.; Exod. xii. 46., with John xix. 36. These, as they originally appear, are of a historical cast; in the one case, David's personal experience of treachery, the like to which might often occur; in the other, a direction respecting a legal rite. But it was not merely a casual re-production of these facts, and a noting of the coincidence, which we find in the gospel history. Our Lord and his apostles see here a closer connection, "a prophetical element which must find its fulfilment in the personal experience of Christ." The utterances concern David and the paschal lamb, both bearing a typical relation to Messiah; so that "their being descriptive in the one respect necessarily implied their being prophetic in the other. What had formerly taken place in the experience of the type must substantially renew itself again in the experience of the great Antitype, whatever other and inferior renewals it may find besides."

2. When something typical in the past or the present is represented in a distinct prophetical announcement as to appear again in the future; the prophetical in word being combined with the typical in act into a prospective delineation of things to come.

Examples of various kinds might be produced: *e. g.* Zech. vi. 12, 13. The temple was being at that time re-built; and, in language taken from this literal re-building, a similar but far more glorious work is predicted for the future. "The building of the temple was itself typical of the incarnation of God, in the Person of Christ, and of the raising up in him of a spiritual house that should be 'an habitation of God through the Spirit,'" John ii. 19.; Eph. ii. 20—22.; so also, Ezek. xxxiv. 23.; in which the future blessing on God's people is described as a return of the person and times of David.

3. When the typical, not expressly and formally, but in its essential relations and principles, is embodied in an accompanying prediction which foretells things corresponding in nature, but far higher in importance.

This modification is similar to the preceding one, but extends beyond it. Examples are produced in the song of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii. 1—10., which seems to have formed in some degree the groundwork of that of the Virgin, Luke i. 46—55.; and in Psal. ii.

4. When the typical is itself future, and is partly described, partly presupposed, in a prophetic word, as a ground for the delineation of other things yet more distant, to which it will hold a typical relation.

[1] Other examples of, and observations on, prophetical types, may be seen in Dr. Nares's Warburtonian Lectures on the Prophecies concerning the Messiah, pp. 70—86, 117—125.

Examples are to be found in those prophecies which, while Babylon yet held her supremacy, depicted her fall and the deliverance of captive Judah from thraldom and the return of the banished to their own land, and which, by means of the imagery hence supplied, described a greater fall, and a more happy rescue, and the last magnificent glories of God's ransomed church. "The deliverance accomplished from the yoke of Babylon formed a fitting prelude and stepping-stone to the main subject of the prophecy—the revelation of God in the Person and work of his Son. The certainty of the one—a certainty soon to be realized—was a pledge of the ultimate certainty of the other; and the character also of the former, as a singular and unexpected manifestation of the Lord's power to deliver his people and lay their enemies in the dust, was a prefiguration of what was to be accomplished once for all in the salvation to be wrought out by Jesus Christ." [1]]

3. Historical Types are the characters, actions, and fortunes of some eminent persons recorded in the Old Testament, so ordered by divine providence as to be exact prefigurations of the characters, actions, and fortunes of future persons who should arise under the gospel dispensation.

In some instances, the persons, whose characters and actions prefigured future events, were declared by Jehovah himself to be typical, long before the events which they prefigured came to pass: these have been termed *innate*, or natural historical types; and these may be safely admitted. But *inferred* types, or those in which typical persons were not known to be such, until after the things which they typified had actually happened (and which can only be consequentially ascertained to be such by probabilities supposed to be agreeable to the analogy of faith), must be admitted with caution.[2]

III. From the preceding remarks and statements it will be obvious that much wisdom is necessary in the Interpretation of Types. Some have gone so far as to say that, unless we have the authority of the sacred writers themselves for it, we cannot conclude with certainty that this or that person or thing, which is mentioned in the Old Testament, is a type of Christ on account of the resemblance which we may perceive between them; though we may admit it as probable. "Whatever persons or things recorded in the *Old* Testament were expressly declared by Christ, or by his apostles, to have been designed as prefigurations of persons or things relating to the *New* Testament, such persons or things so recorded in the *former* are types of the persons or things with which they are compared in the *latter*. But, if we assert that a person or thing was designed to prefigure *another* person or thing, where no such prefiguration has been declared by *divine authority*, we make an assertion for which we neither *have*, nor *can* have, the slightest foundation. And, even when comparisons *are* instituted in the New Testament between antecedent and subsequent persons or things, we must be careful to distinguish the examples, where a comparison is instituted merely for the sake of *illustration*, from the examples where such a *connection* is declared, as exists in

[1] For a full discussion of these topics see Fairbairn, The Typology of Scripture (2nd edit.), vol. i. book i. chap. iv. pp. 100—136.

[2] The subject of historical types is copiously (but in some respects fancifully) elucidated by Huet in his Demonstratio Evangelica, cap. 170. vol. ii. pp. 1056—1074. Amst. 1680; and by Dr. Macknight in his Essay on the right Interpretation of the Language of Scripture, in vol. iv. or vi. (4to or 8vo.) of his translation of the Apostolical Epistles, essay viii. sectt. 1—5. The interpretation of types, generally, is vindicated by Alber, against the modern neologian divines on the continent, in his Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Nov. Test. vol. i. pp. 63—85.

the relation of *a type* to its antitype."[1] In the interpretation of types, therefore,

1. *There must be a fit application of the type to the antitype.*

"To constitute one thing the *type* of another, as the term is generally understood in reference to Scripture, something *more* is wanted than mere *resemblance*. The former must not only *resemble* the latter, but must have been *designed* to resemble the latter. It must have been so designed in its *original institution*. It must have been designed as something *preparatory* to the latter. The type as well as the antitype must have been pre-ordained; and they must have been pre-ordained as constituent parts of the same general scheme of divine providence. It is this *previous design* and this *pre-ordained connection*, which constitute the relation of type and antitype. Where *these* qualities fail, where the *previous design* and the *pre-ordained* connection are wanting, the relation between any two things, however similar in *themselves*, is not the relation of type to antitype."[2] In further explanation of this canon, it may be remarked that in a type *every* circumstance is far from being typical; as in a parable there are several incidents, which are not to be considered as parts of the parable, nor to be insisted upon as such. From not considering the evident relation which ought to subsist between the type and the antitype, some fanciful expositors, under pretence that the tabernacle of Moses was a figure of the church or of heaven, have converted even the very *boards* and *nails* of it into *types*. Thus cardinal Bellarmine found the mass to be typified by Melchisedek's bringing forth *bread and wine*, he being a priest of the Most High God.[3] The same great adversary of the protestants (in his treatise *de Laicis*) in like manner discovered that their secession under Luther "was typified by the secession of the ten tribes under Jeroboam; while the Lutherans, with equal reason, retorted that Jeroboam was a type of the pope, and that the secession of Israel from Judah typified, not the secession of the protestants under Luther, but the secession of the church of Rome from primitive Christianity. But, to whichever of the two events the secession under Jeroboam may be supposed the most *similar* (if similarity exist there *at all* beyond the mere *act* of secession), we have no authority for pronouncing it a *type* of either. We have no *proof* of previous design and of pre-ordained connection between the subjects of comparison; we have no *proof* that the secession of the Israelites under Jeroboam was designed to prefigure any *other* secession whatever."[4] From the same inattention to considering the necessarily evident relation between the type and the antitype, the Hebrew monarch *Saul*, whose name is by interpretation *death*, has been made a type of the moral law, which St. Paul terms the "ministration of *death*" (2 Cor. iii. 7.). In like manner, the period which elapsed between the anointing of David and the death of Saul has been made to typify the time of Christ's ministry upon earth!! And the *long war between the house of Saul and the house of David* (2 Sam. iii. 1.), in which *David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul weaker and weaker*, has been represented as strikingly portraying the lengthened contests between the righteousness of faith and that of works, so often alluded to in the epistles, especially in those addressed to the Romans and Galatians!!![5]

It were no difficult task to adduce numerous similar examples of abuse in the interpretation of types; but the preceding will suffice to show the danger of falling into it, and the necessity of confining our attention to the strict relation between the type and the antitype.

2. *There is often more in the type than in the antitype.*

God designed one person or thing in the Old Testament to be a type or shadow of things to come, not in all things, but only in respect to *some particular thing* or things; hence we find many things in the type that are inapplicable to the antitype. The use of this canon is shown in the epistle to the Hebrews, in which the ritual and sacrifices of the Old Testament are fairly accommodated to Jesus Christ the antitype, although there are

[1] Bishop Marsh, Lectures, part iii. pp. 114, 115. [2] Ibid. part iii. p. 113.

[3] De Missa, lib. i. c. 9.

[4] Bp. Marsh, Lectures, part iii. pp. 116, 117.

[5] The reader who may be desirous of seeing the above extravagant *typifications* treated at length will find them minutely stated, with other similar particulars equally extravagant, in the Bible Magazine, vol. iv. pp. 22—29. [Muenscher very well exposes them in his article On Types and Typical Interpretation of Scripture, Amer. Bibl. Repository, Jan. 1841, p. 93., &c.]

many things in that priesthood which do not accord. Thus the priest was to offer sacrifice for his own sins (Heb. v. 3); which is in no respect applicable to Christ (Heb. vii. 27.). Again, the Mosaic priesthood is (vii. 18.) *weak and unprofitable*; neither of which characters can be applied to the Redeemer, *who continueth ever*, and *hath an unchangeable priesthood* (vi. 24, 25.). [But these, as *accidental* particulars, have nothing to do with the typical relation. A type, as such, can contain no more than the antitype. Ἔδει δὲ (says Chrysostom) *τὸν τύπον ἔλαττον ἔχειν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἐκεῖνα τύπος τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσομένων.*[1]]

3. *Frequently there is more in the antitype than in the type.*

The reason of this canon is the same as that of the preceding rule; for, as no single type can express the life and particular actions of Christ, there is necessarily more in the antitype than can be found in the type itself; so that one type must signify one thing, and another type another thing. Thus, *one* goat could not typify Christ both in his death and resurrection; therefore two were appointed (Lev. xvi. 7.), one of which was offered, and prefigured his "full, perfect, and sufficient atonement;" while the other, which was dismissed, typified his triumph over death and the grave. In like manner, Moses was a type of Christ as a Deliverer, or Saviour, in bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt, and Joshua, in bringing them into Canaan, which was a type of heaven, the true country of all sincere Christians.

4. *The wicked, as such, are* NOT *to be made types of Christ.*

For how can a thing, which is bad in itself, prefigure or typify a thing that is good? Yet, for want of attending to this obvious and almost self-evident proposition, some expositors have interpreted the adultery of David, and the incest of Amnon, as typical of the Messiah![2] and the oak on which Absalom was suspended by the hair of the head has been made a type of the cross of Christ![3] It is not, however, to be denied that the punishments of some malefactors are *accommodated* to Christ as an antitype. Thus, Deut. xxi. 23. is by St. Paul accommodated *typically* to him, Gal. iii. 13. Jonah, we have already observed, was a type of Christ, by his continuance three days and three nights in the belly of a great fish; but the point of resemblance is to be sought, not in his being there as the punishment of his disobedience to the divine command, but *in his coming forth, at the expiration of that time*, alive, and in perfect vigour; which coming forth prefigured the resurrection of Christ.[4]

[The limitation of types is a very important question. How widely writers have differed thereon may be seen in the historical survey taken by Fairbairn of the past and present state of theological opinion on the subject.[5] Bishop Marsh's rule, given above, has been adopted by very many modern authors. But surely it is too restricted. And even those who profess to adopt it have frequently departed from it when they have come to the consideration of particular examples. Indeed it might as well be supposed that we must have inspired authority to decide on each several prophecy, as that nothing must be admitted to be a type—type and prophecy being

[1] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718—1738. In cap. xxxvii. Gen. hom. lxi. tom. iv. p. 587.

[2] Azorius, the Spanish Jesuit, in his Institutiones Morales, lib. viii. c. 2.; and Cornelius à Lapide in Præfat. ad Pentateuch. canon 40.

[3] By Gretzer, De Cruce, lib. i. c. 6.

[4] In the preceding observations on the interpretation of types the author has chiefly been indebted to Glassius, Philologia Sacra, lib. ii. pars i. tract. ii. sect. iv. col. 442—472., which has been unaccountably *omitted* by Prof. Dathe in his otherwise truly valuable edition of that work; Langius, Herm. Sacr. pp. 97—119.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 776—795.; Viser, Herm Sacr. Nov. Test. pars ii. pp. 184—188. The subject of types is particularly considered and ably illustrated in Dr. Outram, De Sacrificiis, particularly lib. i. cap. 18 and lib. ii. cap. 7. (pp. 217—228, 361—382., of Mr. Allen's translation already noticed); Mr. Faber, Horæ Mosaicæ, vol. ii. pp. 40—173.; Bishop Chandler, Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, &c., chap. iii.; and Mr. Wilson, Popular Inquiry into the Doctrine of Scripture Types, Edinburgh, 1820. 8vo. But the fullest view of this subject is stated by Dr. Graves to be found in the Rev. Samuel Mather's work on the Figures and Types of the Old Testament, Dublin, 1683, 4to.

[5] The Typology of Scripture (2nd edit.), vol. i. book i. chap. i. pp. 17—58.

so nearly related—unless a sacred writer distinctly calls it one. The examples furnished by scripture must, it is reasonable to believe, be intended as specimens rather than as exhausting the whole number of divinely-intended prefigurations. They are to establish a principle which may be employed in other cases. For, just as our Lord reprehended his disciples (Luke xxiv. 25.) for failing to recognize largely enough the element of prophecy, so the author of the epistle to the Hebrews blames them for not having of themselves better appreciated the typical character of Melchizedek (Heb. v. 11, 12.). The fanciful extremes into which some interpreters have run may teach a salutary caution, but need not make us deny the existence of types, which all reason and analogy are ready to point out.[1]

A caution of another kind may be added. No doctrine must be pressed as fundamental, if it be grounded merely on typical analogy. This analogy may illustrate a teaching which is declared in plain language; but it can furnish no proof of any thing not otherwise distinctly taught.

Fairbairn, considering the directions ordinarily given as too vague for much practical service, lays down the following rules as important in the interpretation of types.

1. Nothing is to be regarded as typical of the good things under the gospel, which was of itself of a forbidden and sinful nature.

2. We must be guided, in determining the existence and import of particular types, not so much by any knowledge possessed, or supposed to be possessed, by the ancient worshippers concerning their prospective fulfilment, as by the light furnished by their realization in the great facts and revelations of the gospel.

3. We must be careful to make ourselves acquainted with the truths or ideas exhibited in the types, considered merely as providential transactions or religious institutions.

4. While the symbol or institution constituting the type has properly but one radical meaning, yet the fundamental idea or principle exhibited in it may often be capable of more than one application to the realities of the gospel.

5. Due regard must be had to the essential difference between the nature of the type and that of the antitype.[2]]

IV. Closely connected with the interpretation of types is the expounding of SYMBOLS; which, though often confounded with them, are nevertheless widely different in their nature. By *symbols* we mean "certain representative marks, rather than express pictures; or, if pictures, such as were at the time *characters*, and, besides presenting to the eye the resemblance of a particular object, suggested a general idea to the mind. As when a *horn* was made to denote *strength*, an *eye* and *sceptre*, *majesty*, and in numberless such instances; where the picture was not drawn to express merely the thing itself, but something else, which was, or was conceived to be, analogous to it. This more complex and ingenious form of picture-writing was

[1] See the whole subject well argued by Fairbairn, as before cited, pp. 36—43.

[2] For the illustration of these rules the reader must be referred to Fairbairn, chap. v. pp. 137—166.

much practised by the Egyptians, and is that which we know by the name of *hieroglyphics.*"[1]

It has been doubted whether symbolical language should be referred to figurative or spiritual interpretation; in the former case, it would have occupied a place in the discussion respecting the figurative language of scripture; but, on consideration, it will appear that it is most nearly allied to spiritual interpretation. For a symbol differs from a type in this respect, that the former represents as well something *past* or *present;* while a type represents something *future* (see p. 386.). The images of the cherubim over the propitiatory were symbols: the bread and wine in the last supper also were symbols. The commanded sacrifice of Isaac was given for a type: the sacrifices of the law were types. So far, Bishop Warburton has remarked, symbols and types agree in their *genus,* that they are equally representations, but in their *species* they differ widely. It is not required, he further observes, that the *symbol* should partake of the *nature* of the thing represented: the cherubim shadowed out the celerity of angels, but not by any physical celerity of their own: the bread and wine shadowed out the body and blood of Christ, but not by any change in the elements. But *types,* being, on the contrary, representations of *things future,* and so partaking of the nature of *prophecy,* were to convey information concerning the *nature* of the antitypes, or of the things represented; which they could not do but by the exhibition of their own nature. And hence we collect that, the command to offer Isaac being the command to offer a *real sacrifice,* the death and sufferings of Christ, thereby represented, were a *real sacrifice.*[2]

As the same rules, which regulate the general interpretation of the tropes and figures occurring in the scriptures, are equally applicable to the interpretation of symbols, it will be sufficient to refer to a former part of this volume[3], in which that topic is particularly discussed. Much light will also be thrown upon the symbolical language of Scripture, by a careful collation of the writings of the prophets with each other; for "the symbolical language of the prophets is almost a science in itself. None can fully comprehend the depth, sublimity, and force of their writings, who are not thoroughly acquainted with the peculiar and appropriate imagery they were wont to use. This is the main key to many of the prophecies; and, without knowing how to apply it, the interpreter will often in vain essay to discover their hidden treasures."[4] Lastly, the diligent comparison of the New Testament with the Old will essentially contribute to illustrate the symbolical phraseology of the prophets. For instance, we learn what is intended by the *water* promised to the Israelites in Isai. xliv. 3., and to which the thirsty are invited in chap. lv. 1., from John iv. 10. and vii. 37—39.; where it is explained of the Holy Spirit and his gifts which were afterwards to be dispensed.[5]

[1] Bishop Hurd, Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies, serm. ix. (Works, vol. v. p. 239.).

[2] Divine Legation of Moses, book ix. ch. ii. (Works, vol. vi. p. 289 8vo. edit.).

[3] See pp. 316—324 *supra.*

[4] Bp. Vanmildert, Lectures, p. 240.

[5] Muenscher, On Types, &c., Amer. Bibl. Repository, Jan. 1841, pp. 92. &c., may be consulted with advantage.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURE PROPHECIES.

SECTION I.

GENERAL RULES FOR ASCERTAINING THE SENSE OF THE PROPHETIC WRITINGS.

PROPHECY, or the prediction of future events, is justly considered as the highest evidence that can be given of supernatural communion with the Deity. The force of the argument from prophecy, for proving the divine inspiration of the sacred records, has already been exhibited; and the cavils of objectors, from its alleged obscurity, have been obviated.[1]

[Prophecy occupies a most important place in the economy of God's dealings. It is not to be restricted to the predicting of future events: it had the larger office of receiving and communicating generally God's will and purposes. So that, even in those parts of scripture which most emphatically foretell future events, we find also contained instructions, warnings, consolations, intended specially for present use.

Passing over the earlier manifestations of the prophetic gift we may observe how, together with the establishment of the priesthood among the Israelitish people, there was the germ of another ministry placed out by Moses. There was no opposition between the priestly and the prophetic ministries: the one did not represent, as Knobel has asserted, the external character of the theocracy, and the other its spiritual tendency. Still, as Hävernick has well observed, "prophecy belonged rather to the promises of the law, than to its commands. The prophets were the free gift of divine grace, for the blessing of the theocracy, as Jehovah's instruments, in whom a special proof of his love for his people exhibited itself."[2] Indeed, prophecy may be said, in the words of Davison, to "hold an intermediate place between the law of Moses and the gospel itself. It is a step in progress beyond the law, and preparatory to the gospel."[3] It was from the time of Samuel that prophecy assumed its more official and formal position; and it may be added that, after the division of the kingdom, it had its more fixed organization among the ten tribes, where the priesthood was altogether degenerate and spurious, and could be reformed only by being dissolved. But of those prophets whose writings are in the scripture canon the great majority belonged to Judah.

Prophetic inspiration was not a mere refinement of heathen soothsaying, but was immediately from God.[4] Persons might be trained, as we find they were, in "the schools of the prophets;" but God's Spirit alone could fit and empower them for their work. "The essence

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 271—333.
[2] Hävernick, Einleitung, § 196. II. ii. p. 5.
[3] Discourses on Prophecy, disc. ii. p. 32.
[4] See Dr. Turner, Thoughts on the Origin, Character, and Interpretation of Scriptural Prophecy, New York, 1852, disc. i. Ewald considers prophecy as common to all nations in old time, and refined among the Israelites by their possession of a pure religion. Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, vol. i. 1. pp. 11, 16., &c. See this view censured by Keil, Einleitung, § 62. p. 224.

and subjective peculiarity of prophetic inspiration," says Hävernick, "lies herein, that it does not find its origin in the unassisted intelligence of man, or in his natural parts and powers, however great, but proves itself to be the higher supernatural working of the Spirit of God."[1]

Communications were made to the prophet's mind in a more simple and immediate manner, or through dreams and ecstatic visions. This difference is apparent, Numb. xii. 6—8. It is not, however, needful to examine the particular mode in which the divine power acted on the human mind. "This whole question," says Dr. J. A. Alexander, "is rather one of curiosity than use, even in reference to interpretation."[2]

But the mental and bodily condition of the prophet while receiving supernatural impressions may be looked at. It must have been peculiar. The internal impulse would bear his soul aloft, but would not necessarily lead to any violent excitement. Instances are frequent in the sacred narrative of the exercise of the calmest serenity when "the word of the Lord" came to a prophet, to be delivered to those to whom he was commissioned. In dreams the action of the senses was suspended by natural causes; and in ecstatic vision there was a suspension of certain faculties by the sublime ideas infused into the mind, or by the direct operation of the divine energy. This is illustrated by the case of Daniel, chaps. viii. x. But it is a mistake (into which Dr. Hengstenberg has fallen[3]) to suppose that, like heathen seers, the use of the rational powers of the prophets was suspended, and that their own agency ceased, so that they became completely passive under an overpowering influence. The human agent's intelligent consciousness was preserved, though his natural faculties were elevated for the reception of the divine suggestions.[4]

It is true that the prophets frequently did not understand fully, as to the time and to their whole extent, the utterances they delivered (1 Pet. i. 10, 11.); so that, when the spiritual intuitions ceased, their minds, like the minds of ordinary men, would be exercised on the subject of the communication; but, had they not retained their consciousness, they could not afterwards have described as they do the scenes that were presented to their internal eye. These scenes, the ideas suggested, must have been embodied in certain forms, to be sufficiently received for the purpose of being communicated. Some, indeed, were not so received, as we learn from the case of St. Paul, who heard in paradise "unspeakable words, which it was not possible for man to utter" (2 Cor. xii. 4.); disclosures far transcending human experience, which human language was not competent to describe. But, when that was communicated to the prophets which they were to convey to others, means had to be found for clothing the ideas they received in such a way as that they might be expressed. Hence there were symbolic visions and symbolic actions.

[1] Einleitung, § 199. p. 30.
[2] The Prophecies of Isaiah, Introd. p. xiii.
[3] Christology (Arnold), chap. iii. pp. 101., &c.; Cycl. of Bibl. Lit., art. Prophecy. Comp. Christology, Edinb. 1854—1858, vol. iv. app. vi. pp. 396—444.
[4] See Lee, The Inspiration of Holy Scripture (2nd edit.), lect. v. pp. 201., &c.

And the colouring of such visions was often taken from the particular circumstances in which the prophet lived. Thus the imagery of Ezekiel is remarkably illustrated by the figures lately discovered in the Assyrian palaces.

A striking fact must not be here passed over, which shall be given in the words of Dr. Lee. "There was one topic which was not submitted to their own (the prophets') style of representation. Amid the copious and varied symbolism of scripture, we can observe how the pictures of those visions in which Jehovah himself is revealed always preserve a character quite peculiar, although, when describing *certain attributes* of Deity—which in no case can be described otherwise than by metaphors—each prophet still employs his wonted imagery. When Jehovah himself appears, the sacred writers borrow no colouring from external sources; were they to do so, indeed, they would manifestly abandon the whole genius and spirit of the theocracy; and this uniformity in describing their visions of God characterizes the compositions of all the prophets, notwithstanding the prominence, in other parts of their writings, of their own individuality. To satisfy ourselves of this fact, it will be sufficient to compare the accounts of the visions of Jehovah vouchsafed to Isaiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel" (Isai. vi. 1—4.; Dan. vii. 9, 10.; Ezek. i. 26—28.: comp. Exod. xxiv. 10.; 1 Kings xxii. 19.; Rev. iv.[1]).

With regard to the predictions of future events there are two particular points which present themselves.[2] The first respects the way in which the prophets bring remote events before us. As watchmen stationed on towers beheld distant scenes and announced what was occurring there, so the prophets, raised, as it were, upon an elevated station, looked out on what should come to pass in future, and proclaimed what they thus saw. "The prophecies therefore resemble pictures which represent extensive prospects, comprising many objects at various intervals of distance; and, as in these all the objects are not depicted with equal clearness, but, while the outline of the foreground is distinct and its colouring vivid, the distance is less perfectly defined, and the extreme back-ground is clothed with a shadowy mist, so the prophecies exhibit, as it were in a painting, a delineation of various future objects or events, the nearest of which are the most perfectly described, while the more remote are shown in proportion to their distance in a weaker light and with a fainter outline: the intervals of time are not distinctly noted, but all the objects are simultaneously represented as they lie in prospect before the prophet, and therefore not in historical or chronological order . . . Hence it appears that in the prophecies it was scarcely possible, before the accomplishment, to distinguish which of the events predicted was near at hand, and which more remote. The prophets frequently interweave descriptions of remote events with others of objects near at hand."[3] This is called the "perspective" character of prophecy. Thus in Zech. ix. the prophet sees (vv. 1—8.) the triumphant march

[1] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, lect. iv. p. 184.
[2] Hävernick, Einleitung, § 200. II. ii. pp. 44. &c.
[3] Jahn, Introduction to the Old Test., translated by Turner and Whittingham, part ii. sect. ii. chap. i. § 81. pp. 307, 308.

of Alexander, in vv. 9, 10. he beholds Messiah in the distant future, and, vv. 10—17., he reverts to the age of the Maccabees. This principle illustrates our Lord's discourse, Matt. xxiv., and will tend to explain the passages in which the apostolic writers seem to describe the final close of all things as to occur in their days. We see hence how parts only of the divine counsels were unveiled to the prophets, and how, when the course of events showed the position each particular was to occupy, it was the just filling up (ἡ πλήρωσις) of that outline which had been traced by the early seers.

Another point in predictions of the future, important for the right interpretation of them, is the mode in which past events are re-produced. Coming blessings are described in language furnished by those which had already occurred. Thus the full blessedness of God's people is represented as a return from exile into Canaan. This will be more fully illustrated hereafter. It is enough to say here that it exhibits the unity of God's plan, and shows how all his different dealings are linked together, later results being the orderly development of his original counsels. Considerations of this kind tend to expose the fallacy of the principle avowed by many critics, that there cannot be distinct prophetic foresight of the distant future, or predictions respecting empires in the prophet's age not yet in being.[1]]

Difficulties, it is readily admitted, do exist in understanding the prophetic writings; but these are either owing to our ignorance of history and of the Scriptures, or because the prophecies themselves are yet unfulfilled. The latter can be understood only when the events foretold have actually been accomplished; but the former class of difficulties may be removed in many, if not in all, cases; and the knowledge, sense, and meaning of the prophets may, in a considerable degree, be attained by prayer, reading, and meditation, and by comparing Scripture with Scripture, especially with the writings of the New Testament, and particularly Ezekiel and Daniel with the book of the Revelation.[2] With this view, the following general rules will be found useful in investigating the *sense and meaning* of the prophecies, as well as their *accomplishment.*

I. *As not any prophecy of Scripture is of self-interpretation* (2 Pet. i. 20.), *or is its own interpreter*, "*the sense of the prophecy is to be sought in the events of the world, and in the harmony of the prophetic writings, rather than in the bare terms of any single prediction.*"[3]

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[1] Much valuable information on the subject of prophecy will be found in Dr. Alexander's Prophecies of Isaiah, Introduction, pp. ix. &c See also Keil, Einleitung, §§ 62—64. pp. 220—234., and Fairbairn, Prophecy viewed in respect to its Distinctive Nature, its Special Function, and Proper Interpretation, 1856, part i. pp. 1—196.

[2] There is scarcely an expression in this book which is not taken out of Daniel or some other prophet. Sir Isaac Newton has observed that it is written in the same style and language with the prophecies of Daniel, and has the same relation to them which they have to one another, so that all of them together make but one complete prophecy; and in like manner it consists of two parts, an introductory prophecy, and an interpretation thereof. Observations on the Apocalypse, chap. ii. p. 254.

[3] Bishop Horsley. This learned prelate has shown in his sermon on 2 Pet. i. 20. that the clause, *No prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation*, may be more precisely thus expressed, "*Not any prophecy of Scripture is of self-interpretation*, or is

In the consideration of this canon, the following circumstances should be carefully attended to: —

(1.) *Consider well the times when the several prophets flourished, in what place and under what kings they uttered their predictions, the duration of their prophetic ministry, and their personal rank and condition, and, lastly, whatever can be known respecting their life and transactions.*

These particulars, indeed, cannot in every instance be ascertained; but, where they can be known, it is necessary to attend to them, as this will materially contribute to the right understanding of the prophetic writings. Thus, in order to understand correctly the prophecy of Isaiah, we should make ourselves acquainted with the state and condition of the people of Israel under the kings Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. With this view, the books of 2 Kings (xiv.—xxi.) and 2 Chron. (xxvi.—xxxii.) ought to be repeatedly perused and studied; because they contain an accurate view of the state of those times.

(2.) *The situation of the particular places, of which the prophets speak, must also be kept in mind, as well as that of the neighbouring places; there being in the prophetic writings frequent allusions to the situation and ancient names of places.*

When places are mentioned as lying north, south, east, or west, it is generally to be understood of their situation with respect to Judæa or Jerusalem; when the context does not plainly restrict the scene to some other place. For instance, Egypt and Arabia are called the land of the south, because they are to the south of Jerusalem; thus in Daniel (xi.) the *king of the south* signifies the king of Egypt, and the *king of the north*, the monarch of Syria. The *sea* is put for the west, the Mediterranean Sea being to the west of Judæa [and there being no other word for *west* in Hebrew]: by the *earth* the prophets often mean the land of Judæa, and sometimes the great continent of all Asia and Africa, to which they had access by land; and by the *isles of the sea* they understood the places to which they sailed, particularly all Europe, and probably the islands and sea-coasts of the Mediterranean. The appellation of *sea* is also given to the great rivers Nile and Euphrates, which, overflowing their banks, appear like small seas or great lakes. The *Egyptian sea*, with its *seven streams*, mentioned in Isai. xi. 15., is the Nile with its seven mouths: the *sea*, mentioned in Isai. xxvii. 1. and Jer. li. 36., is the Euphrates; and the *desert of the sea*, in Isai. xxi. 1., is the country of Babylon, watered by that river. In like manner, the Jewish people are described by several particular appellations, after the division of the kingdom in the reign of Jeroboam: thus, the ten tribes, being distinct from the other two, and subject to a different king, until the time of the Assyrian captivity, are respectively called *Samaria*, *Ephraim*, and *Joseph*; because the city of *Samaria*, which was situated in the allotment of the tribe of *Ephraim*, who was the son of Joseph, was the metropolis of the kings of Israel. Compare Isai. vii. 2, 5, 8, 9.; Psal. lxxxi. 5.; Hos. vii. 11.; Amos v. 15. and vi. 6. They were also called *Israel* and *Jacob*; because they formed the greater part of Israel's or Jacob's posterity. The other two tribes of Judah and Benjamin are called the *kingdom of Judah*, *the house of David*, *Jerusalem*, or *Sion* (Isai. vii. 13. and xl. 2.; Psal. cxxvi. 1.; and Isai. lii. 8.); because those two tribes adhered to the family of David, from whose posterity their kings sprung, and the capital of their dominions was Jerusalem, within whose precincts was Mount Sion. After their return, however, from the Babylonish captivity, the names of Israel and Judah are promiscuously applied to all the descendants of the twelve tribes who were thus restored to their native country. This is the case in the writings of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who all flourished after that event. In addition to the situations and names of places, whatever relates to the history of those times must be ascertained, as far as is practicable, not only by consulting the historical books of Scripture, and the writings of

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its own interpreter; because the Scripture prophecies are not detached predictions of separate independent events, but are united in a regular and entire system, all terminating in one great object—the promulgation of the gospel, and the complete establishment of the Messiah's kingdom." Sermons, vol. ii. pp. 13—16. ["Even the prophets could not expound the revelations which were committed to them: the meaning which the event fixes upon their language was not a meaning infused into it by their own design: the sense of their predictions, as it did not proceed from themselves, could not be unravelled by their own powers of interpretation (ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται, for which sense of ἐπίλυσις, cf. St. Mark iv. 34.; Acts xix. 39.)." Lee, Inspiration of Script. (2nd edit.), lect. v. p. 211. note 2. Comp. lect. ii. p. 62. note 4.]

Josephus (whose statements must sometimes be taken with great caution, as he has not *always* related the sacred history with fidelity). but also by comparing the narratives of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other profane historians, who have written on the affairs of the Chaldæans, Babylonians, Egyptians, Tyrians, Medes, and Persians, and other oriental nations, with whom the posterity of Jacob had any intercourse. Quotations from these writers may be seen in all the larger commentaries on the Bible. Dr. Prideaux's Connection of Sacred and Profane History, and Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, are both particularly valuable for the illustrations of the sacred predictions which they have respectively drawn from profane authors. In the Historical and Geographical Index, at the end of the third volume of this work, under the articles *Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Media,* and *Persia,* we have given an abstract of the profane history of the East, from the time of Solomon until the Babylonish captivity, to facilitate the better understanding of the history of the Hebrews, described in the writings of the prophets.

(3.) *As the prophets treat not only of past transactions and present occurrences, but also foretell future events, in order to understand them, we must diligently consult the histories of the following ages, both sacred and profane, and carefully see whether we can trace in them the fulfilment of any prophecy.*

The event is the best interpreter of a prediction; of a specific prediction the only full interpreter: this inquiry into history, however, demands not only great labour, but also great industry and equal judgment, in order that we may not wander into vague generalities, and that the events may be referred to those prophecies with which they harmonize. These events must not be far-fetched; nor can they always be ascertained, because the circumstances alluded to by the prophets are often unknown to us, being yet future. Hence a considerable portion of the prophets, especially of the book of Revelation, is not only not understood, but *cannot* at present be comprehended. Some conjectures, perhaps, may be offered; but these should be advanced with caution as far as they throw light upon prophecy; and, where this is wanting, we must withhold our assent from such conjectures.

(4.) *The words and phrases of a prophecy must be explained, where they are obscure: if they be very intricate, every single word should be expounded; and, if the sense be involved in metaphorical and emblematical expressions (as very frequently is the case), these must be explained according to the principles already laid down.*

No strained or far-fetched interpretation, therefore, should be admitted; and that sense of any word or phrase is always to be preferred which is the clearest and most precise.

(5.) *Similar prophecies of the same event must be carefully compared, in order to elucidate more clearly the sense of the sacred predictions.*

For instance, after having ascertained the subject of the prophet's discourse and the sense of the words, Isai. liii. 5., *He was wounded*, literally *pierced through*, for our transgressions, may be compared with Psal. xxii. 16., *They pierced my hands and my feet;* and with Zech. xii. 10., *They shall look on me whom they have pierced.* In thus paralleling the prophecies, regard must be had to the predictions of *former* prophets, which are sometimes repeated with abridgement, or more distinctly explained by others; and also to the predictions of *subsequent* prophets, who sometimes repeat, with greater clearness and precision, former prophecies, which had been more obscurely announced.

II. *In order to understand the prophets, great attention should be paid to the fundamental ideas of the prophetic style, which is highly figurative, and particularly abounds in metaphorical and hyperbolical expressions.*

By images borrowed from the natural world, the prophets often understand something in the world politic. Thus, the sun, moon, stars, and heavenly bodies, denote kings, queens, rulers, and persons in great power; and the increase of splendour in those luminaries denotes increase of prosperity, as in Isai. xxx. 26., and lx. 19. On the other hand, their darkening, setting, or falling, signifies a reverse of fortune, or the entire destruction of the potentate or kingdom to which they refer. In this manner the prophet Isaiah denounced the divine judgments on Babylon (Isai. xiii. 10, 13.), and on Idumæa (xxxiv. 4—6.); and Jeremiah, on the Jews and Jerusalem (Jer. iv. 23, 24.). The destruction of

Egypt is predicted in similar terms by Ezekiel (xxxii. 7, 8.); and also the terrible judgments that would befall the unbelieving Jews, by Joel (ii. 28—31.). And Jesus Christ himself employed the same phraseology in foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (Matt. xxiv. 29.).

In further illustration of this rule it may be observed that the prophetical writings contain numerous figures and similitudes that appear strange to our habits and modes of thinking. These figures and similitudes, therefore, must be interpreted agreeably to the genius of oriental writing: for instance, very numerous metaphors are taken from agriculture and the pastoral life; some of the prophets themselves having been herdsmen or shepherds. Other representations of events, which were to come to pass under the New Testament dispensation, are drawn from the sacred rites of the Jews. Thus, the conversion of Egypt to the gospel is foretold (Isai. xix. 19, 21.) by *setting up an altar, and offering sacrifice to the Lord;* and the conversion of the Gentiles in general (Mal. i. 11.) by the *offering up of incense.* The service of God under the gospel is set forth (Zech. xiv. 16.) *by going up to Jerusalem, and keeping the feast of tabernacles there;* and the abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit, in the miraculous gifts which attended the preaching of the gospel, is represented (Joel ii. 28.) *by prophesying, and dreaming dreams, and seeing visions.* In this passage the prophet, in order that his meaning might be the better understood by those whom he addressed, expressed the abundant measure of gifts and gospel light by images drawn from those privileges which were at that time most highly valued by the Jews; though it is true that in some respects his words had a literal fulfilment.

Although the prophets thus frequently employ words in a figurative or metaphorical meaning, yet we ought not, *without necessity,* to depart from the primitive sense of their expressions; and that necessity exists, only when the plain and original sense is less proper, as well as less suitable to the subject and context, or contrary to other passages of scripture. But, even in this case, we must carefully assign to each prophetical symbol its proper and definite meaning, and never vary from that meaning.[1]

III. *As the greater part of the prophetic writings was first composed in verse, and still retains much of the air and cast of the original, an attention to the division of the lines, and to that peculiarity of Hebrew poetry by which the sense of one line or couplet so generally corresponds with another, will frequently lead to the meaning of many passages; one line of a couplet, or member of a sentence, being generally a commentary on the other.*

Of this rule we have an example in Isai. xxxiv. 6.

> The Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozrah,
> And a great slaughter in the land of Idumæa.

Here the metaphor in the first clause is illustrated by the phraseology of the next: the sacrifice in Bozrah means the great slaughter in the land of Idumæa, of which Bozrah was the capital. Similar instances occur in Isai. xliv. 3. and lxi. 10., and in Micah vi. 6., in which the parallelism is more extended. Concerning the nature of prophetic poesy, see pp. 373, 374. of the present volume.

IV. *Particular names are often put by the prophets for more general ones, in order that they may place the thing represented, as it were, before the eyes of their hearers; but in such passages they are not to be understood literally.*

Thus, in Joel iii. 4., *Tyre and Sidon, and all the coasts of Palestine,* are put, by way of poetical description, for all the enemies of the Jews; and (vv. 6, 8.) the Greeks and Sabæans for distant nations. In like manner the prophet Amos (ix. 12.), when speaking of the enemies of the Jews, mentions *the remnant of Edom, or the Idumæans.*

V. *It is usual with the prophets to express the same thing in a great variety of expressions; whence they abound in amplifications, each rising above the other in strength and beauty.*

For instance, when describing drought or famine, they accumulate together numerous

[1] The figurative character of the prophetic style is discussed at length by Fairbairn, Prophecy viewed in respect to its distinctive Nature, its special Function, and proper Interpretation, part i. chap. v. sect. iv. pp 133., &c.

epithets, to represent the sorrow that would accompany those calamities: on the other hand, when delineating plenty, they portray, in a great variety of expressions, the joy of the people possessed of abundance of grain; and, in like manner, the horrors of war and the blessings of peace, the misery of the wicked and the blessedness of the righteous, are contrasted with numerous illustrations. [Universal terms, however, as belonging to poetic diction, must not be pressed too far.]

VI. *The order of time is not always to be looked for in the prophetic writings; for they frequently resume topics of which they have formerly treated, after other subjects have intervened, and again discuss them.*

Jeremiah and Ezekiel may, in particular, be cited as instances of this abruptness of style; whose discourses, being first dispersed, were afterwards collected together without regard to the order of time. In the midst of the mention of particular mercies promised to, or of judgments denounced against, the people of God, the prophets sometimes break forth into sublime predictions concerning the Messiah: these digressions appear extremely abrupt and incoherent to those who do not consider how seasonable the mention of Christ may be, in conjunction with that of the mercies of God (of which he is the foundation and pinnacle, the ground and consummation), and with the threats of the judgments of God, in which he was his people's grand consolation.[1] A careful examination, however, of the plan and distribution of the different prophetical books will always enable the diligent reader to trace the arrangement and scope of the respective prophecies. Where, indeed, a new prediction or discourse is distinguished from a former one by a new title, as in Haggai i. 1. and ii. 10, 20., it is an easy task to trace such an arrangement and scope; but where the prophets do not introduce any new titles (Hosea for instance) it becomes very difficult. Vitringa has laid it down as a canon[2], that in *continued* predictions, which are not distinguished one from another by titles or inscriptions, we should carefully attend both to the *beginning* and *end* of the prophetic sermon, as well as to the period of time in which the scene of the prophetic vision is fixed, and to the period in which it ends. This will tend to illustrate the sermons or discourses of Isaiah, in the forty-first and following chapters of his prophecy.

It is, however, probable that those prophecies—whose *terminus à quo* demonstrates the beginning of the time of Christ's kingdom, and the *terminus ad quem* the end of that time—give a narration of the principal events that shall befall the church in a continued series, unless anything intervene which may require us to go back to former times. Upon this foundation depends the interpretation of Isai. liv. 1. to lx. 22. The commencement of this prophecy unquestionably belongs to the beginning of Messiah's kingdom: the term or end falls upon the most flourishing state of that kingdom, which is to follow the conversion of the Jewish nation, and the vindication of the afflicted church; which deliverance, and the flourishing state of Christ's kingdom, are described in Isai. lix. 19—21. and lx. throughout. [If a prophecy, it must be added, be strictly chronological, the links of it have their accomplishment in definite events.]

VII. *The prophets often change both persons and tenses, sometimes speaking in their own persons, at other times representing God, his people, or their enemies, as respectively speaking, and without noticing the change of person; sometimes taking things past or present for things future, to denote the certainty of the events.*

Of this observation we have a signal instance in that very obscure prediction contained in Isai. xxi. 11, 12. which, according to Bishop Lowth's translation, is as follows:—

THE ORACLE CONCERNING DUMAH.

A voice crieth unto me from Seir:
Watchman, what from the night?
Watchman, what from the night?
The watchman replieth:
The morning cometh, and also the night.
If ye will inquire, inquire ye: come again.

This prophecy, from the uncertainty of the occasion on which it was uttered, as well as from the brevity of the expression, is very obscure; but, if we observe the *transitions*, and carefully distinguish between the person *speaking* and the person *spoken to*, we shall be able to apprehend its general import. It expresses the inquiries, made of a prophet of Jehovah

[1] Boyle on the Style of the Holy Scriptures, Works, vol. ii. p. 271.
[2] Typus Doctrinæ Propheticæ, pars iii. cap. ii. p. 179.

by a people who were in a very distressed condition, concerning the fates which awaited them. The Edomites as well as the Jews were subdued by the Babylonians. They anxiously inquire of the prophet, how long their subjection is to last. He intimates that the Jews should be delivered from captivity, but not the Edomites. The transition being thus observed, the obscurity disappears.

Isai. ix. 6., liii. throughout, lxiii. throughout, Zech. ix. 9., and Rev. xviii. 2. (to mention no other instances), may be adduced as examples of the *substitution of the past or present, in order to denote the certainty of things yet future:* attention to the scope and context of the prophetic discourse will here also, as in the preceding rule, enable the reader to distinguish the various transitions with sufficient accuracy.[1]

It may here be further observed, that, when the prophets speak of the *latter*, or *last days*, they invariably mean the days of the Messiah, or the time of the gospel dispensation. The expression, *that day*, often means the same time, and always some period at a distance.

VIII. *When the prophets received a commission to declare anything, the message is sometimes expressed as if they had been appointed to do it themselves.*

This remark has, in substance, been already made. It is introduced again, in order to illustrate the phraseology of the prophetic writings. One or two additional examples will show the necessity of attending to it in interpreting the predictions of the sacred writings.

Thus, when Isaiah was sent to tell the Jews, that their heart would become fat, and their ears heavy, and that they would be guilty of shutting their eyes, so as not to understand and believe the truth, the message is thus expressed: *Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not, and see ye indeed, but perceive not.* This implies that they would not employ the faculties which they possessed, so as to understand and believe the gospel. The reason of this is assigned: *Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed* (Isai. vi. 9, 10.). This is merely a prediction of what they would do; for, when this prophetic declaration was accomplished, the Saviour quoted the passage, and expressed its genuine sense: *In them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith: For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them* (Matt. xiii. 15.). This condition is still more explicitly stated in John iii. 19.: *This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved.* The Lord said to Jeremiah, *I have put my words in thy mouth; see, I have this day set thee over the nations, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant* (Jer. i. 9, 10.). The meaning of this message is, that the prophet was appointed to declare to the nations, that they should be rooted out, pulled down, and destroyed, and that others would be planted in their place, and built up. When Ezekiel beheld the glory of the God of Israel, he observes, that *it was according to the appearance of the vision which I saw when I came to destroy the city* (Ezek. xliii. 3.); that is, when he came to prophesy that the city should be destroyed.

IX. *As symbolic actions and prophetic visions greatly resemble parables, and were employed for the same purpose, viz. more powerfully to instruct and engage the attention of the people, they must be interpreted in the same manner as parables.*[2]

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[1] This change of tense, however, is not exclusively confined to predictions of future events: it is sometimes used by the prophets to represent duties as performed which ought to be done: thus, in Mal. i. 6., *A son honours* (ought to honour) *his father.* But it is more frequently employed by the writers of the New Testament to express both our Christian privileges, and the duties to which they oblige us. Thus, Matt. v. 13., *Ye are* (ought to be) *the salt of the earth.* Rom. ii. 4., *The goodness of God leadeth* (ought to lead) *thee to repentance.* 2 Cor. iii. 18., *We all, with open face beholding* (enjoying the means of beholding) *as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are* (ought to be) *changed into the same image from glory to glory.* Similar instances may be seen in 1 Cor. v. 7.; Col. iii. 3.; Heb. xiii. 14.; 1 Pet. i. 6.; 1 John ii. 15., iii. 9., and v. 4, 18. Dr. Taylor, Key to the Apostolic Writings, § 274., in Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 421.

[2] On the construction of parabolic language, see pp. 345—350. of this volume.

We must therefore chiefly consider the scope and design of such symbolic actions and prophetic visions, without attempting too minute an explanation of all the poetical images and figures with which the sacred writers adorned their style. For instance, in Zech. i. 7—11., it is not necessary to inquire what is meant by the *man riding upon a red horse, and standing among the myrtle-trees:* this vision represents so many angels returning, probably from the kingdoms over which they presided, to give to Jehovah an account of their expedition and ministry. The horses, it has been conjectured, denote their power and celerity; and the different colours the difference of their ministries. The *scope* of the vision, however, is sufficiently plain: the angels tell that all the earth was *sitting still and at rest;* the Persian empire and other nations connected with Judæa enjoying peace at that time, though the Jews continued in an unsettled state.[1]

SECTION II.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF PROPHECY IN GENERAL.

A PROPHECY is demonstrated to be fulfilled when we can prove that the event has actually taken place, precisely according to the manner in which it was foretold, either from sacred history, where practicable, or from profane authors of unimpeachable veracity; whose characters stand so high, that they cannot possibly be suspected of having forged anything to favour the idea of its accomplishment. In order to ascertain whether a prediction has been fulfilled, we must first endeavour to find out the general scheme of the prophecy in question, or the type it bears, by a careful comparison of the parts with the whole, and with corresponding prophecies both earlier and later; and to classify the various things spoken of, lest the judgment be perplexed with a multitude of references. And, secondly, in our deductions from the prophecies thus arranged, those predictions, and their respective accomplishments, are principally to be selected and urged, which chiefly tend to remove all suspicion of their taking place by accident, or being foretold by some happy conjecture. Now this may be done, by showing the vast *distance of time* between the prophecy and the event foretold; the *agreement* of very many, even of the minutest circumstances, so that, when completed, the description determinately applies to the subject; and, lastly, the *dependence of actions* upon the uncertain will of man, or upon opportunity presenting itself; for *all* these things are of such a nature, that no unassisted human intellect either can or could possibly foresee them. These two general observations being premised, we now proceed to offer a few canons by which to ascertain the accomplishment of prophecy.

I. *The same prophecies frequently have a double meaning, and refer to different events, the one near, the other remote; the one temporal, the other spiritual or perhaps eternal. The prophets thus having several events in view, their expressions may be applicable partly to one, and partly to another; and it is not always easy to mark the transitions. What has not been fulfilled in the first, we must apply to the second;*

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[1] Archbishop Newcome on Zech. i. 7—11. [The remarks of Bp. Terrot on the Interpretation of Prophecy, inserted in the Appendix to vol. i. of his translation of Ernesti's Principles of Biblical Interpretation, pp. 213—224., may be consulted with advantage. See also Dr. Chalmers, Evidences of the Christian Religion, book ii. chap. vii. 18—25., pp. 219—228. (edit. 1855).]

and what has already been fulfilled may often be considered as typical of what remains to be accomplished.

The double sense of prophecy has been opposed with much ingenuity by Mr. Whiston, Dr. Sykes, and Dr. Benson, in this country, and by Father Balthus in France, as well as by most of the German theologians, who severally contend that the ancient prophecies contain only one sense; but that the rule above stated is correct we apprehend will appear from the following remarks and illustrations:—

1. "Throughout the whole of prophetical scripture, a time of retribution and of vengeance on God's enemies is announced. It is called *the day of the Lord; the day of wrath and slaughter; of the Lord's anger, visitation, and judgment; the great day;* and *the last day.* At the same time it is to be observed that this kind of description, and the same expressions, which are used to represent this great day, are also employed by the prophets to describe the fall and punishment of particular states and empires; of Babylon, by Isaiah (xiii.); of Egypt, by Ezekiel (xxx. 2—4., and xxxii. 7, 8.); of Jerusalem, by Jeremiah, Joel, and by our Lord (Matt. xxiv.); and, in many of these prophecies, the description of the calamity, which is to fall on any *particular* state or nation, is so blended with that *general* destruction, which, in the final days of vengeance, will invade *all* the inhabitants of the earth, that the skill of our ablest interpreters has been scarcely equal to separate and assort them. Hence it has been concluded, by judicious divines, that these partial prophecies and particular instances of the divine vengeance, whose accomplishment we know to have taken place, are presented to us as types, tokens, and forerunners of some greater events which are also disclosed in them. To the dreadful time of universal vengeance they all appear to look forward, beyond their more immediate object. Little, indeed, can we doubt that such is to be considered the use and application of these prophecies, since we see them thus applied by our Lord and his apostles." [1]

2. Thus Psal. ii. is primarily an inauguration hymn, composed by David, the anointed of Jehovah, when crowned with victory, and placed triumphant on the sacred hill of Sion. But, in Acts iv. 25., &c., the inspired apostles with one voice declare it to be descriptive of the exultation of the Messiah, and of the opposition raised against the gospel, by both Jews and Gentiles. The latter part of Psal. xvi. is spoken of David's person, and is, unquestionably, in its immediate sense, to be understood of him, and of his hope of rising after death to an endless life; but it is equally clear, from Acts ii. 25—31., that it was spoken of Christ, the Son of David, who was typified by that king and prophet. Again, Psal. xxii.[2], though primarily intended of David when he was in great distress and forsaken by God, is yet, secondarily and mystically, to be understood of our blessed Saviour during his passion upon the cross; and so it is applied by himself (Matt. xxvii. 46.). And it is further observable, that other passages of this psalm (vv. 8, 16, 18.) are noticed by the evangelist, as being fulfilled at that time (Matt. xxvii. 35, 43.): now it is certain that they could not be fulfilled, unless they had been intended in this mysterious sense of Jesus Christ. Psal. xlv. is, in the original, a *song of loves*, an epithalamium on the nuptials of king Solomon and the king of Egypt's daughter; but from Heb. i. 8, 9. we are assured that it is addressed to Christ; and, therefore, in a remote and spiritual sense, it celebrates the majesty and glory of his kingdom, his mystical union with his church, and the admirable benefits that would be conferred upon her in the times of the gospel.

It would be no difficult task to adduce many other psalms in which the

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[1] Dr. Woodhouse on the Apocalypse, pp. 172, 173. "One of the most remarkable of these prophecies," he observes, "is that splendid one of Isaiah, chap. xxxiv.; the importance and universality of which are to be collected from the manner in which it is introduced. *All nations and people, the world and all things in it,* are summoned to the audience. It represents *the day of the Lord's vengeance,* and the year of the *recompences* for the controversy of Sion (ver. 8.); it descends on *all nations* and *their armies* (ver. 2.). The images of wrathful vengeance and utter dissolution are the same which are presented under the sixth seal in the Revelation of St. John (vi. 12—17.). The hosts of heaven are dissolved; the heavens are rolled together as a scroll of parchment; the stars fall like a leaf from a vine, or a fig from its tree. And yet *Idumæa* is mentioned by the prophet as the *particular* object of vengeance: such seems to be the *typical* completion and *primary* application of this prophecy; but it has evidently a more sublime and future prospect, and in this sense the *whole world* is its object; and, using the same symbols and figurative expressions with the prophecy of the sixth seal, with those of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and, above all, the sixteenth chapters of the Apocalypse, and with others of the Old and New Testaments, it must, with them, be finally referred to the *great day* of the Lord's vengeance for its perfect completion." Ibid., p. 174.

[2] Dr. Randolph has a beautiful exposition of this psalm at the end of vol. i. of his View of Christ's Ministry, pp. 503—515.

double sense is most clearly to be discerned[1]; but we shall proceed to cite a few instances from the writings of the prophets.

(1.) Isai. vii. 14—16., In the *primary* but lower sense of this prophecy, the sign given was to assure Ahaz that the land of Judæa would speedily be delivered from the kings of Samaria and Damascus, by whom it was invaded. But the introduction of the prophecy, the singular stress laid upon it, and the exact sense of the terms in which it was expressed, make it in a high degree probable that it had another and more important purpose; and the event has clearly proved that the *sign given* had, secondarily and mystically, a respect to the miraculous birth of Christ, and to a deliverance much more momentous than that of Ahaz.[2]

(2.) Isai. xi. 6., What is here said of the wolf dwelling with the lamb, &c., is understood as having its first completion in the reign of Hezekiah, when profound peace was enjoyed after the troubles caused by Sennacherib; but its *second* and full completion is under the gospel, whose power in changing the hearts, tempers, and lives of the worst of men is here foretold and described. Of this blessed power there has, in every age of Christianity, been a cloud of witnesses; although its most glorious era, predicted in this passage, may not yet be arrived. The latter part of the same chapter, in which there are allusions to the Exodus from Egypt, seems to refer principally to the future restoration of the Jews from their several dispersions, and to that happy period when they and the Gentiles shall stand together under the banner of Jesus, and unite their zeal in extending the limits of his kingdom. This is a favourite theme with Isaiah, justly designated the evangelical prophet, who (chap. xl.) predicted the deliverance of the Jews from Babylon, and their restoration to the land of Canaan; events which were primarily and literally accomplished, but which, by St. Matthew (iii. 3.), and by our Lord himself (Matt. xi. 10.), are said to have been fulfilled by John the Baptist's preaching; and which, secondarily and spiritually, foretold the deliverance of mankind from the infinitely greater bondage of sin.

(3.) Once more. Hos. xi. 1., *Out of Egypt have I called my son.* This passage, in its literal sense, related to God's delivering the children of Israel out of Egypt; but, in its secondary and mystical sense, there can be no doubt that an allusion was intended by the Holy Spirit to the call of the infant Christ out of the same country (Matt. ii. 15.).

Thus it is evident that many prophecies *must be taken in a double sense*, in order to understand their full import; and this twofold application of them, by our Lord and his apostles, is a full authority for us to consider and apply them in a similar way. In order to ascertain whether a prophecy is to be taken in a double sense, the following rules have been laid down by Vitringa[3]:—

(1.) That we may attain an accurate and distinct knowledge of the *subject* of a prediction, we must carefully attend to all the *attributes* and *characters* which are applied to the subject of the prophecy: if the subject be not specifically mentioned by *name*, it must be discovered by its characteristics: of this description are many of the prophecies concerning Christ, particularly Psalms ii., xxii., xlv., lx.; Isai. liii.; Zech. iii. 8. If

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[1] Bp. Horne, in the preface to his commentary on the Psalms, has noticed a number of those divine odes, which bear a double meaning, the propriety of which he has fully vindicated. Works, vol. ii. pp. x—xx. See also Dr. Apthorpe, Warburtonian Discourses on Prophecy, vol. i. pp. 77—89.; and Dr. Nares, Warburtonian Lectures, entitled A Connected and Chronological View of the Prophecies relating to the Christian Church, pp. 155—162, 176, 177. Almost the whole of the Psalms are applied by Bp. Horsley to the Messiah, in his Book of Psalms translated from the Hebrew, 2 vols. 8vo. But Bp. Marsh has endeavoured to show that there are no double meanings, or *secondary senses*, in prophecy; except such as are specially sanctioned by divine authority. Divinity Lectures, part iv. lect. xxii.

[2] There is a good philological illustration of this prediction in Dr. Randolph's Prælectiones Theologicæ, in vol. ii. (pp. 446. &c.) of his View of Christ's Ministry; and an elaborate vindication and explanation of it in the Abbé Hook's Religionis Naturalis et Revelatæ Principia, tom. ii. pp. 494—498.

[3] In his Typus Doctrinæ Propheticæ, pars iii. cap. ii., Dr. Apthorpe has translated eighteen of Vitringa's canons (which are admirably illustrated by numerous examples in his valuable commentary on Isaiah) in his Lectures on Prophecy, vol. i. pp. 90—106. Jahn has given several additional examples. Introd. ad Vet. Fœdus, pp. 332—334.

the subject be named, we must inquire whether it is to be taken properly or mystically, or partly properly and partly mystically; as in Psal. lxxii.

(2.) We must not, however, depart from the literal sense of the subject, when called by its own proper name, if all the attributes, or the principal and more remarkable ones, agree to the subject of the prophecy. This rule will be found of considerable use in interpreting the prophecies concerning Israel, Judah, Tyre, Babylon, Egypt, and other countries and places.

(3.) If the attributes by no means agree with the subject expressed in a prophecy by its own name, we must direct our thoughts to another subject which corresponds to it, and which assumes a mystic name, on account of the agreement between the type and antitype. Examples of this occur in the prophecies concerning Edom (Isai. lxiii. 1—6.), David (Ezek. xxxiv. 24—31.), and Elijah (Mal. iv. 5.).

(4.) If, in prophecies, the subject be expressed by name, which may bear both a proper and a mystical interpretation, and the attributes of the prophetic discourse be of a mixed kind, so that some of them agree more strictly with the subject mystically taken, while others are more correctly predicated of it in a literal and grammatical sense; in such cases, we must take the subject of the prophecy to be, not simple, but *complex;* and the prophet, actuated by divine illumination, expresses himself in such a manner as designedly to be understood of both senses, and to intimate to the reader that the mystical or allegorical sense is enveloped in the literal sense.

Thus, many of the prophecies concerning Babylon, Edom, Egypt, and Tyre, contain such magnificent expressions, as, if taken properly, will admit of a very poor and barren exposition; and, therefore, it must be presumed that the Holy Spirit designed something more, and to lead our minds to the mystical Babylon, &c. In like manner, such grand things are sometimes spoken concerning the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and mention is made of such distinguished blessings being bestowed upon them, as necessarily lead us to look for a more complete fulfilment in the redemption by Jesus Christ, and the spiritual blessings of grace bestowed upon the people of God, under the gospel dispensation. Isai. lii. 1—3. and Jer. iii. 14—18., to cite no other examples, present very striking illustrations of this remark. Hence, it follows, that,

(5.) Prophecies of a general nature are applicable by accommodation to individuals; most of the things, which are spoken of the church, being equally applicable to her individual members.

(6.) Prophecies of a particular nature, on the other hand, admit, and often require, an extended sense: for instance, Edom, Moab, or any of the enemies of God's people, are often put for the whole; what is said of one being generally applicable to the rest. And, in like manner, what is said either to or concerning God's people, on any particular occasion, is of general application; as all, who stand in the same relation to God, have an interest in the same prophecies.

(7.) In continued prophecies, which are not distinguished one from another, we should carefully attend, *first*, to the beginning and end of each discourse, and, *secondly*, to the epoch of time which commences the scene of the prophetic vision, and the term in which it ends.

The *first* observation is of principal use in the discourses of Isaiah, from chap. xl. to the end of the book. This distinction, often difficult and somewhat obscure, is of great moment in the interpretation of the prophecies, that we may not consider as a continued discourse what ought to be divided into several distinct topics. The *last* part of this canon is indispensable in explaining the psalms and prophetic visions. See Isai. vi. 1.

[Objections have been felt to the "double sense" of prophecy, as if it were thereby rendered indeterminate, so that a fulfilment could be found or fancied according to the bent of an interpreter's own mind. But rightly viewed it does not seem open to such a charge. We must carefully examine

the structure of prophecy: "When the future is to be foreshadowed," says Dr. Lee, "certain events of the time, historical or incidental, are selected as occasions on which may be founded the several disclosures of the divine will. The Almighty—who can question it?—*could* in all cases have unveiled his purpose without observing any such method, or acting in accordance with any such law; but he has not only thought fit to disclose his will gradually, as the scripture narrative clearly implies, he has also, as a general rule, availed himself (if we may use the phrase) of certain occasions which were presented from time to time, and which formed a species of natural channel for the conveyance of his revelations. Instances of this mode of acting will present themselves to every mind. Suffice it here to mention the memorable example afforded by the narrative contained in the seventh chapter of the second book of Samuel; where God employs the occasion of correcting the error into which Nathan's precipitancy had led him, for the purpose of conveying the fundamental prediction which represents Christ as the Son of David, and on which are founded all the Messianic psalms. By this fact of the connection of single predictions with the historical present may be explained, I conceive, that characteristic of prophecy which consists in its 'double sense;' according to which the *particular* is brought forward as a pledge of what lies far beyond, without representing the former as the true or highest end. Thus, the prediction which foreshadowed the restoration of Judah from captivity in Babylon had a further end."[1] Davison, in laying down the same principle, had been careful to vindicate it from the objection before referred to: "The double sense of prophecy is of all things the most remote from fraud or equivocation, and has its ground of reason perfectly clear. For what is it? Not the convenient latitude of two unconnected senses, wide of each other, and giving room to a fallacious ambiguity; but the combination of two related, analogous, and harmonizing, though disparate subjects, each clear and definite in itself; implying a twofold truth in the prescience, and creating an aggravated *difficulty*, and thereby an accumulated proof, in the completion. For a case in point, to justify the predictions concerning the kingdom of David in their double force, it must be shown of them, that they hold in each of their relations, and in each were fulfilled. So that the double sense of prophecy, in its true idea, is a check upon the pretences of vague and unappropriated predictions rather than a door to admit them."[2]

Cautious as this language is, it yet is not satisfactory to Fairbairn, who maintains that, "in so far as prophecies might have been constructed to comprehend two series of disparate events, holding in each of the relations, and in each fulfilled, it could only be by dispensing with the more exact criteria, which we cannot help regarding as the most conclusive evidence of prophetic inspiration."[3]

But Fairbairn's objections do not seem conclusive; the less so, as substantially he concedes the principle in respect to types. And it is by no means intended to assert that the "double sense" obtains generally. Davison says, "I would understand the double sense to obtain only in some of the more distinguished monuments of prophecy."[4] And, though this may be too great a concession, yet it may fairly be laid down as a rule, that a double sense should not be admitted when another explanation can be probably supported. Some of the Messianic psalms, for example, have their sole as well as perfect fulfilment in Jesus Christ.]

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[1] Lee, The Inspiration of Holy Scripture (2nd edit.), lect. iv. pp. 153—158.
[2] Davison, Discourses on Prophecy (6th edit.), disc. v. part ii. pp. 144, 145.
[3] Fairbairn, The Typology of Scripture (2nd edit.), vol. i. chap. iv. pp. 130, 131.
[4] Discourses on Prophecy, p. 146.

II. *Predictions, denouncing judgments to come, do not in themselves speak the absolute futurity of the event, but only declare what is to be expected by the persons to whom they are made, and what will certainly come to pass, unless God in his mercy interpose between the threatening and the event.*

"So that comminations do speak only the *debitum pœnæ*, and the necessary obligation to punishment; but therein God doth not bind up himself as he doth in absolute promises; the reason is, because comminations confer no right to any, which absolute promises do; and therefore God is not bound to necessary performance of what he threatens. Indeed the guilt or obligation to punishment is necessary, where the offence hath been committed, to which the threatening was annexed; but the execution of that punishment doth still depend upon God's arbitrarious will, and therefore he may suspend or remove it upon serious addresses made to himself in order to it. For, since God was pleased not to take the present forfeiture of the first grand transgression, but made such a relaxation of that penal law, that conditions of pardon were admittable, notwithstanding sentence passed upon the malefactors, there is strong ground of presumption in human nature, that God's forbearance of mankind, notwithstanding sin, doth suppose his readiness to pardon offenders upon their repentance, and, therefore, that all particular threatenings of judgments to come do suppose incorrigibleness in those they are pronounced against; upon which the foundation of hope is built, that, if timely repentance do intervene, God will remove those judgments which are threatened against them."[1] Of these conditional comminatory predictions we have examples in Jonah's preaching to the Ninevites (Jonah iii. 4—10.), and in Isaiah's denunciation of death to Hezekiah (Isai. xxxviii. 1.). See also a similar instance in Jer. xxxviii. 14—23.[2]

III. *Predictions then express divine purposes, when many prophets in several ages concur in the same prediction.*

"Because it is hardly seen but all those tacit conditions, which are supposed in general promises or comminations, may be altered in different ages; but, when the conditions alter, and the predictions continue the same, it is a stronger evidence it is some immutable counsel of God, which is expressed in those predictions. And in this case one prediction confirms the foregoing; as the Jews say of prophets, *One prophet that hath the testimony of another prophet is supposed to be true;* but it must be with this supposition, that the other prophet was before approved to be a true prophet. Now, both these meet in the prophecies concerning our Saviour; for to him bear all the prophets witness, and in their several ages they had several things revealed to them concerning him; and the uniformity and perfect harmony of all these several prophecies by persons at so great distance from each other, and being of several interests and employments, and in several places, yet all giving light to each other, and exactly meeting at last in the accomplishment, do give us yet a further and clearer evidence, that all those several beams came from the same sun, when all those scattered rays were at last gathered into one body again at the appearance of the Sun of Righteousness in the world."[3]

SECTION III.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF PROPHECIES CONCERNING THE MESSIAH IN PARTICULAR.[4]

I. *Jesus Christ being the great subject and end of Scripture revelation, we ought every where to search for prophecies concerning him.*

We are assured by Christ himself that the Scriptures testify of him (John v. 39.), and that in Moses, the Psalms, and Prophets, there are things concerning him (Luke xxiv.

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[1] Stillingfleet, Origines Sacræ, book ii. chap. vi. § 10. pp. 120, 121., 8th edit.; Jahn, Enchiridion Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, pp. 148, 149. See before, pp. 303, 304.

[2] See Fairbairn's observations on this topic in Prophecy viewed, &c., part i. chap. iv. pp. 58., &c.; also Hengstenberg, in Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Prophecy, i. 2.

[3] Stillingfleet, Orig. Sac. p. 120.

[4] Bishop Marsh, Divinity Lectures, part iv. lectt. xx. and xxi., has several admirable observations on the connection subsisting between the truth of Christianity and the prophecies relating to the Messiah: nearly the whole of lecture xxi. is occupied with examples of predictions literally and strictly *foretelling the coming of Christ.*

25—27, 44.): further, we have the declaration of an inspired apostle, that to him give all the prophets witness (Acts x. 43.), and of an angel of God, that *the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy* (Rev. xix. 10.). It may therefore be remarked generally, that whatsoever is emphatically and characteristically spoken of some certain person, not called by his own name, in the psalms or prophetical books, so that each predicate can be fully demonstrated in no single subject of that or any other time, must be taken as said and predicted of the Messiah. Psal. xxii. and Isai. liii. may be adduced as illustrations of this rule, which will not mislead any student or reader of the sacred volume. The first four remarks in pp. 406, 407. may be advantageously employed in the application of this rule.

II. *The interpretation of the word of prophecy, made by Jesus Christ himself, and by his inspired apostles, is a rule and key by which to interpret correctly the prophecies cited or alluded to by them.*

The propriety of this canon must be obvious; for, as every one is the best interpreter of his own words, so the Holy Spirit (under whose influence the ancient prophets wrote and spoke), in more recent prophecies, refers to former predictions, and often uses the same words, phrases, and images, thus leading us to understand the true sense of those oracles.[1] For instance, the prophecy (in Isai. viii. 14.) that the Messiah would prove a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, is more plainly repeated by Simeon (Luke ii. 34.), and is shown to have been fulfilled by Paul (Rom. ix. 32, 33.), and by Peter (1 Pet. ii. 8.); and Psal. xvi. is expressly applied to Jesus Christ by the latter of these apostles (Acts ii. 25—31.).[2]

III. *Where the prophets describe a golden age of felicity, they clearly foretell gospel times; and particularly in the prophecies and psalms, whatever is predicated of a person not named, in terms expressive of such excellence, glory, and other characteristics, as are suitable in their just emphases to no other subject, must be interpreted as spoken and predicted of the Messiah.*

1. It is thus that the writers of the New Testament interpret and allege the ancient prophecies: instances may be given in Deut. xviii. 18.; Psalms viii., xvi., xxii., xl., lxix., cxviii. 22, 23.; Isai. iv. 2., vii. 14, 15., xlii. 1., liii.; Zech. iii. 8., and xii. 10. It is worthy of remark that the writers of the New Testament directly apply to the Son of God the most magnificent descriptions and attributes of the Father in the Old Testament; as in Psal. lxviii. 18., cii. 26, 27.; Isai. xlv. 22—24.; which teach us to *acknowledge the mystery of God, even of the Father, and of Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge* (Col. ii. 2, 3.).

2. At the time the prophets respectively flourished, the Israelites and Jews were, in general, notoriously wicked, although, even in the worst of times, there was a considerable number who feared Jehovah. Hence, while the prophets denounce national judgments upon the wicked (in which temporal afflictions the righteous would necessarily be involved), they at the same time hold out to the latter, to strengthen their trust in God, predictions of future and better times; and, with promises of some great temporal deliverance, they invariably connect a display of the yet greater deliverance of the Messiah: the peace and happiness which are to prevail in consequence of that deliverance are portrayed in such a beautiful assemblage of images, and delineate so high a state of felicity, that, as there is no period in the history of the world, prior to the Christian dispensation, to which they can in any way be applied, these predictions of future happiness must necessarily be understood exclusively to refer to gospel times. It will suffice to adduce two instances, from Isai. ix. 2—7., and xi. 1—9. In the former of these passages, the peaceful kingdom of the Messiah is set forth, its extent and duration; and, in the latter, the singular blessedness which should then prevail is delineated in imagery of unequalled beauty.[3]

IV. *Things foretold as universally or indefinitely to come to pass*

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[1] Bishop Lowth has some fine remarks on this topic towards the close of his eleventh Lecture.

[2] The petty cavils and evasions of Ruperti and other modern commentators, who deny (without being able to disprove) the above canon, are well exposed by Dr. J. P. Smith, on the Person of Christ, vol. i. pp. 222, 223.

[3] Rambach, Inst. Herm. pp. 175—177.; J. P. Carpzov, Primæ Lineæ Hermeneuticæ, pp. 25, 26.

under the gospel are to be understood, as they respect the duty, of all persons; but, as they respect the event, only of God's people.

Thus, when the peace, that is foretold to prevail in gospel times, is stated to be so great that men should then *beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks*; that nation should not *lift up sword against nation, neither learn war any more* (Isai. ii. 4.); and that *the wolf should lie down with the lamb, and the leopard with the kid* (Isai. xi. 6, and lxv. 25., with other passages that might be adduced); all these highly-figurative expressions are to be understood of the nature, design, and tendency of the gospel, and what is the duty of all its professors, and what would actually take place in the Christian world, if all who profess the Christian doctrine did sincerely obey its dictates. And, so far as the gospel does prevail upon any, it réclaims their wild and unruly natures: from being furious as wolves, they become meek as lambs, and, from raging like lions, they become gentle and tender as kids, so far are they from injuring others, that they dare not entertain any the slightest thoughts of malevolence or revenge, towards their most inveterate enemies.

V. *As the ancient prophecies concerning the Messiah are of two kinds, some of them relating to his first coming to suffer, while the rest of them concern his second coming to advance his kingdom, and restore the Jews; in all these prophecies, we must carefully distinguish between his first coming in humiliation to accomplish his mediatorial work on the cross, and his second coming in glory to judgment.*

This distinction is sufficiently obvious in those passages which treat of either coming separately, as in Isai vii. 14., ix. 6., liii., &c. which treat of his *first coming* in the flesh; and in Isai. ii. 10—21., which refers to his *second coming* to judgment. To the former must be referred all those passages which relate to his humiliation. But it is more difficult to distinguish each advent in those passages, in which the prophet makes an *immediate* transition from the one to the other. For instance, in Isai. xl. 1—9., the prediction relates to the first advent of Christ; but in v. 10. his second coming to judgment is noticed, express mention being made of the solemn work of retribution, which is peculiar to judgment. Again, in Jer. xxiii. 5—7., the promise of sending the Son of God into the world is in v. 8. joined with a prophecy concerning the conversion of the Jews, which is yet future. A similar instance of uniting the two advents of Christ occurs in Mal. iii. 1—5. By distinguishing, however, between them, we shall be better able to combat the objections of the Jews, who apply to the Messiah all those predictions which refer to a state of exaltation, while they overlook all those plain though less numerous prophecies, in which is described Messiah's first coming in a state of humiliation.

Before we dismiss the important subject of prophecy, there are two cautions, which must uniformly be kept in view in studying the prophetic writings.

1. The first is, *that we do not apply passing events as actually fulfilling particular prophecies.*

It has justly been remarked that "a commentator upon the predictions of Daniel and John can never be too much upon his guard against the fascinating idea, that he may expect to find *every passing event of his own day* there predicted. Before he ventures to introduce any exposition founded upon *present* circumstances, he ought to make it clearly appear that it both accords with the *chronological* order so carefully preserved in those prophecies, that it strictly harmonizes with the *language of symbols*, and that it demonstrates every part of the prediction to tally *exactly* with its supposed accomplishments."[1]

2. The other caution is, that *we do not curiously pry beyond what is expressly written, or describe as fulfilled prophecies which are yet future.*

Such *secret things* as unaccomplished prophecies *belong unto the Lord* our God; and it is a waste of time to weary ourselves with conjectures respecting the *precise* mode of their accomplishment. Upon these points, when we go beyond what is written, we exceed our commission; and it has almost invariably been found that a commentator, who attempted

[1] Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies, vol. ii. p. 277.

to show *how* a prophecy was about to be fulfilled, was by the event convicted of error. We may safely and posi ively declare what will come to pass, and we may even say *how* it will come to pass, so long as we resolutely confine ourselves to the *explicit declarations of Scripture;* but to point out the *manner* in which an event will be accomplished, *any further than the word of God* has revealed the manner of it, is to pry too curiously into what he has purposely concealed, and to aim at becoming prophets, instead of contenting ourselves with being humble expositors of prophecy. What *the Bible* has declared, that *we* may without hesitation declare: beyond this, all is mere vague conjecture.[1] [It will be well also to separate fulfilled from unfulfilled prophecies, and ascertain what or what part of an utterance is really prediction.]

On the subject of apparent contradictions between prophecies and their accomplishment, see pp. 443—445. *infra.*[2]

CHAPTER V.

ON THE DOCTRINAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

As the holy Scriptures contain the revealed will of God to man, they not only offer to our attention the most interesting histories and characters for our instruction by example, and the most sublime prophecies for the confirmation of our faith, but they likewise present to our serious study *doctrinal truths* of the utmost importance. [" To exhibit and enforce these is the great object for which the Bible was given. From these it derives its principal value; and by means of them works those mighty transformations of character, by which sinners are converted and prepared for heaven."[3] Some of them occur in the historical, poetical, and prophetical parts of the Bible; but the chief source of doctrinal theology is in the New Testament, in the discourses delivered by our Lord, and in the apostolic epistles which, though originally written for the edification of particular churches or individuals, are nevertheless of *general application, and designed for the guidance of the universal church in every age.* The

[1] Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies, vol. i. p. 77.

[2] In addition to the writers cited in the course of this chapter, it may be stated that the fulfilment of prophecy is fully considered by Bishop Newton in his Dissertations, 2 vols. 8vo. See also Sir Isaac Newton, Observations on Daniel, and the Apocalypse, 4to.; A. H. Francke, Introductio ad Lect. Prophetarum (Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1724, 8vo.), pp. 1—88.: in pp. 91—247. he has applied his general principles to the interpretation of the prophet Jonah; Glassius, Philologia Sacr. lib. i. tract. iv. coll. 311—324., 4to. edit. Lipsiæ, 1725; Rambach, Observationes Selectæ de Parallelismo Sacro, pp. 219—235., and his Instit. Herm. Sacr. pp. 741—745, 779—791.; J. E. Pfeiffer, Inst. Herm. Sacr. pp. 795—812.; Langius, Herm Sacr. pp. 133—150.; Turretin, De Sacræ Scripturæ Interpretatione, pars ii. cap. iv., Op. 1775, tom. ii. pp. 100—104.; in capp. v. vi. pp. 105—116., he has given an admirable illustration of the principles laid down by him in the preceding chapter by expounding chapters i. and ii. of the prophecy of Joel; Pareau, Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti, pp. 468—519.; Principes Généraux pour l'Intelligence des Prophéties (Paris, 1763, 8vo.); Bishop Warburton, Divine Legation of Moses, book vi. (Works, vol. vi. p. 47., &c.); Dr. Hey, Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 235—240.; Dr. Smith, View of the Prophets, 12mo.; Bishop Hurd, Introduction to the Study of the Prophets (Works, vol. v.); Dr. Macknight, Translation and Commentary on the Epistles, vol. iv. (4to. edit.) or vi. (8vo. edit.), essay viii. sect. v.; Mr. Frere, Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John, 8vo.; and the Rev. Wm. Jones, Lectures on the Figurative Language of Scripture, Theol. and Miscel. Works, vol. iv. These writers have all been consulted on the present occasion.

[3] L. A. Sawyer, The Elements of Biblical Interpretation, New-Haven, 1836, chap. iii. sect. i. p. 100.

doctrinal interpretation, therefore, of the sacred writings is of paramount importance; as by this means we are enabled to acquire a correct and saving knowledge of the will of God concerning us. "No man studies the Bible in a right manner who does not study it with a special view to ascertain its doctrines. If we understand the doctrines of the Bible, we understand the Bible; otherwise not."[1] In forming a just notion of what the scripture teaches, we must regard it as a whole—the complete revelation which God has made of his will to man, comprehending all that it is necessary for us to know. No part of it is superfluous, nor is any one in opposition to another part. Still we must expect to find varieties in the mode of teaching. Truths imperfectly known at one period are more thoroughly developed at another. The individuality of the different writers is plainly to be seen; and the particular circumstances under which they were called on to write naturally have their influence on the shape in which we find their writings. Truth is occasionally exhibited in its principles, more frequently it is applied to the special cases of the persons or communities addressed. But, whether we find the principle stated, or the application made, whether we see the earlier shadows afterwards giving place to the substance, and that which was taught in figure at last plainly spoken, the different parts are so adjusted as that each shall have its appropriate office, and all combine in illustrating most fully the magnificent purpose of God. Remarks of this kind are specially needed in relation to the several portions of the New Testament. Two errors have arisen. Some would comparatively neglect the gospels, as if Christ had merely planted the seeds the ripened fruit of which is found in the more developed teachings of the apostles. Others lower the value of the epistles, as if the disciples had but imperfectly apprehended their Master's meaning. But the one must be taken with and not balanced against the other. A right view of the relative position, individually and officially, of the servants to their Lord will obviate mistake. It is indisputably true that none ever spake as Christ spake: no mere man could comprehend in all its bearings God's will, as he who was God incarnate. "No man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son" (Matt. xi. 27.). But then it is added, "And he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." And so by his informing Spirit he guided his apostles to communicate to his church what he revealed to *them*. He thus gave them instructions which before they were not able to bear. And, though as individual men they stood always infinitely below their Master, yet as teachers moved by the Holy Ghost they uttered (in their writings) the words of God. Christ's eye was on the whole, the great Master-builder: the servants were employed respectively on certain departments; and each was fully qualified for what he had to do, though his knowledge might not extend to that which lay beyond him.[2] In his diction and modes of expression his individual mind was apparent; but he faithfully delivered the message he was charged with, and in his

[1] L. A. Sawyer, The Elements of Biblical Interpretation, New-Haven, 1836, chap. iii. sect. i. p. 101.

[2] See above, p. 300.

own especial sphere declared the whole counsel of God. In the completed body of the scripture, therefore, we have all truth, all that the divine mind deemed needful for the instruction and welfare of his church; and one member must not be exclusively honoured while another is unduly neglected. "The eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you." The greatest diligence is necessary in this department of study. "The only proper method of determining what the doctrines of the Bible are, is by interpretation. They cannot be guessed out . . . By the laws of interpretation they can be determined with accuracy and precision. Let these laws . . . be faithfully applied; and the great body of Christian doctrine will be clearly developed."[1]

Cellérier notices the alleged difference of teaching by our Lord and by his apostles, and, after saying that neither what he calls the *orthodox* nor the *Socinian* method of explanation is satisfactory, propounds three principles—those of individuality, of occasionality, of accommodation. With regard to the first point he considers the teaching of the apostles "in this respect inferior to that of Jesus Christ, not certainly dangerous, or erroneous, but less extensive, less absolute, less free from human ideas, and especially less complete. How can this be denied," he goes on, "in face of the debates, for instance, recorded Acts xv., and of the different formulæ given for justification by Paul and James? The complete and fundamental teaching on this point is found in Jesus Christ, who prescribes love. Works and faith are but special forms and partial aspects of this."[2] That there is a difference between the words of the Master and those of the disciples has been already admitted; but Cellérier's assertions merit grave censure. The apostles and evangelists applied to particular cases the substantive truths which the Lord delivered: to that great foundation they did not add, but they built upon it, and showed the comprehensive applicability of gospel doctrine in respect to time and place and circumstance. But each performed fully the part allotted to him. Cellérier's instances do not authorize his conclusion.]

In the prosecution of this important branch of sacred literature, the following observations are offered to the attention of the student:—

I. *The meaning of the sacred writings is not to be determined according to modern notions and systems; but we must endeavour to carry ourselves back to the very times and places in which they were written, and realize the ideas and modes of thinking of the sacred writers.*

This rule is of the utmost importance for understanding the scriptures, but is too commonly neglected by expositors, who, when applying themselves to the explanation of the sacred writings, have a preconceived system of doctrine which they seek in the Bible, and to which they refer every passage. Thus they rather draw the scriptures to *their* system of doctrine, than bring their doctrines to the standard of scripture; a mode of interpretation which is altogether unjust, and utterly useless in the

[1] L. A. Sawyer, The Elements of Biblical Interpretation, New-Haven, 1836, chap. iii. sect. i. p. 101.
[2] Manuel d'Herméneutique, part. v. sect. ii. pp. 345, 346.

attainment of truth. The only way by which to understand the meaning of the sacred writers, and to distinguish between true and false doctrines, is to lay aside all preconceived modern notions and systems, and to carry ourselves back to the very times and places in which the prophets and apostles wrote. In perusing the Bible, therefore, this rule must be most carefully attended to: it is only an unbiassed mind that can attain the true and genuine sense of scripture.[1]

II. *Regard must also be had to the times and places when and where the books were respectively composed, to the peculiar state of the churches, cities, or persons, to whom particular epistles, especially those of St. Paul, were addressed; as the knowledge of such state frequently leads to the particular occasion for which such epistle was written.*

"Although the general design of the whole of scripture was the instruction of the world, and the edification of the church in every age, still there was an immediate and specific design with regard to every book. This appears particularly obvious in reference to the epistles. With the exception of those properly called catholic or general epistles, and of a few written to individuals, they were addressed to particular societies of Christians, and were adapted to the state of those societies, whether consisting chiefly of Jewish or of heathen converts; whether recently organized as churches, or in a state of flourishing maturity; whether closely cemented together by the strength of brotherly love, or distracted by the spirit of faction; whether stedfast in adherence to the truth, or inclining to the admission of error. Now, if these considerations were present to the mind of the inspired writer of an epistle, and served to regulate the strain and the topics of his address, it is evident that they must by no means be disregarded by us in our attempts to ascertain the genuine and intended sense."[2] A knowledge, therefore, of the state of the particular churches, to which they addressed their epistles, is of the greatest importance, not only to enable us to ascertain the scope of any particular epistle, but also for the purpose of reconciling doctrinal passages, which, to a *cursory* reader, may at first sight appear contradictory.

For instance, the Galatian churches, not long after their members had been converted to the faith of the gospel, were persuaded by some Judaizing teachers that it was absolutely necessary they should be circumcised, and observe the entire law of Moses: hence great dissensions arose among the Galatian Christians. These circumstances led St. Paul to write his epistle to them; the design of which was to prove the Jewish ceremonial law to be no longer obligatory, to convince them of the moral and spiritual nature of the gospel, and thus to restore mutual good-will among them.

Again, Rom. xiv. 5., and Gal. iv. 10, 11., are *apparently* contradictory to each other. In the former passage we read: *One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.* The latter passage runs thus: *Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years; I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.* Now, if we attend to the situation and character of the persons addressed, we shall easily be enabled to solve this seeming difficulty.

The Roman and Galatian churches were composed of both Jews and Gentiles; but they are not addressed promiscuously; neither are they the same description of people who are addressed in both passages. Those who "regarded days," among the Romans, were the *converted Jews*, who, having from their youth observed them as divine appointments, were with difficulty brought to lay them aside. And, as their attachment had its origin in a

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[1] Turretin, De Interp. Sacr. Script., Op. pars ii. cap. ix. p. 128. See also some sensible remarks on these perversions of the sacred writings in the Christian Observer for 1818, vol. xvii. p. 317.

[2] Rev. H. F. Burder, Sermon on the Duty and Means of ascertaining the genuine Sense of the Scriptures, p. 19.

tender regard to divine authority, they were considered as "keeping the day unto the Lord;" and great forbearance was enjoined upon the Gentile converts towards them in that matter. Those, on the other hand, who, among the Galatians, "observed days, and months, and times," were *converted Gentiles;* as is manifest from the context, which describes them as having, in their unconverted state, "done service to them which by nature were no gods" (iv. 8.). These, being perverted by certain Judaizing teachers, were, contrary to the apostolic decision (Acts xv.), circumcised, and subjected themselves to the yoke of Jewish ceremonies. Nor was this all; they were led to consider these things as necessary to justification and salvation; which was subversive of the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ (Acts xv. 1.; Gal. v. 4.). These circumstances being considered, the different language of the apostle is perfectly in character. Circumcision, and conformity to the law of Moses, *in Jewish converts,* was held to be lawful. Even the apostle of the Gentiles himself "to the Jews became a Jew;" frequently, if not constantly, conforming to the Jewish laws. And, when writing to others, he expresses himself on this wise: "Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God" (1 Cor. vii. 18, 19.). But for *Gentiles,* who had no such things to allege in their favour, to go off from the liberty granted to them (Acts xv.), and entangle themselves under a yoke of bondage, and not only so, but to make it a term of justification, was sufficient to excite a fear lest the labour which he had bestowed upon them was in vain.[1]

Braunius[2], Vitringa[3], and Buddeus[4] have happily illustrated numerous passages in St. Paul's epistles by attending to the circumstances mentioned in the above canon. The state of the Apocalyptic churches has also been well described by our learned countryman Smith[5], by Witsius[6], and especially by Ferdinand Stosch.[7] Rambach, in his Introduction to the epistle to the Romans, has elaborately investigated the state of the church at Rome, and applied it to the examination and scope of that epistle.[8]

III. *In order to understand any doctrinal book or passage of Scripture, we must attend to the controversies which were agitated at that time, and to which the sacred writers allude; for a key to the apostolic epistles is not to be sought in the modern controversies that divide Christians, and which not only were unknown, but also were not in existence at that time.*

The controversies which prevailed in the age of the apostles are to be ascertained, partly from their writings, partly from the existing monuments of the primitive Christians, and likewise from some passages in the writings of the rabbins.

From these it appears that the following were the principal questions then agitated, viz. What is the true way by which to please God, and thus to obtain eternal life—the observance of the Mosaic law, or faith and obedience as held forth in the gospel? To this question the following was closely allied, Whether the observance of the Mosaic ceremonies was so absolutely necessary, that they were to be imposed on the converted Gentiles? The former question is *particularly* discussed in St. Paul's epistle to the Romans; the latter in the council held at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 1—31.), and *especially* in the epistle to the Galatians.

Another question which was most warmly agitated related to the calling of the Gentiles, which the Jews could by no means bear; as appears from numerous passages in the gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles. The apostles, therefore, found it necessary to assert that point, to confirm it by citing numerous prophecies from the Old Testament relative to

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[1] Fuller, Harmony of Scripture, pp. 44. 46.

[2] Selecta Sacra, lib. i.

[3] Observationes Sacræ, lib. iv. cc. 7, 8.

[4] Jo. Franc. Buddeus, Ecclesia Apostolica, sive de Statu Ecclesiæ Christianæ sub Apostolis Commentatio Historica-Dogmatica. Jenæ, 1729. 8vo.

[5] In his Remarks upon the Manners, Religion, and Government of the Turks, with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia, 8vo. 1678. The remarks had previously been printed in Latin in 1672, and again in an enlarged edition in 1674.

[6] Miscellanea Sacra, tom. i. p. 669.

[7] Ferdinand Stosch, Syntagma Dissertationum Septem de nominibus totidem Urbium Asiæ ad quos D. Johannes in Apocalypsi Epistolas direxit. 8vo. Guelpherbyti, 1757.

[8] Jo. Jac. Rambach, Introductio Historico-Theologica in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. 8vo. Halæ, 1727.

the conversion of the Gentiles, and to vindicate it from the objections of the Jews: this has been done by St. Paul in several chapters of his epistle to the Romans, as well as in his epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, in which he proves that the Jewish ceremonies were superseded.

There were also some Jewish notions, which were refuted both by our Lord and by his apostles; for instance, that all Jews would certainly be saved. Turretin, to whom we are indebted for this observation, has adduced a passage from the Codex Sanhedrin, which affirmed that *every Jew had a portion in the future world*, and another from the Talmud, in which it is said that *Abraham is sitting near the gates of hell, and does not permit any Israelite, however wicked he may be, to descend into hell.*[1] In opposition to such traditions as these, Jesus Christ thus solemnly warned them, *Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven* (Matt. vii. 21.). This notion was also opposed at length by St. Paul (Rom. ii. 17. &c.). Once more: it appears from very many passages of the Jewish writers, that the Jews divided the precepts of the law into great and little, and taught that, if a man observed *one such grand precept*, that would suffice to conciliate the favour of God, and would outweigh all his other actions. In opposition to this our Lord solemnly declares that, "whosoever shall break one of *these least commandments*, and shall teach men so, he shall be called (*shall be*) the least in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. v. 19.); and St. James also, "whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend *in one point*, he is guilty of all" (James ii. 10.).

Further, many erroneous tenets were held and promulgated, in the time of the apostles, by persons calling themselves Christians. To these "oppositions of science falsely so called" (1 Tim. vi. 20.) there are numerous allusions in the epistles, where such errors are refuted: for instance, Col. ii. 18., the worshipping of angels; Col. ii. 20, 21., against the pretensions of extraordinary mortifications and abstinence; 1 Cor. viii. and 2 Cor. vi. 16., &c., against idols and eating things offered to them, &c. The beginning of St. John's Gospel, it is well known, was written to refute the false notions of Cerinthus. See Vol. IV. p. 471.

IV. *The doctrinal books of Scripture, for instance, the epistles, are not to be perused in detached portions or sections; but they should be read through at once, with a close attention to the scope and tenor of the discourse, regardless of the divisions into chapters and verses, precisely in the same manner in which we would peruse the letters of Cicero, Pliny, or other ancient writers.*

This reading should not be cursory or casual, but frequent and diligent; and the epistles should be repeatedly perused, until we become intimately acquainted with their contents.[2] Want of attention to the general scope

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[1] De Sacr. Script. Interp., Op. pars ii. cap. ix. vol. ii. p. 129.

[2] Locke has forcibly illustrated this remark by relating his own practice in studying the epistles of St. Paul. "I saw plainly, after I began once to reflect on it, that, if any one now should write me a letter as long as St. Paul's to the Romans, concerning such a matter as that is, in a style as foreign, and expressions as dubious, as his seem to be, if I should divide it into fifteen or sixteen chapters, and read of them one to-day and another to-morrow, &c., it was ten to one I should never come to a full and clear comprehension of it. The way to understand the mind of him that writ it, every one would agree, was to read the whole letter through from one end to the other, all at once, to see what was the main subject and tendency of it; or, if it had several views and purposes in it, not dependent one of another, nor in a subordination to one chief aim and end, to discover what those different matters were, and where the author concluded one and began another; and, if there were any necessity of dividing the epistle into parts, to mark the boundaries of them." In the prosecution of this thought, Locke concluded it necessary for the understanding of any one of St. Paul's epistles to read it all through at one sitting, and to observe, as well as he could, the drift and design of the writer. Successive perusals in a similar way at length gave him a good general view of the apostle's main purpose in writing the epistle, the chief branches of his discourse, the arguments he used, and the disposition of the whole. This, however, is not to be attained by one or two hasty readings. "It must be repeated again and again, *with a close attention to the tenor of the discourse, and a perfect neglect of the divisions into chapters and verses.* On the contrary, the safest way is to suppose that the epistle has but one business and one aim; until, by a frequent perusal of it, you are forced to see there are distinct independent matters in it, which will forwardly enough show themselves." Locke on the Epistles of St. Paul, Preface. (Works, vol. iii. pp. 281, 282. edit. 1768, 4to.)

and design of the doctrinal parts of scripture, particularly of the epistles, has been the source of many and great errors; "for to pick out a verse or two, and criticise on a word or expression, and ground a doctrine thereon, without considering the main scope of the epistle and the occasion of writing it, is just as if a man should interpret ancient statutes or records by two or three words or expressions in them, without regard to the true occasion upon which they were made, and without any manner of knowledge and insight into the history of the age in which they were written." The absurdity of such a conduct is too obvious to need further exposure.

Having already offered some hints for investigating the *scope* of a particular book or passage[1], it only remains to notice that there is this general difference observable between the scope of the *gospels* and that of the *epistles;* viz. the *former* represent the principles of Christianity *absolutely*, or as they are in themselves; while the *latter* represent them *relatively*, that is, as they respect the state of the world at that particular time.

V. *Where any doctrine is to be deduced from the Scriptures, it will be collected better, and with more precision, from those places in which it is professedly discussed, than from those in which it is noticed only incidentally or by way of inference.*

For instance, in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, the doctrine of justification by faith is fully treated; and, in those to the Ephesians and Colossians, the calling of the Gentiles and the abrogation of the ceremonial law are particularly illustrated. These must, therefore, be diligently compared together, in order to deduce those doctrines correctly. [Some doctrines are more prominent than others in scripture; and these must have their due place assigned them. And, while some are plainly affirmed, others are to be established by probable deduction. An inference fairly drawn is of great weight; and some very leading truths are to be proved in this way.]

VI. *Doctrines peculiar to a certain age are better ascertained from writings belonging to that age, or the times immediately following, than from memorials or writings of a later date.*

Thus, the ideas entertained by the patriarchs are better collected from the writings immediately concerning them—the book of Genesis, for instance—than from books written long afterwards, as the apostolic epistles. Not that these are unworthy of credit (of such an insinuation the author trusts he shall be fully acquitted), but because the apostles deduce inferences from passages of scripture, according to the manner practised *in their own time;* which inferences, though truly correct, and every way worthy the assent of Christians, were not known at the time when such passages were first committed to writing.[2]

VII. *Although the Scriptures sometimes speak of God after the manner of men, they are not to be understood literally, but must be taken in a sense worthy of God.*

This rule was not unknown to the Jews, with whom it was usual to say that the scriptures speak of God *with the tongue of the sons of men.* When, therefore, *human members, faculties, senses, and affections, are attributed to the Deity,* they are to be understood in a sense worthy of him; and the

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[1] See pp. 265—268. *supra.*

[2] Turretin, pars ii. cap. ix. vol. ii. p. 132.

manner in which that sense is to be ascertained is twofold: 1. *From the light of nature*, which teaches us that all ideas of imperfection are to be removed from God, and, consequently, corporeity; and, 2. *From the comparison of other passages of Scripture*, in which it is written, that God is a spirit, that he cannot be represented by any figure, and that he is not a man that he should repent, &c. Numerous illustrations of this remark might be offered, were it necessary; but, as this subject has already been discussed in a former chapter, it will be sufficient to give a reference to it.[1]

VIII. *No doctrine is admissible, or can be established from the Scriptures, that is either repugnant to them, or contrary to reason or to the analogy of faith.*

For instance, if the doctrine of transubstantiation were to be admitted, the evidence of our reason, as well as of our senses, could no longer be believed, and the consequence would be, that the arguments for the truth of the Christian religion, arising from the miracles and resurrection of Jesus Christ, would fall to the ground. Articles of revelation, indeed, may be above our reason; but no doctrine, which comes from God, can be irrational, or contrary to those moral truths, which are clearly perceived by the mind of man. We are sure, therefore, that any interpretation of revealed doctrines that is inconsistent with common sense, or with the established laws of morality, must be erroneous. The several parts of those doctrines, which are dispersed through the scriptures, ought to be collected and explained so as to agree with one another, and form an intelligible and consistent scheme. The different parts of a revelation, which comes from God, must all be reconcilable with one another, and with sound reason. The prejudices of different denominations unfit them for understanding the passages, which are connected with the subjects of their disputations; but there are general principles that all parties adopt; and no text can be interpreted in a sense inconsistent with those articles which are universally received. This conformity of every part to first principles is commonly called the analogy of faith; the nature of which, and the manner in which it is to be applied to the interpretation of scripture, are stated and explained in pp. 269—274.

IX. *It is of great importance to the understanding of the doctrinal books of the New Testament, to attend to and distinctly to note the transitions of person which frequently occur, especially in St. Paul's epistles.*

The pronouns *I*, *we*, and *you*, are used by the apostles in such a variety of applications, that the understanding of their true meaning is often a key to many difficult passages.

Thus, by the pronoun *I*, St. Paul sometimes means himself; sometimes any Christian; sometimes a Jew; and sometimes any man, &c. If the speaking of himself in the first person singular have these various meanings, his use of the plural *we* is with far greater latitude; for sometimes *we* means himself alone, sometimes those who were with him whom he makes partners to the epistles (as in the two epistles to the Corinthians, and in those to the Philippians and Colossians); sometimes with himself comprehending the other apostles, or preachers of the gospel, or Christians. Nay, he sometimes speaks in this way of the converted Jews, at others, of the converted Gentiles: sometimes he introduces the unregenerate as speaking in his own person; at other times he personifies false teachers or false Christians, whose names, however, he forbears to mention, lest he should give them offence. In all these instances, his application of the above-mentioned pronouns varies the meaning of the text, and causes it to be differently understood. Examples illustrative of this remark may be found in every page of St. Paul's epistles. Further, in

[1] See pp. 333, 334. *supra.*

the current of his discourse, he sometimes drops in the objections of others, and his answers to them, without any change in the scheme of his language. that might give notice of any other person speaking besides himself. To discover this requires great attention to the apostle's scope and argument; and yet, if it be neglected or overlooked, it will cause the reader greatly to mistake and misunderstand his meaning, and will also render the sense very perplexed.[1] Mr. Locke, and Dr. Macknight, in their elaborate works on the epistles, are useful in pointing out these various transitions of persons and subjects; [but in no work are they so carefully and judiciously exhibited as in Coneybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul.]

X. *In applying the Scriptures as a proof of any doctrine, it is necessary to ascertain if all that is meant be expressed; or, if it be not expressed, what is necessarily implied, in order to complete the passage.*

Thus it is common (as we have already shown[2]) for the sacred writers to mention only the principal part of any subject, for the whole.

In Rom. x. 9., Paul says, *If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* The resurrection of Christ is the only article which is mentioned here; because, by that miracle, God established the Saviour's authority as a lawgiver, and confirmed all the doctrines which he taught, But there are other essential articles, which are necessary to be believed, in order to be saved, though they are not stated in the text. It is added (ver. 13.), *for whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.* No real Christian can be so ignorant of the gospel, as to suppose that no more is necessary, in order to be saved, than to call upon the name of the Lord. In this text, it is evident that the apostle mentions only a principal part of what is meant. Now, from the context may be gathered the following particulars, as implied, though not expressed. *First,* in the ninth verse it is affirmed that, in order to be saved, a man must believe in his heart. Secondly, he must confess with his mouth, *If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* *Con*fession implies more than *pro*fession. A true believer in Jesus Christ openly, and of his own accord, *professes* the articles of his belief; and, when he is persecuted and examined concerning his religion, he readily *confesses* the truth, as an evidence of his sincerity and faithfulness. Even this is not all that is necessary, in order to be saved; for it is added in the tenth verse, *with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* Faith, acting on the heart, is productive of a righteous life; and thus the believer becomes a sincere worshipper of the Lord; *for whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved* (ver. 13.). In these different passages, it is evident that a part is mentioned for the whole; and, in order to understand all that is implied, the several parts must be collected and put together.

XI. *No article of faith can be established from metaphors, parables, or single obscure and figurative texts.*

The metaphorical language of the prophets, and figurative expressions which abound in the scriptures, are calculated to promote the purposes of godliness by acting on the imagination, and by influencing a believer's conduct; but they never were intended to be a revelation of gospel principles. Instead of deriving our knowledge of Christianity from parables and figurative passages, *an intimate acquaintance with the doctrines of the gospel is necessary, in order to be capable of interpreting them.*

The beautiful parable of the man who fell among thieves (Luke x. 30—37.) is evidently intended to influence the Jews to be benevolent and kind, like the good Samaritan. Some writers have considered that parable to be a representation of Adam's fall, and of man's recovery, through the interposition and love of Jesus Christ. But those who embrace this opinion did not learn these doctrines from the passage itself. No person, who is wholly ignorant of Adam and of Jesus Christ, could ever learn anything concerning them, from what is related in this parable. The same observation is equally applicable to every other parable, and typical subject; in which the doctrines of the gospel cannot be discovered by any person who has not first learned them from other texts.

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[1] Locke's Preface to the Epistles (Works, vol. iii. p. 277.).
[2] See p. 359. *supra.*

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE MORAL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

SECTION I.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE MORAL PARTS OF SCRIPTURE.

HAVING discussed the interpretation of the figurative, spiritual, typical, prophetical, and doctrinal parts of the sacred writings, it now remains that we consider the moral parts of scripture. These, indeed, are to be interpreted precisely in the same manner as all other moral writings; regard being had to the peculiar circumstances of the sacred writers, viz. the age in which they wrote, the nation to which they belonged, their style, genius, &c. For, being natives of the East, they treat moral topics, after the oriental manner, in a highly-figurative style, and with similitudes and figures considerably more far-fetched than is usual among Greek and Latin authors, or even among the moderns. Again, being for the most part persons in the common walks of life, they generally deliver their precepts in a popular manner, adapted to the capacities of those to whom they were addressed. In the examination of the moral parts of Scripture, the following more particular rules will be found useful:[1]—

I. *Moral propositions or discourses are not to be urged too far. but must be understood with a certain degree of latitude, and with various limitations.*

For want of attending to this canon, many moral truths have been pushed to an extent, which causes them altogether to fail of the effect they were designed to produce. It is not to be denied that universal propositions may be offered: such are frequent in the scriptures as well as in profane writers, and also in common life; but it is in explaining the expressions by which they are conveyed, that just limits ought to be applied, to prevent them from being urged too far. The nature of the thing, and various other circumstances, will always afford a criterion by which to understand moral propositions with the requisite limitations. This, however, is indefinite language; and, therefore, that this subject may be better understood, and applied to the scriptures, we will state a few of these limitations, and illustrate them by examples.

1. *Universal or indefinite moral propositions often denote nothing more than the natural aptitude or tendency of a thing to produce a certain effect, even although that effect should not actually take place.*

Thus, when Solomon says that *a soft answer turneth away wrath* (Prov. xv. 1.), the best method of mitigating anger is pointed out, although the obstinacy or wickedness of man may produce a different result. In like manner, when St. Peter says (1 Pet. iii. 13.), *Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?* this expression is not to be understood as implying that good men shall *never* be ill-treated; but it simply denotes the natural effect which a virtuous life will probably produce; viz. many occasions of irritating men will be avoided, and, on the other hand, their friendship and favour will be conciliated.

2. *Universal or indefinite propositions denote only what generally or often takes place.*

As in Prov. xxii. 6., *Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it.* Here the wise monarch intimates not what always takes place, but

[1] See Turretin, De Sacr. Script. Interp. pars ii. cap. viii. vol. ii. pp. 121—127.

what is the frequent consequence of judicious education. To this rule are to be referred all those propositions which treat of the manners, virtues, or vices of particular nations, conditions, or ages. Thus St. Paul says, that the *Cretans are alway liars* (Tit. i. 12.). Again, when the same apostle, portraying the struggles of an enlightened but unregenerate person, says, *I know that in me* (*that is, in my flesh*) *dwelleth no good thing* (Rom. vii. 18.), he does not mean to say that there is nothing morally good in man; but that no man is by nature *spiritually* good, or *good in the sight of God.*[1]

3. *Universal or indefinite propositions frequently denote* duty, *or what* ought *to be done, not what always does actually take place.*

"It is the way of the Scriptures," says a late writer, "to speak to and of the visible members of the church of Christ, under such appellations and expressions as may seem, at first hearing, to imply that they are all of them truly righteous and holy persons. Thus the apostles style those to whom they write, in general, *saints;* they speak of them as 'sanctified in Christ Jesus, chosen of God, buried with Christ in baptism, risen again with him from the dead, sitting with him in heavenly places;' and particularly St. Paul (Tit. iii. 5.) says that they were 'saved by the washing of regeneration,' &c. The reason of which is, that they were visibly, by *obligation*, and by profession, all this; which was thus represented to them, the more effectually to stir them up, and engage them to live according to their profession and obligation."[2]

By this rule also we may explain Mal. ii. 7., *The priest's lips should keep knowledge*; which passage the advocates of the church of Rome urge, as asserting the infallibility of the priesthood. A simple inspection, however, of the following verse is sufficient to refute this assertion, and to show that the prophet's words denote only the *duty* of the *Jewish* priesthood, not what the priests really did perform. The application of this rule will likewise explain Prov. xvi. 10, 13.

4. *Many precepts are delivered generally and absolutely, concerning moral duties, which are only to be taken with certain limitations.*

For instance, when we are commanded *not to be angry*, we must understand, without a cause, and not beyond measure: when we are forbidden to *avenge* ourselves, it is to be understood of *privately taking* revenge; for the magistrate *beareth not the sword in vain*, but *is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil* (Rom. xiii. 4.). Public vengeance, or punishment, therefore, is clearly not prohibited. Once more, though we are commanded in the scriptures to *swear not at all* (as in Matt. v. 34., and James v. 12.), yet they do not forbid the use of oaths in cases where they can be made subservient to the support of truth and the interests of justice. Moses says, *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name* (Deut. vi. 13.). *Thou shalt swear*, says the prophet Jeremiah, *The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness* (Jer. iv. 2.). Our Saviour himself, when adjured by the high priest, in the name of the living God, to declare whether he was the *Christ the Son of God* (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64.; Mark xiv. 61, 62.), did not refuse to answer the question, thus judicially proposed to him; but he certainly would have remained silent if he had disapproved of all asseverations upon oath, or all such solemn invocations of, and appeals to, the name of God, in cases where the truth is doubtful or the testimony is suspected. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews says that *an oath for confirmation is an end of all strife* (Heb. vi. 16.).[3]

II. *Many things in morals, which are not spoken comparatively, are nevertheless to be thus understood.*

1. In Matt. ix. 13. and xii. 7., Jesus Christ, citing Hos. vi. 6., says that God *desired mercy and not sacrifice.* Yet he had prescribed that victims should be offered. This, therefore, must be understood comparatively, *sacrifice* being compared with *mercy*, or with acts of humanity and bene-

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[1] Similar to this is the language of the liturgy of the Anglican church: "O God,..... because, through the weakness of our mortal nature, we can do no *good* thing without thee, grant us the help of thy grace." (Collect for the first Sunday after Trinity.)

[2] Bishop Bradford, Discourse concerning Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration, p. 37 sixth edit. See also some excellent observations to the same effect in Dr. Macknight, Commentary on 1 John ii. 29.

[3] The reader will find some additional observations illustrative of the canon above given, in Archbp. Tillotson's Works, vol. ii. pp. 62, 158. (London, 1820.)

volence; which, the context shows, are here intended. The sense of the passage in question is this: *I require mercy rather than sacrifice;* in other words, I prefer acts of charity to matters of positive institution, when, in any instance, they interfere with each other.

2. In 1 Tim. vi. 8., we read, *Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.* Is no one then to desire a house, or a competence of wealth? These things, therefore, are compared with what are called the luxuries of life.[1]

III. *Principals include their accessaries, that is, whatever approaches or comes near to them, or has any tendency to them.*

Thus, where any sin is forbidden, we must be careful not only to avoid it, but also every thing of a similar nature, and whatever may prove an occasion of it, or imply our consent to it in others; and we must endeavour to dissuade or restrain others from it.

Compare Matt. v. 21—30.; 1 Thess. v. 22.; Jude 23.; Ephes. v. 11.; 1 Cor. viii. 13.; Levit. xix. 17.; James v. 19, 20. So, where any duty is enjoined, all means and facilities, enabling either ourselves or others to discharge it, according to our respective places, capacities, or opportunities, are likewise enjoined. See Gen. xviii. 19.; Deut. vi. 7.; Heb. x. 23—25. Upon this ground our Lord makes the law and the prophets to depend upon a sincere affectionate love to God and man (Mark xii. 30, 31.; Luke x. 27.); because, where this prevails, we shall not *knowingly* be deficient in any duty or office which lies within our power; neither shall we willingly do any thing that may either directly or indirectly offend, or tend to the prejudice of mankind. See Rom. xii. 17, 18. This observation will leave little room for the "evangelical counsels," or "counsels of perfection," as they are called by the papists, who ground upon them their erroneous doctrine of supererogation.[2] Again, in whatever commandment we are forbidden to do any thing in our persons, as sinful, it equally restrains us from being *partakers* of other men's guilt, who do commit what we know is thereby forbidden. We must not, therefore, be either advising, assisting, encouraging, or in any shape a party with them in it: nay, we must not so much as give any countenance to the evil which they do, by excusing or making light of the crime, or by *hiding* their wickedness, lest by so doing *we* incur part of the blame and punishment, and thus deserve the character given by the psalmist, *When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst unto him, and hast been partaker with the adulterers* (Psal. l. 18.).

IV. *Negatives include affirmatives, and affirmatives include negatives: in other words, where any duty is enjoined, the contrary sin is forbidden; and, where any sin is forbidden, the contrary duty is enjoined.*

Thus, in Deut. vi. 13., where we are commanded to serve God, we are forbidden to serve any other. Therefore, in Matt. iv. 10., it is said, "Him

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[1] Morus, Acroases Hermeneuticæ, tom. i. pp. 257, 258.

[2] "These '*counsels of perfection*' are rules which do not bind under the penalty of sin, but are only useful in carrying men to a greater degree of perfection than is necessary to salvation. There is not the slightest authority in scripture for these counsels of perfection: all the rules there prescribed for our conduct are given in the form of positive commands, as absolutely necessary, wherever they are applicable, to the attainment of eternal life; and the violation of every one of these commands is declared to be sin. We are commanded to be 'perfect even as our Father which is in heaven is perfect' (Matt. v. 48.); and, so far from being able to exceed what is required for our salvation, the gospel assures us that, after our utmost care and best endeavours, we shall still fall short of our whole duty; and that our deficiencies must be supplied by the abundant merits of our blessed Redeemer. We are directed to trust to the mercy of God, and to the mediation of Christ; and to 'work out our salvation with fear and trembling' (Phil. ii. 12.), that is, with anxiety, lest we should not fulfil the conditions upon which it is offered. Upon these grounds we may pronounce that works of supererogation are inconsistent with the nature of man, irreconcilable with the whole tenor and general principles of our religion, and *contrary to the express declarations of Scripture.*" Bishop Tomline, Elements of Christian Theology, part iii. art. xiv. vol. ii. pp. 281, 282. (8th. edit.).

only shalt thou serve; and, as honouring parents is required in the fifth commandment (Exod. xx. 12.), so *cursing* them is forbidden (Matt. xv. 4.). Stealing being prohibited in the eighth commandment (Exod. xx. 15.), diligence in our calling is enjoined in Eph. iv. 28.

V. *Negatives are binding at all times, but not affirmatives; that is, we must never do that which is forbidden, though good may ultimately come from it* (Rom. iii. 8.). *We must not speak wickedly for God* (Job xiii. 7.).

Such things, however, as are required of us, though they never cease to be our duty, are yet not to be done at *all* times: for instance, prayer, public worship, reproving others, visiting the sick, and other works of charity and mercy, will be our duty as long as we live; but, as we cannot perform these at *all* times, we must do sometimes one thing, sometimes another, as opportunity offers. Hence, Christian courage and Christian prudence are equally necessary; the *former*, that we may never, upon any occasion or pretence, do that which in positive precepts is pronounced to be evil; the *latter*, that we may discern the fittest times and seasons for doing every thing.

VI. *When an action is either required or commended, or any promise is annexed to its performance, such action is supposed to be done from proper motives and in a proper manner.*

The giving of alms may be mentioned as an instance; which, if done from ostentatious motives, we are assured, is displeasing in the sight of God. Compare Matt. vi. 1—4.

VII. *When the favour of God or salvation is promised to any deed or duty, all the other duties of religion are supposed to be rightly performed.*

The giving of alms, as well as visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction (James i. 27.), may be noticed as examples: such promise, therefore, is not to be so understood, as if but one single Christian virtue were necessary to salvation; but that the particular virtue in question is one of several necessary and momentous virtues. The application of this rule will illustrate our Lord's declaration concerning a future judgment (Matt. xxv. 34—36.); where, though charitable actions only are mentioned, yet we know, from other passages of scripture, that every idle word, as well as the secret thoughts of men, besides their actions, will be brought into judgment.

VIII. *When a certain state or condition is pronounced blessed, or any promise is annexed to it, a suitable disposition of mind is supposed to prevail.*

Thus, when the poor or afflicted are pronounced to be blessed, it is because such persons, being poor and afflicted, are free from the sins usually attendant on unsanctified prosperity, and because they are, on the contrary, more humble and more obedient to God. If, however, they be not the *characters* described (as unquestionably there are many to whom the characters do not apply), the promise in that case does not belong to them. *Vice versâ*, when any state is pronounced to be wretched, it is on account of the sins or vices which generally attend it.

IX. *Some precepts of moral prudence are given in the Scriptures,*

which nevertheless admit of exceptions, on account of some duties of benevolence or piety that ought to predominate.

We may illustrate this rule by the often-repeated counsels of Solomon respecting becoming surety for another (See Prov. vi. 1, 2., xi. 15., xvii. 18., and xx. 16.). In these passages he does not condemn suretiship, which, in many cases, is not only lawful, but, in some instances, even an act of justice, prudence, and charity; but Solomon forbids his disciple to become surety *rashly*, without considering for whom, or how far he binds himself, or how he could discharge the debt if occasion should require it.

X. *A change of circumstances changes moral things; therefore, contrary things may be spoken together in moral things, on account of the difference of circumstances.*

Thus, in Prov. xxvi. 4, 5., we meet with two precepts that seem to be diametrically opposite to each other, *Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him;* and, *Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.* But, if we attend carefully to the *reason* which the sacred writer subjoins to each precept, we shall be enabled satisfactorily to account for the apparent repugnancy; and it will be evident that they form not inconsistent but *distinct* rules of conduct, which are respectively to be observed according to the *difference of circumstances.* The following observations on the two verses just cited will materially illustrate their meaning.

A *fool*, in the sense of scripture, means a wicked man, or one who acts contrary to the wisdom that is from above, and who is supposed to utter his foolishness in speech or writing. Doubtless there are different descriptions of these characters; and some may require to be answered, while others are best treated with silence. But the cases here seem to be one; both have respect to the same character, and both require to be answered. The whole difference lies in the *manner* in which the answer should be given.

"In the first instance, the term, 'according to his folly,' means *in a foolish manner;* as is manifest from the reason given, 'lest thou also be like unto him.' But in the second instance the words mean *in the manner in which his foolishness requires.* This also is plain from the reason given, 'lest he be wise in his own conceit.' A foolish speech is not a rule for our imitation; nevertheless our answer must be so framed by it, as to meet and repel it. Both these proverbs caution us against evils to which we are not a little addicted; the first, that of saying and doing to others *as they say* and do to us, rather than as *we would* they should say and do; the last, that of suffering the cause of truth or justice to be run down, while we, from a love of ease, stand by as unconcerned spectators. The first of these proverbs is exemplified in the answer of Moses to the rebellious Israelites; the last in that of Job to his wife. It was a foolish speech which was addressed to the former, 'Would to God, that we had died when our brethren died before the Lord! And why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there?' Unhappily, this provoked Moses to speak unadvisedly with his lips; saying, 'Hear now, ye rebels, must we fetch you water out of this rock?' This was answering folly *in a foolish manner*, which he should not have done; and by which the servant of God became too much *like* them whom he opposed. It was also a foolish saying of Job's wife, in the day of his distress, 'Curse God and die!' Job answered this speech, not in *the manner of it*, but in the manner *which it required*, 'What, shall we receive good at the hand of God; and shall we not receive evil?' In all

the answers of our Saviour to the Scribes and Pharisees, we may perceive that he never lost the possession of his soul for a single moment, and never answered *in the manner* of his opponents, so as to be *like unto them*. Yet neither did he decline to repel their folly, and so to abase their self-conceit." [1]

XI. *Different ideas must be annexed to the names of virtues or vices, according to different ages and places.*

Thus, *holiness* and *purity* denote widely different things, in many parts of the Old Testament, from what they intend in the New; in the former, they are applied to persons and things dedicated to Jehovah; while, in the latter, they are applied to all true Christians, who are called *saints* or holy, being made so through the illumination and renovation of the Holy Spirit, and because, being called with a high and holy calling, they are bound to evince the sincerity of their profession by a pure and holy life.

XII. *In investigating and interpreting those passages of Scripture, the argument of which is moral, that is, passages in which holy and virtuous actions are commended, but wicked and unholy ones are forbidden, the nature of the virtue enjoined, or of the sin prohibited, should be explained. We should also consider whether such passages are positive commands, or merely counsels or opinions, and by what motives or arguments the inspired writer supports his persuasions to virtue, and his dissuasives from sin or vice.*

In conducting this investigation, the parallel passages will be found of the greatest service. [In the Mosaic law, such regulations as regard political conduct must be separated from moral ordinances;] and, in applying the writings of the New Testament as authority for practical institutions, it is necessary to distinguish those precepts or articles, which are circumstantial and temporary, from such as are essential to true religion, and therefore obligatory in all ages. Not only are all the important laws of morality permanent, but all those general rules of conduct, and institutions which are evidently calculated in religion to promote the good of mankind and the glory of God. The situation of the first Christians, during the infancy of Christianity, required temporary regulations, which are not now binding on the church. The controversy concerning holy days, and particular kinds of food, occasioned Paul to enjoin such temporary precepts as suited the situation of the church when he wrote. Abstinence from the use of unclean beasts, in compliance with the opinions of the Jews, is not now necessary; but a condescension to the very prejudices of weak brethren, in things indifferent, is at all times the duty of Christians. Those doctrines which were evidently adapted to the situation of Christ's disciples, when under persecution, do not apply to their conduct, when enjoying full liberty of conscience. Exhortations, which are restricted to particular cases, must not be applied as rules for general conduct.

Those directions, to be kind and hospitable to one another, in which the customs of eastern countries are mentioned, are not literally to be observed, by those among whom different manners prevail. Paul enjoins the saints *to salute one another with a holy kiss* (Rom. xvi. 16.). The *disposition* is incumbent on saints, in all ages of the world; but not this *mode* of expressing it. In order to teach the disciples how they ought to manifest

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[1] Fuller, Harmony of Scripture, pp. 17, 18. Bishop Warburton has given an excellent illustration of the passage above explained, in one of his sermons. See his Works, vol. x. serm. 21. pp. 61—78.

their affection for one another, by performing every office of friendship in their power, their Lord and Master *took a towel and girded himself, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded; and said, If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet* (John xiii. 4, 5, 14.). In those hot countries, after travelling in sandals, the washing of the feet was very refreshing, and an expression of the most tender care and regard: hence it is mentioned as an amiable part of the widow's character, that she hath *washed the saints' feet, and relieved the afflicted* (1 Tim. v. 10.). It is evident that this mode of expressing love to one another was not intended as a *permanent law*, but a direction adapted to the prevailing custom of the people to whom it was originally given.

[While it is necessary to distinguish between positive and moral precepts —the former in their nature changing, the latter immutable as derived from the relation in which a creature necessarily stands to his Creator—we must also observe that many prescribed duties are of a complex character. To worship God is morally always binding upon men: the particular forms and seasons of worship are defined by positive enactment, and may vary at different times.

It will be well also to distinguish between the precepts of the Old Testament and those of the New. So far as any of the former are moral, there is doubtless the same binding obligation still in force; but yet the introductory character of the law must not be forgotten. We find it recognized by our Lord himself (Matt. xix. 8.). The morality, as well as the spiritual teaching of revelation, had its gradual development.

Moral duties are inculcated in Scripture almost as expressively by examples as by precepts. It is necessary, however, in deducing rules from these for practical guidance, to observe certain limitations and cautions.

While some evil deeds are censured in the history, others are related without expressed disapproval. We are not, therefore, indiscriminately to imitate the conduct of the true servants of God, even though no note of censure is affixed. Some things, again, were done under particular circumstances, or by distinct command, which it would not be lawful to imitate, unless the same necessity were again to occur. Abraham's proceeding to offer Isaac is a case in point. The clearer revelation of the New Testament will largely illustrate the Old Testament examples; while not unfrequently an example will show how a precept is to be understood, and that a principle, or state of mind, rather than a particular act, is recommended.]

In concluding our remarks on the moral interpretation of the sacred writings, it is worthy of observation that they contain two kinds of moral books and discourses, viz. 1. *Detached sentences*, such as occur in the book of Proverbs, in many of our Lord's sermons, and in several of the moral exhortations at the close of the apostolic epistles; and, 2. *Continuous and connected discourses*, such as are to be found in the book of Job. In the *former*, we are not to look for any order or arrangement, because they have been put together just as they presented themselves to the minds of their inspired authors; but, in the *latter*, we must carefully attend to the scope. Thus, the scope of the book of Job is specified in the second and third verses of the thirty-second chapter; to this, therefore, the whole book must be referred, without seeking for any mysteries.

The style also of the moral parts of scripture is sometimes figurative: hyperboles and prosopopœias occur, as also antitheses and seeming paradoxes[1]: the former must be explained agreeably to those general rules for expounding the figurative language of scripture, which have already been stated and illustrated[2]; and the latter must be interpreted and limited according to the nature of the thing: for instance, the beatitudes, as related by St. Matthew (v.), must be compared with those delivered at a different time, as related by St. Luke (vi. 20., &c.); and from this collation we shall be enabled to reconcile the seeming differences, and fully to understand the antithetic sayings of our Lord.

Lastly, as the moral sentences in the scriptures are written in the very concise style peculiar to the orientals, many passages are, in consequence, necessarily obscure, and therefore admit of various expositions. In such cases, that interpretation which is most obvious to the reader will in general be sufficiently intelligible for all purposes of *practical edification;* and beyond this we need not be anxiously solicitous, if we should fail in ascertaining the precise meaning of every word in a proverb or moral sentence.

SECTION II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PROMISES AND THREATENINGS OF SCRIPTURE.

A PROMISE, in the scriptural sense of the term, is a declaration or assurance of the divine will, in which God signifies what particular blessings or good things he will freely bestow, as well as the evils which he will remove. The *promises*, therefore, differ from the *threatenings* of God, inasmuch as the former are declarations concerning good, while the latter are denunciations of evil only: at the same time it is to be observed that promises seem to include threats, because, being in their very nature *conditional,* they imply the bestowment of the blessing promised, only on the condition being performed, which blessing is *tacitly* threatened to be withheld on non-compliance with such condition. Further, promises differ from the *commands* of God, because the latter are significations of the divine will concerning a *duty* enjoined to be performed, while promises relate to *mercy* to be received. As a considerable portion of the promises relate to the performance of moral and of pious duties, they might have been discussed under the preceding chapter; but, from the variety of topics which they embrace, it has been deemed preferable to give them a separate consideration.

There are four classes of promises mentioned in the scriptures, particularly in the New Testament; viz. 1. Promises relating to the Messiah: 2. Promises relating to the church: 3. Promises of bless-

[1] Some of Turretin's examples, pp. 125, 126., of alleged hyperbole, as Matt. vi. 6, 7.; Phil. ii. 3., have been objected to: possibly he errs in lowering some of the forcible expressions of scripture.

[2] See pp. 315—324. *supra.*

ings, both temporal and spiritual, to the pious; and, 4. Promises encouraging to the exercise of the several graces and duties that compose the Christian character.[1] The two first of these classes, indeed, are many of them *predictions* as well as promises; consequently the same observations will apply to them, as are stated for the interpretation of scripture prophecies[2]; but, in regard to those promises which are directed to particular persons, or to the performance of particular duties, the following remarks are offered to the attention of the reader.

I. "*We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth in the holy Scripture.*"[3]

To us "the promises of God are general and conditional. The gospel dispensation is described as a covenant between God and man; and the salvation of every individual is made to depend upon his observance of the proposed conditions. Men, as free agents, have it in their power to perform or not to perform these conditions; and God foresaw from eternity who would and who would not perform them, that is, who will and who will not be saved at the day of judgment."[4] If, therefore, the promises of God be not fulfilled towards us, we may rest assured that the fault does not rest with him "who cannot lie," but with ourselves, who have failed in complying with the conditions either tacitly or expressly annexed to them. We may, then, apply general promises to ourselves, not doubting that, if

[1] These promises are collected and printed at length, in an useful manual, published early in the eighteenth century, and intitled, *A Collection of the Promises of Scripture, arranged under proper Heads.* By Samuel Clarke, D. D. Of this little manual, there are numerous cheap editions extant, which abound in errors of reference to the texts of scripture. Of the more recent editions, that published by Mr. Wm. Carpenter (London. 1825, 18mo.) is one of the most useful; the editor having verified the references, and corrected the errors of former impressions. The accurate edition in 18mo., published at Edinburgh in 1858 by Mr. James Clark, is neatly printed in large and clear type, which renders it peculiarly useful for the sick and aged.

[2] See pp. 395—404. *supra.*

[3] Art. xvii. of the Confession of the Anglican church. Similar to this is the declaration of the Helvetic Confession, which in general symbolizes with that of the British church. "In the temptation concerning predestination, which, perhaps, is more dangerous than any other, we should derive comfort from the consideration that God's promises are *general to all that believe*, that he himself says, *Ask and ye shall receive: Every one that asks receives.*" Chap. x. towards the end, or in the valuable work intitled, Primitive Truth, in a History of the Reformation, expressed by the Early Reformers in their Writings, p. 57.

[4] Bp. Tomline, Elements of Theology, vol. ii. p. 313. Similar to the above sentiments are those contained in the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, (at the close of the introductory observations on Faith,) a manual of Christian doctrine published in the year 1543; the value of which ought not to be lessened in our judgment by the circumstance of its not being purged of popish errors: "Although God's promises made in Christ be immutable, yet he maketh them not to us, but *with condition*; so that, his promise standing, *we* may yet fail of the promise *because we keep not our promise.* And therefore, if we assuredly reckon upon the state of our felicity, as grounded upon God's promise, and do not therewith remember that no man shall be crowned, unless he lawfully fight, we shall triumph before the victory, and so look in vain for that, which is not otherwise promised but under a condition." On the subject of conditional promises, see also Tillotson, Works, vol. v. pp. 185—193, 205, 206., vol. vi. pp. 513., vol. ix. pp. 53, 54., and vol. x. p. 119.; and on the subject of conditional threatenings, see vol. vi. pp. 510, 511. (London, 1820.) [It is true that for the most part promises are conditional; still there are those which are absolute. The promise of a Saviour was of this kind; so was that to Noah that all flesh should not again be destroyed by a flood of waters. Others also might be named. It may be added that God, in giving a promise, does not always specify the time or mode of its fulfilment.]

we perform the condition expressed or implied, we shall enjoy the mercy promised; for, as all particulars are included in universals, it follows that a general promise is made a particular one to him, whose character corresponds with those to whom such general promise is made.

Matt. xi. 28. may be cited as an example: the *promise* here made is the giving of rest: the *characters* of the persons to whom it is made are distinctly specified; they are the *weary and heavy-laden*, whether with the distresses of life, or with the sense of guilt (see Psal. xxxii. 4., xxxviii. 4.) or with the load of ceremonial observances: the condition required is to *come unto Christ* by faith; in other words, to believe in him and become his disciples; and the menace *implied* is that, if they do not thus *come*[1], they will not find rest. Similar promises occur in John iii. 16. and 1 Tim. ii. 4.

II. *Such promises as were made in one case may be applied in other cases of the same nature, consistently with the analogy of faith.*

It is in promises as in commands: they do not exclusively concern those to whom they were first made; but, being inserted in the scriptures, they are made of public benefit; for *whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning; that we, through patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope* (Rom. xv. 4.).

Thus, what was spoken to Joshua, on his going up against the Canaanites, lest he should be discouraged in that enterprise, is applied by St. Paul as a remedy against covetousness or inordinate cares concerning the things of this life; it being a very comprehensive promise that God will never fail us nor forsake us. But, if we were to apply the promises contained in Psal. xciv. 14. and Jer. xxxii. 40. and John x. 28., as promises of *absolute* and *indefectible* grace to believers, we should violate every rule of sober interpretation, as well as the analogy of faith. A distinction, however, must be taken between such of the promises in the Old Testament, particularly in the book of Psalms, as are of universal application, and such as were made to those Israelites and Jews who obeyed the law of God, which were strictly *temporal*. Of this description are all those promises of peace and prosperity in *this* world, which were *literally* suitable to the Jewish dispensation; God having encouraged them to obey his laws, by promise of peculiar peace and prosperity in the land of Canaan. Whereas now, under the gospel dispensation, "godliness hath" indeed the "promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come" (1 Tim. iv. 8.), but with an exception of the *cross*, when that may be best for us, in order to our future happiness in heaven. So that the promises in the Old Testament, of a *general* felicity in *this* life, are not so literally to be applied to Christians as they were to the Jews.[2]

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[1] Bp. Horsley has the following animated and practical observations on this promise of our Saviour, at the close of his 24th sermon: "Come, therefore, unto him, all ye that are heavy-laden with your sins. By his own gracious voice he called you while on earth. By the voice of his ambassadors he continueth to call; he calleth you now by mine. Come unto him; and he shall give you rest—rest from the hard servitude of sin, and appetite, and guilty fear. *That* yoke is heavy; *that* burden is intolerable: *his* yoke is easy, and *his* burden light. But come in sincerity; dare not to come in hypocrisy and dissimulation. Think not that it will avail you in the last day, to have called yourselves Christians, to have been born and educated under the gospel light, to have lived in the external communion of the church on earth, if, all the while, your hearts have holden no communion with its Head in heaven. If, instructed in Christianity, and professing to believe its doctrines, ye lead the lives of unbelievers, it will avail you nothing in the next, to have enjoyed in this world, like the Jews of old, advantages which ye despised, to have had the custody of a holy doctrine which never touched your hearts, of a pure commandment, by the light of which ye never walked. To those who disgrace the doctrine of their Saviour by the scandal of their lives, it will be of no avail to have vainly called him, 'Lord, Lord!'" Sermons, p. 490. 2nd edit.

[2] Collyer's Sacred Interpreter, vol. i. chap. xix. p. 336.

III. *God has suited his promises to his precepts.*

By his *precepts* we see what is our *duty*, and what should be the *scope of our endeavours;* and by his *promises* we see what is our *inability*, what should be the *matter or object of our prayers*, and where we may be supplied with that grace which will enable us to discharge our duty. Compare Deut. x. 16. with Deut. xxx. 6.; Eccles. xii. 13. with Jer. xxxii. 40.; Ezek. xviii. 31. with Ezek. xxxvi. 37.; and Rom. vi. 12. with 14.

IV. *Where any thing is promised in case of obedience, the threatening of the contrary is implied in case of disobedience; and, where there is a threatening of any thing in case of disobedience, a promise of the contrary is implied upon condition of obedience.*[1]

In illustration of this remark, it will be sufficient to refer to, and compare, Exod. xx. 7. with Psal. xv. 1—4. and xxiv. 3, 4.; and Exod. xx. 12. with Prov. xxx. 17.

There are, however, two important cautions to be attended to in the application of scripture promises; viz. that we do not violate that connection or dependency which subsists between one promise and another; and that we do not invert that fixed order which is observable between them.

1. *The mutual connection or dependency subsisting between promises must not be broken.*

As the duties enjoined by the moral law are copulative, and may not be disjoined in the obedience yielded to them (James ii. 10.); so are the blessings of the promises; which may not be made use of as *severed* from each other, like unstringed pearls, but as *collected* into one entire chain. For instance, throughout the sacred volume, the promises of pardon and repentance are invariably connected together; so that it would be presumptuous in any man to suppose that God will ever hearken to him who implores the one and neglects to seek the other. "He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe his holy word."

In like manner, in Psal. lxxxiv. 11., the promise of *grace and glory* is so inseparably united, that no person can lay a just claim to the one, who is not previously made a partaker of the other. Bishop Horne's commentary on this verse is not more beautiful than just.[2]

2. *In applying the promises, their order and method should not be inverted, but be carefully observed.*

The promises, made by God in his word, have not inaptly been termed an ample storehouse of every kind of blessings, including the mercies both *of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.* There is, indeed, no good that can present itself as an object to our desires or thoughts, but the promises are a ground for faith to believe, and hope to expect the enjoyment of it; but then our use and application of them must be *regular*, and suitable both to the *pattern* and *precept* which Christ has given us.

The *pattern* or example referred to we have in that most comprehensive prayer, emphatically termed *the Lord's prayer* (Matt. vi. 9—13.); in which he shows what is chiefly to be desired by us, viz. the sanctification of his name in our hearts, the coming of his kingdom into our souls, and the doing of his will in our lives; all which are to be

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[1] Bp. Wilkins, in his admirable Discourse on the Gift of Preaching, has stated this rule in the following terms: "Every Scripture does affirm, command, or threaten, not only that which is expressed in it, but likewise all that which is rightly deducible from it, though by mediate consequences" (Dr. Williams, Christian Preacher, p. 22, or p. 15, edit. 1843).

[2] "Jesus Christ is our 'Lord' and our 'God:' he is a 'sun' to enlighten and direct us in the way, and a 'shield' to protect us against the enemies of our salvation. He will give 'grace' to carry us on 'from strength to strength,' and 'glory' to crown us when we 'appear before him in Zion'; he will 'withhold' nothing that is 'good' and profitable for us in the course of our journey, and will himself be our reward, when we come to the end of it." Commentary on the Psalms, vol. ii. (Works, vol. iii. p. 81.)

implored, before and above our daily bread. We are not to be more anxious for food than for divine grace.

The *precept* alluded to we have in his sermon on the mount (Matt. vi. 33.): *Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.* The *soul* is of more worth than the *body*; as the body is more valuable than *raiment*; and therefore the principal care of every one should be to secure his spiritual welfare, by interesting himself in the promises of life and eternal happiness. Here, however, a *method* must be observed, and the law of the scripture must be exactly followed, which tells us (Psal. lxxxiv. 11.) that God first gives grace and then glory. "As it is a sin to divide grace from glory, and to seek the one without the other; so it is also a sin to be *preposterous in our seeking*, to look *first* after happiness and *then* after holiness: no man can be rightly solicitous about the crown, but he must first be careful about the race; nor can any be truly thoughtful about his interest in the promises of glory that doth not *first* make good his title to the promises of grace." [1]

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE INTERPRETATION, AND MEANS OF HARMONIZING PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, WHICH ARE ALLEGED TO BE CONTRADICTORY.

ALTHOUGH the sacred writers, being divinely inspired, were necessarily exempted from error in the important truths which they were commissioned to reveal to mankind, yet it is not to be concealed that, on comparing scripture with itself, some detached passages are to be found, which *appear* to be contradictory; and these have been a favourite topic of cavil. It is readily admitted that *real* contradictions are a just and sufficient proof that a book is not divinely inspired; whatever pretences it may make to such inspiration. In this way we prove that the Koran of Mohammed could not be inspired, much as it is extolled by his admiring followers. The whole was framed by the wily Arab to answer some particular exigencies.[2] If any new measure was to be proposed, any objection against him or the religion which he wished to propagate was to be answered, any difficulty to be solved, any discontent or offence among his people to be removed, or any other thing done that could promote his designs, his constant recourse was to the angel Gabriel, for a new revelation; and instantly he produced some addition to the Koran, which was to further the objects he had in view, so that by far the greater part of that book was composed on these or similar occasions to influence his followers to adopt the measures which he intended. Hence not a few real contradictions crept into the Koran; the existence of which is not denied by the Mussulman commentators, who are not only very particular in stating the several occasions on which particular chapters were produced, but also, where any contradiction occurs which they cannot solve, affirm that one of the contradictory

[1] Dr. Spurstowe, Treatise on the Promises. pp. 62, 65. The whole volume will abundantly repay the trouble of perusing it. There is also an admirable discourse *on the Promises*, in the sermons published by the Rev. Charles Buck; in which their divine origin, their suitability, number, clearness of expression, the *freeness* of their communication, and the certainty of their accomplishment, are stated and illustrated with equal ability and piety. See also Hoornbeck, Theologia Practica, pars i. lib. v. c 2. pp. 468—477.

[2] Prideaux, Life of Mohammed, pp 158. 159., or p. 90, edit. 1718. [Comp. Macbride, The Mohammedan Religion Explained, 1857, pp. 91., &c.; Arnold, Ishmael, 1859, part i chap. iv. pp. 99., &c.]

passages is revoked. And they reckon in the Koran upwards of one hundred and fifty passages thus revoked. Now this fact is a full evidence that the compiler of that volume could not be inspired; but no such thing can be alleged against the scriptures. They were indeed given *at sundry times and in divers manners*, and the authors of them were inspired on particular occasions; but nothing was ever published as a part of them, which was afterwards revoked; nor is there anything in them which *we* need to have annulled. Errors in the transcription of copies, as well as in printed editions and translations, do unquestionably exist; but the contradictions objected are only seeming, not real, nor do we know a single instance of such alleged contradictions, that is not capable of a rational solution.

Should the reader be led to think, that an undue portion of the present volume is appropriated to the interpretation of passages alleged to be contradictory, he is requested to bear in mind that, although the alleged contradictions, here considered, have for the most part been clothed in a few plausible sentences[1], yet their sophistry cannot be exposed without a laborious and minute examination.

Wherever, then, one text of scripture seems to contradict another, we should, by a serious consideration of them, endeavour to discover their harmony; for the only way, by which to judge rightly of particular passages in any book, is, first, to ascertain whether the text be correct, and in the next place to consider its whole design, method, and style, and not to criticise some particular parts of it, without bestowing any attention upon the rest. Such is the method adopted by all who would investigate, with judgment, any difficult passages occurring in a profane author; and, if a judicious and accurate writer is not to be lightly accused of contradicting himself for any seeming inconsistencies, but is to be reconciled with himself if possible, unquestionably the same equitable principle of interpretation ought to be applied in the investigation of scripture difficulties.

Some passages, indeed, are explained by the scriptures themselves, which serve as a key to assist us in the elucidation of others.

Thus, in one place it is said that *Jesus baptized;* and in another it is stated that *he baptized not:* the former passage is explained to be intended not of baptism performed by himself, but by his disciples who baptized in his name. Compare John iii. 22. with iv. 1, 2.

Frequently, also, a distinction of the different senses of words, as well as of the different subjects and times, will enable us to obviate the seeming discrepancy.

Thus, when it is said, *It is appointed unto men once to die* (Heb. ix. 27.); and elsewhere,

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[1] Bishop Horne, when speaking of the disingenuousness of infidels in bringing forward objections against the scriptures, has the following remarks: "Many and painful are the researches, usually necessary to be made for settling points of this kind. Pertness and ignorance may ask a question in *three* lines, which it will cost learning and ingenuity *thirty pages* to answer. When this is done, the same question shall be triumphantly asked again the next year, as if nothing had ever been written upon the subject. And, as people in general, for one reason or other, like short objections better than long answers, in this mode of disputation (if it can be styled such) the odds must ever be against us; and we must be content with those for our friends, who have honesty and erudition, candour and patience to study both sides of the question." Letters on Infidelity, p. 82. (Works, vol. vi. pp. 447 448. 8vo. London, 1809.).

If a man keep Christ's *saying, he shall never see death,* there is no contradiction ; for, in the former place, *natural* death, the death of the body, is intended, and in the latter passage, *spiritual* or *eternal* death. Again, when Moses says, *God rested on the seventh day from all his work* (Gen. ii. 2.), and Jesus says, *My Father worketh hitherto* (John v. 17.), there is no opposition or contradiction ; for Moses is speaking of the works of creation, and Jesus of the works of providence. So Samuel tells us God *will not repent* (1 Sam. xv. 29.) ; and yet we read in other parts of the Old Testament that *it repented the* LORD *that he had made man on the earth* (Gen. vi. 6.) ; and that he had *set up Saul* to be *king* (1 Sam. xv. 11.). But in these passages there is no real contradiction ; repentance in the one place signifies a change of mind and counsel, from want of foresight of what would come to pass, and *thus* God cannot repent ; but then he changes his course as men do when they change their minds, and so he may be said to repent. In these, as well as in other instances, where personal qualities or feelings are ascribed to God, the Scriptures speak in condescension to our capacities, after the manner of men ; nor can we speak of the Deity in any other manner, if we would speak intelligibly to the generality of mankind.

The contradictions which are alleged to exist in the scriptures may be referred to the following classes, viz.—seeming contradictions in historical passages—in chronology—between prophecies and their fulfilment—in points of doctrine and of morality—in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New—between the sacred writers themselves—between the sacred writers and profane authors—and, lastly, seeming contradictions to philosophy and the nature of things.

[The quotations have already been considered in pp. 113—207. For the alleged contradictions to philosophy and the nature of things, and also to morality, see Vol. I. pp. 582—596, 597—612.]

SECTION I.

SEEMING CONTRADICTIONS IN HISTORICAL PASSAGES.

MOST of the seeming contradictions in scripture are found in the historical parts, where their connection with the great subject or scope is less considerable ; and they may not unfrequently be traced to the errors of transcribers or of the press. The apparent contradictions, in the historical passages of scripture, arise from the different circumstances related, from things being related in a different order by the sacred writers, and from differences in numbers.

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§ 1. *Seeming contradictions in the different circumstances related.*

These arise from various causes, as, the sources whence the inspired writers drew their relations, the different designs of the sacred writers, erroneous readings, obscure or ambiguous expressions, transpositions in the order of narrating, and sometimes from several of these causes combined.

1. Apparent contradictions, in the different circumstances related, arise *from the different sources whence the inspired writers drew their narratives.*

For instance, in the brief accounts recorded by Matthew and Mark respecting the birth and childhood of Jesus Christ, from whom could they have derived their information ?

They could not have become acquainted with those circumstances, unless from the particulars communicated by his relatives according to the flesh; and, as it has been frequently remarked, it is highly probable that they received their information from Mary and Joseph, or others of the family of Jesus. How easy, then, is it for some trifling variations to creep into such accounts of infancy as are preserved by oral relation; all of which, though differing, are nevertheless perfectly consistent with the truth! Again, during our Lord's three years' circuit in Palestine, Matthew and John were constantly his disciples and companions: the source of *their* narratives, therefore, was ocular testimony; while Luke and Mark, not having been Christ's disciples, related things as they were communicated to them by the apostles and others, who *from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word*, as St. Luke expressly states at the commencement of his gospel. Under such circumstances, how is it possible that some discrepancies should not appear in the writings of such persons? Yet these discrepancies, as we shall presently see, are so far from affecting their credibility as historians, that, on the contrary, they confirm their veracity and correctness. The same remark will apply to the history of our Lord's death and resurrection, as well as to the account of the sermon delivered on the mount and on the plain.

2. Seeming contradictions, in the different circumstances related, may also arise *from the different designs which the sacred writers had in the composition of their narratives;* for the difference of design will necessarily lead to a corresponding selection of circumstances.

The consideration of this fact will remove the contradiction which modern opposers of the scriptures have asserted to exist between the first and second chapters of the book of Genesis. The design of Moses, in the *first* chapter, was to give a *short* account of the orderly creation of all things, from the meanest to the noblest, in opposition to the absurd and contradictory notions which at that time prevailed among the Egyptians and other nations. In the *second* chapter, the sacred writer explains some things more at length, which in the preceding were narrated more briefly, because he would not interrupt the connection of his discourse concerning the six days' work of creation. He therefore more particularly relates the manner in which Eve was formed, and also further illustrates the creation of Adam. In thus recapitulating the history of creation, Moses describes the creation through its several stages, as the phenomena would have successively presented themselves to a spectator, had a spectator been in existence. Again, the design of the two books of Samuel, especially of the second book, is to relate the various steps which conduced to the wonderful elevation of David from a low condition to the throne of Judah first, and after seven years and six months to that of Israel, together with the battles and occurrences which led to that great event, and secured to him the possession of his kingdom; and then at the close (2 Sam. xxiii. 8—39.) we have a catalogue to perpetuate the memory of those warriors who had been particularly instrumental in promoting the success and establishing the glory of their royal master. But in the first book of Chronicles the history of David begins with him as king, and immediately mentions the heroes of his armies, and then proceeds to an abridgment of the events of his reign. This difference of design will account for the variations occurring in the two principal chapters containing the history of those heroes; for in 1 Chron. xi. they are recorded in the beginning of David's reign, with Joab introduced at their head, and the reason assigned for his being so particularly distinguished; but in the concluding chapter of Samuel, when the history of David's reign had already been given, *there* the name of Joab is omitted, since no one could forget that he was David's *chief mighty man*, when he had been mentioned, in almost every page, as *captain general* of the armies of Israel.[1]

The difference of design also will satisfactorily explain the seeming difference between the genealogies of our Saviour given by the evangelists Matthew and Luke from the public registers, which comprise a period of four thousand years, from Adam to Joseph his reputed father, or to Mary his mother. The genealogy given by St. Matthew was principally designed for the *Jews;* and, therefore, it traces the pedigree of Jesus Christ, as the promised seed, down from Abraham to David, and from him through Solomon's line to Jacob the father of Joseph, who was the reputed

[1] Dr. Kennicott, First Dissertation, pp. 13—15. The subsequent part of this very learned volume is appropriated to an elaborate comparison of the discrepancies between 1 Chron. xi. and 2 Sam. v. and xxiii., to which the reader is referred.

or *legal* father of Christ (Matt. i. 1—16.). That given by St. Luke was intended for the *Gentiles*, and traces the pedigree upwards from Heli, the father of Mary, to David, through the line of his son Nathan, and from Nathan to Abraham, concurring with the former, and from Abraham up to Adam, who was the immediate "son of God," born without father or mother (Luke iii. 23—38.).[1]

To this satisfactory answer to the cavils of modern infidels, the Jews object—Why is Mary not mentioned in this genealogy, and Joseph said to be the son of Heli?

"ANSWER. This is a mode of speaking quite warranted by the Old Testament; the authority of which is acknowledged by the Jews themselves. For example, Neh. vii. 63., *And of the priests; the children of Habaiah, the children of Koz,* THE CHILDREN OF BARZILLAI, WHICH TOOK ONE OF THE DAUGHTERS OF BARZILLAI THE GILEADITE TO WIFE, *and was called after their name.* Here it appears that a person of the priestly tribe, or tribe of Levi, took to wife a daughter of Barzillai, *and that he and the issue of this marriage were regarded as children of Barzillai,* though properly the sons of *Levi*, and though the mother's name is not mentioned. So Joseph, taking the daughter of Heli to wife, is called the son of Heli."[2]

That St. Luke gives the pedigree of Mary, the real mother of Christ, may be collected from the following reasons:—

"1. The angel Gabriel, at the annunciation, told the virgin, that God would give her divine Son 'the throne of *his father David*' (Luke i. 32.); and this was necessary to be proved, by her genealogy, afterwards. 2. Mary is called by the Jews, בת עלי, 'the daughter of Eli,'[3] and, by the early Christian writers, 'the daughter of Joakim and Anna.' But Joakim and Eliakim (as being derived from the names of God, יהוה, Iahoh, and אלי, Eli) are sometimes interchanged (2 Chron. xxxvi. 4.). Eli, therefore, or Heli, is the abridgment of Eliakim. Nor is it of any consequence that the rabbins called him עלי, instead of אלי, the aspirates Aleph and Ain being frequently interchanged. 3. A similar case in point occurs elsewhere in the genealogy. After the Babylonish captivity, the two lines of Solomon and Nathan, the sons of David, unite in the generations of Salathiel and Zorobabel, and thence diverge again in the sons of the latter, Abiud and Rhesa. Hence, as Salathiel in Matthew was the son of Jechoniah, or Jehoiachin, who was carried away into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, so in Luke Salathiel must have been the grandson of Neri, by his mother's side. 4. The evangelist himself has critically distinguished the *real* from the *legal* genealogy, by a parenthetical remark: Ἰησοῦς — ὢν, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, υἱὸς Ἰωσὴφ, [ἀλλ' ὄντως υἱὸς] τοῦ Ἡλί, 'Jesus—being (as was reputed) the son of Joseph, (but in reality) the son of Heli,' or his grandson by the *mother's* side; for so should the ellipsis involved in the parenthesis be supplied."[4] This interpretation of the genealogy in St. Luke's gospel, if it be admitted, removes at once every difficulty; and (as Bishop Gleig has truly remarked) it is so natural and consistent with itself, that we

[1] The view above given is confirmed and illustrated by Dr. Benson in his History of the first planting of the Christian Religion, vol. i. pp. 259—263. 2nd edit.

[2] The Jewish Messenger, No. I. p. 2. London, 1833. 8vo.

[3] Lightfoot, on Luke iii. 23.

[4] Dr. Hales, Analysis, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 699, 700. In pp. 700—704. he has considered and accounted for particular seeming discrepancies between the evangelists Matthew and Luke. But the fullest discussion of the subject is to be found in Dr. Barrett's Preliminary Dissertation prefixed to his edition of the Fragments of St. Matthew's Gospel, from a Codex Rescriptus in Trinity College Library at Dublin: *Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii Sanctæ Trinitatis juxta Dublin.*, *&c.* 4to. Dublin, 1801. In this dissertation he examines and notices the difficulties of the hypothesis proposed by Africanus, a father of the third century, preserved by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 7., and translated by Dr. Lardner, Works, vol. ii. pp. 436—438. 8vo. or vol. i. pp. 416, 417. 4to., which Africanus professed to have received from some of our Lord's relatives. As Dr. Barrett's book is scarce, and comparatively little known, it may gratify the reader to learn that a copious and faithful abstract of it is given in the Eclectic Review for 1807, vol. iii. part 2. pp. 586—594, 678—698.; and also with some additional observations by Dr. A. Clarke, at the end of his commentary on Luke iii. See also Mr. R. B. Green's Table for exhibiting to the View, and impressing clearly on the Memory, the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, with Notes, &c. London, 1822, 8vo. [The question of the genealogies will be further examined hereafter.]

think, it can hardly be rejected, except by those who are determined that "seeing they will not see, and hearing they will not understand."

But the difference in the circumstances related, arising from the difference in design of the sacred writers, is to be found chiefly in those cases, where the same event is narrated very briefly by one evangelist, and is described more copiously by another.

An example of this kind we have in the account of our Lord's threefold temptation in the wilderness, which is related more at length by Matthew and Luke; while Mark has given a very brief epitome of that occurrence. But these variations, which arise from differences of design, do not present a *shadow* of contradiction or discrepancy; for it is well known that St. Matthew wrote his gospel a few years after our Lord's ascension, while the church wholly consisted of converts from Judaism. St. Mark's gospel, probably written at Rome, was adapted to the state of the church there, which consisted of a mixture of converts who had been pagans and Jews. He inserts many direct or oblique explanations of passages in St. Matthew's gospel, in order to render them more intelligible to the converts from paganism. The gospel of St. Luke was written for the immediate use of the converts from heathenism; several parts of it appear to be particularly adapted to display the divine goodness to the Gentiles. Hence, he traces up Christ's lineage to Adam, to signify that he was THE SEED of the woman promised to our first parents, and the Saviour of all their posterity. He marks the era of Christ's birth, and the time when John the Baptist began to announce the gospel, by the reigns of the Roman emperors. St. John, who wrote long after the other evangelists, appears to have designed his gospel to be partly as a supplement to the others, in order to preserve several discourses of our Lord, or facts relating to him which had been omitted by the other evangelists; but chiefly to check the heresies which were beginning to appear in the church, and (as he himself declares, xx. 31.) to establish the true doctrine concerning the divinity and mediatorial character of Christ.[1]

The differences, however, which thus subsist in the respective narratives of the evangelists, do not in any degree whatever affect their credibility. The transactions related are still true and actual transactions, and capable of being readily comprehended, although there may be a trifling discrepancy in some particulars. We know, for instance, that a discourse was delivered by our Lord, so sublime, so replete with momentous instruction, that *the people were astonished at his doctrine.* But whether this discourse was delivered on a mountain or on a plain is, so far as the credibility is concerned, a matter of no moment. So, although there are *circumstantial* differences in the accounts of our Lord's resurrection from the dead, the thing itself may be known, and its truth ascertained.[2] A narrative is not to be rejected by reason of some *diversity* of circumstances with which it is related; for the character of human testimony is *substantial* truth under circumstantial variety; but a close agreement induces suspicion of confederacy and fraud. Important variations, and even contradictions, are not always deemed sufficient to shake the credibility of a fact; and, if this circumstance be allowed to operate in favour of profane historians, it ought at least to be admitted with equal weight in reference to the sacred writers. [Profane authors widely disagree, and yet are on the whole credited. Still for the sacred writers more than mere general credibility is claimed.]

3. A third source of apparent contradictions, in the different circumstances related, arises from *false readings, or from obscure and ambiguous expressions, or from transpositions in the order of relating, and sometimes from several of these causes combined.*[3] The only way by which these

[1] The topic here briefly noticed is ably illustrated by the late Rev. Dr. Townson in his Discourses on the Four Gospels, chiefly with regard to the peculiar Design of each, &c. (Works, vol. i. pp. 1—274.).

[2] An abstract of the evidence for the fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ is given in Vol. I. pp. 239—259.

[3] Gerard, Institutes, p. 426.; Jahn, Enchiridion Herm. Gen. cap. vi., De Compositione Ἐναντιοφάνων, p. 137.

seeming repugnancies may be reconciled is to call in the aid of sacred criticism; which, when judiciously applied, will, in most instances, if not in every case, remove them.

Thus, in Gen. xxix. 1—8., we have a dialogue in which no man is mentioned but Jacob, the only living creatures present being three flocks of sheep: yet these are represented as conversing, rolling away the stone, and watering the sheep. This appearance of contradiction probably originated, first, in some transcriber writing הָעֲדָרִים, *flocks*, for הָרֹעִים, *shepherds*, in three places; and, secondly, from verse 3. expressing what *customarily* happened, not what then had actually taken place [1]; and this mistake, having obtained in some copy of high repute, has been transcribed into all the later manuscripts. That the above mistake has actually been made appears from the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, from the Arabic version in Bishop Walton's Polyglott (which has preserved the true reading in verses 3 and 8.), and from the Greek version. The true reading, therefore, as Houbigant and Dr. Kennicott contend, is shepherds, not flocks, and the third verse should be read parenthetically.[2]

Having thus stated the various causes of apparent contradictions in the different circumstances related by the inspired writers, we shall proceed to illustrate the preceding remarks.

I. *The names of persons and places are respectively liable to change.*

Thus, the name of one person is sometimes given to another, either as they are types of them—so *Christ* is called *David* (Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24.) and *Zerubbabel* (Hag. ii. 23.)—or, on account of some resemblance between them, as in Isai. i. 10.; Ezek. xvi. 3, 46.; Mal. iv. 5., compared with Matt, xi. 14. and John i. 21.; Rev. ii. 20., and xviii. 2. So *hell* derives its name, in many languages, from the valley of the children of Hinnom, on account of the wickedness there committed, and the dreadful cries formerly heard in that place. In like manner, the place of the great slaughter (Rev. xvi. 16.) has its name from the place of the memorable battle where Josiah was slain, 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

II. *The name of the head of a tribe or nation is sometimes given to their posterity.*

Thus, Edom or Esau is put for the Edomites, who were the descendants of Esau, in Numb. xx. 18.; Gen. xxxvi. 1.; and Obadiah 1, 6. Very numerous similar examples are to be found in the sacred writings, which it is unnecessary to specify.

III. *Sometimes names remain after the reason for which they were given, or the thing whence they were taken, has ceased to exist.*

Aaron's rod, for instance, retained its name when changed into a serpent, Exod. vii. 12. So Matthew is called a publican, because he had formerly followed that calling. Simon the leper is so termed because he had formerly been afflicted with the leprosy, Matt. xxvi. 6. So it is said, in Matt. xi. 5., that the blind see, and the deaf hear, that is, those who had been blind and deaf. A similar instance occurs in Matt. xxi. 31., *The publicans and harlots enter into the kingdom of heaven*, that is, those who had been such, not those who continue so (compare 1 Cor. vi. 9.).

IV. *The same persons or places sometimes have several names.*

Thus, Esau's wife is called Bashemath in Gen. xxvi. 34. and Adah in Gen. xxxvi. 2. Gideon is called Jerubbaal in Judges vi. 32. and vii. 1. Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar are the same person, Ezra i. 8. and v. 14. compared with Hag. i. 14. and ii. 2, 21.

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[1] The Vulgate version so renders verse 3. *Morisque erat ut cunctis ovibus* (lege *pastoribus*) *congregatis devolverent lapidem*, &c.

[2] Houbigant in loc.; Dr. Kennicott's First Dissertation on the Hebrew text, pp. 360—365. The proper version of the passage above referred to will be thus: "Then Jacob went on his journey, and came into the land of the people of the east: 2. And he looked, and behold a well in a field; and, lo, three *shepherds* were lying by it, for out of that well they watered their flocks; and a great stone was upon the well's mouth. (And there all the *shepherds usually* met together, and rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep; and put the stone again upon the well's mouth, in its place.) 4—7. And Jacob said, &c. &c. 8. And they said, We cannot until all the *shepherds* shall be gathered together, and roll the stone from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep."

Almost numberless similar instances might be adduced from the Old Testament; nor are examples wanting in the New. Thus, he who was nominated for the apostleship is called Joseph, Barsabas, and Justus (Acts i. 23.). Joses and Barnabas are the names of the same apostle. Simon, it is well known, was called Peter; and all the other apostles, except St. John, had more names than one. In like manner, the same *places* are distinguished by several names: as Enmishpat and Kadesh, Gen. xiv. 7.; Hermon, Sirion, Shenir, Deut. iii. 9. Magdala in Matt. xv. 39. is termed Dalmanutha in Mark viii. 10.; and the country of the Gergesenes, in Matt. viii. 28., is in Mark v. 1. called that of the Gadarenes.[1]

V. *Many persons and places also have the same name.*

There was one Bethlehem in the tribe of Zebulun, Josh. xix. 15., and another in the tribe of Judah, Matt. ii. 6.; Luke ii. 4. There were two towns called *Cana*, Josh. xix. 28.; John ii. 1. Several *Cæsareas*, Matt. xvi. 13.; Acts ix. 30., and xviii. 22. Several *Zechariahs*, as in 1 Chron. v. 7., xv. 20., xxiv. 25, &c.; 2 Chron. xvii. 7., xx. 14.; Zech. i. 1.; Luke i. 5.; Matt. xxiii. 35. The Zechariah in this last-cited passage was probably the person mentioned in 2 Chron. xx. 14.; and the name of the father has been added *since*, by some transcriber, who took it from the title of the prophecy. Several *Herods*, as, 1. *Herod the Great*, in whose reign our Redeemer was incarnate, Matt. ii. 1. and by whom the infants at Bethlehem were massacred, Matt. ii. 16. 2. *Herod Antipas*, surnamed the Tetrarch, Matt. xiv. 1., by whom John the Baptist was murdered (verse 10.), and our Saviour was mocked and set at nought, Luke xxiii. 11. 3. *Herod Agrippa*, who slew the apostle James, Acts xii. 2., and miserably perished, verse 23. So, there are some names which appear to have been common to several, if not to all, the successive kings of a country. Thus, Pharaoh was the general name of the kings of Egypt, Gen. ii. 15., xxxix. 1.; Exodus i.—xv. *passim*; 1 Kings iii. 1.; 2 Kings xxiii. 29.; Isai. xix. 11.; Jer. xxv. 19., xliv. 30., and xlvi. 17.; and very frequently in the prophecy of Ezekiel; and that this was the constant title of the Egyptian kings is further attested by Josephus[2] and Suidas.[3] Artaxerxes was the common name of the whole race of Persian kings; as Abimelech was of the Philistines, Gen. xx. 2., xxvi. 8., compared with the title to Psal. xxxiv.; and Agag of the Amalekites, as may be inferred from Numb. xxiv. 7. compared with 1 Sam. xv. 8.

VI. *The differences in names occurring in the Scriptures are sometimes occasioned by false readings, and can only be reconciled by correcting these;* but the true name may in such cases be distinguished from the erroneous one, by the usage of Scripture in other places, as well as from the Samaritan Pentateuch, the ancient versions, and Josephus.[4]

The following instances will illustrate this remark. *Hadarezer*, 1 Chron. xviii. 3. ought to be Hadadezer, as in 2 Sam. viii. 3., a Resh ר being mistaken for a Daleth ד,[5] *Joshebbassebet*, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. (marg. rend.) should be Jashobeam, as in 1 Chron. xi. 11., and xxvii. 2.[6] *Bathshua, the daughter of Ammiel*, in 1 Chron. iii. 5. should be Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam, as in 2 Sam. xi. 3., the last two letters of the father's name being transposed, and the first two put last.[7] *Azariah*, in 2 Kings xiv. 21. should be Uzziah, as in 2 Chron. xxvi. 1. and elsewhere; which reading is adopted, or nearly so, by the Arabic and Syriac versions.[8] *Jehoahaz*, in 2 Chron. xxi. 17. should be Ahazihu, or Ahaziah, as in 2 Kings viii. 24, and elsewhere.[9] The name of the great king Nebuchadnezzar is spelled seven different ways.[10] [Lists have been drawn up of the same names which are spelled differently in different places. After the examples given it is unnecessary to print any such lists.]

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[1] See Glass. Phil. Sacr. edit. Dathe. App. Gram. Sacr. tract. iii. obs. xii. p. 735, &c., for several examples.

[2] Antiq. lib. viii. c. 6. § 2.

[3] Suidas, *in voce*.

[4] Gerard, Institutes, p. 427.

[5] Kennicott, Dissert, i. pp. 89, 90.

[6] Ibid. pp. 70—78.

[7] Ibid. p. 463.

[8] Ibid. pp. 478—480.

[9] Ibid. pp. 489, 490.

[10] Ibid. Dissert. ii. pp. 503—505.: concerning the variation of names, see further Kennicott's Remarks on Select Passages of the Old Testament, pp. 23—26.

§ 2. *Apparent contradictions, from things being related in a different order by the sacred writers.*

I. *The Scriptures being as it were a compendious record of important events, we are not to infer that these took place exactly in the order narrated; for frequently things are related together, between which many things intervened while they were transacting. Neither are we to conclude that a thing is not done, because it is not related in the history of other things happening in the same age.*

1. Thus, in Numb. xxxiii. we have a particular account of the journeyings of the Israelites, which are not noticed in their proper place in the book of Exodus. In the four gospels especially, we find that each of the evangelists did not relate every word and thing; but one frequently omits what has been related by the rest, while that which has been briefly noticed by one is recorded at length by the others; and two evangelists, when relating the same fact, do not always observe the order of time.

2. So, in John xii. 1—3., Jesus Christ is said to have been anointed at Bethany *six days before the passover*; yet St. Matthew (xxvi. 2, 6, 7.) takes no notice of this remarkable circumstance till within two days of the feast. "The reason is manifest. It was at this time that Judas offered to the chief priests and elders to betray him; and the evangelist, intending to relate his treachery, returns to give an account of the event which prompted him to it. The rebuke which he received in the house of Simon, when he complained of the waste of ointment, had irritated his proud disaffected heart, and inspired him with sentiments of revenge. The mention of the unction of our Saviour, which was preparatory to his burial, reminds us of another observation, which is of use in removing difficulties, namely, that two facts may much resemble each other, and yet not be the same. Although they differ, therefore, in some circumstances, while they agree in others, it is through haste and inattention that, on this account, we charge the scriptures with contradiction. The anointing of Christ, six days before the passover, is evidently different from the anointing recorded in the seventh chapter of Luke. The two incidents agree, as both happened at table, and in the house of a person named Simon; but, on considering the passages, they appear to have taken place at different times."[1] Apparent contradictions of this kind are so numerous in the gospels, that it would almost require a harmony of them to be constructed, were we here to specify them; and from these discrepancies have originated harmonies, or connected histories, compiled from the writings of the evangelists, in the structure of which different theories of arrangement have been adopted, in order to reconcile their seeming discrepancies.

II. *Things are not always recorded in the scriptures exactly in the same method and order in which they were done; whence apparent contradictions arise, events being sometimes introduced by anticipation, and sometimes by ὑστέρωσις, in which the natural order is inverted, and things are related first which ought to appear last.*

[Thus the death of Isaac, Gen. xxxv. 28., is mentioned before several events (chap. xxxvii.) which occurred before his decease. The laying up of the pot of manna is narrated Exod. xvi. 32, 33.; whereas the thing must have been done afterwards.]

III. *A thing is sometimes attributed to one who was formerly an example of any action.* See an instance of this in Jude, verse 11.

IV. *Actions or things are sometimes said to be done, when they are not already done, but upon the point of being accomplished, or (as we usually say), "as good as done."*

And in this language Christ ordinarily spoke a little before his death, as in Matt. xxvi. 24., the Son of man *goeth*, &c.; verse 45., the Son of man *is* betrayed. So Mark xiv. 41.; Luke xxii. 19, 20., which *is* given, which *is* shed, and verse 37., the things concerning me *have* an end.

V. *So actions or things are said to be done, which are only* declared *to be done.*

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[1] Dick, Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, pp. 300, 301.

Thus, in Gen. xxvii. 37., we read, *I have made him thy lord*, that is, I have foretold that he shall be so. Gen. xxxv. 12., *The land which I gave Abraham and Isaac*, that is, promised or foretold should be theirs. See like instances in Numb. xvi. 7.; Job v. 3.; Jer. i. 10., xv. 1., and xxv. 15.

VI. *So, actions or things are said to be done, which only* seem *or* are reputed *to be done.*

Thus, in Josh. ii 7. it is said, the men *pursued* after the spies; that is, they believed they were doing so, at the very time when the spies were concealed.

VII. *So, a thing is said to be done by him who only* desires *or* endeavours *to accomplish it, or uses proper means for that purpose.*

See examples of this in Gen. xxxvii. 21.; Esther viii. 5.; Ezek. xxiv. 13.; 1 Cor. x. 33., &c.

§ 3. *Apparent contradictions, arising from differences in numbers.*

Apparent contradictions in the sacred writings, arising from the difference of numbers, proceed from the scriptures speaking in whole orround numbers, from numbers being taken sometimes exclusively and sometimes inclusively, from various readings, and from the writers of the New Testament sometimes quoting numbers from the Alexandrian version, not from the Hebrew text.

Examples are the speaking of twelve apostles, 1 Cor. xv. 5., when Judas was dead; and the adoption of the LXX. version of Gen. xlvi. 27. in Acts vii. 14.

SECTION II.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS IN CHRONOLOGY.

CHRONOLOGY is a branch of learning which is most difficult to be exactly adjusted; because it depends upon so many circumstances and comprehends so great a variety of events in all ages and nations, that, with whatever punctuality the accounts of time might have been set down in the original manuscripts, yet the slightest change in one word or letter may cause a material variation in copies. Besides, the difference of the eras adopted in the computations of different countries, especially at great distances of time and place, is such, that the most exact chronology may easily be mistaken, and may be perplexed by those who endeavour to rectify what they conceive to be erroneous; for that which was exact at first is often made incorrect by him who thought it false before. Chronological differences do undoubtedly exist in the scriptures, as well as in profane historians; but these differences infer no uncertainty in the *matters of fact* themselves.[1] It is a question yet undetermined, whether Rome was founded by Romulus or not, and it is a point equally litigated, in what year the building of that city commenced; yet, if the uncertainty

[1] Jenkin, The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion, (edit. 1715) vol. ii. p. 151. It would require too extensive an inquiry for the limits of this work, to enter into a detail of the various systems of chronology extant: the most recent is the elaborate *Analysis* of Dr. Hales, in 3 vols. 4to., or 4 vols. 8vo., to which we can confidently refer the reader. [Ideler, Handbuch der Mathem. und Techn. Chronologie, Berlin, 2 vols. 1825–6, and Lehrbuch der Chronologie, Berlin, 1831; also the Fasti Hellenici of Clinton may be mentioned. Greswell, Browne, and others are labourers in the same field.]

of the time when any fact was done imply the uncertainty of the fact itself, the necessary inference must be, that it is uncertain whether Rome was built at all, or whether such a person as Romulus was ever in existence. Further, differences in chronology do not prove that the sacred historians were mistaken, but they arise from the mistakes of transcribers or expositors, which may be obviated by applying the various existing aids to the examination and reconciliation of the apparent contradictions in scriptural chronology.

I. *Seeming contradictions in chronology arise from not observing that what had before been said in the general is afterwards resumed in the particulars comprised under it.*

II. *Sometimes the principal number is set down, and the odd or smaller number is omitted; which, being added to the principal number in some other place, causes a difference not to be reconciled but by considering that it is customary in the best authors not always to mention the smaller numbers, where the matter does not require it.*

III. *As sons frequently reigned with their fathers, during the Hebrew monarchy, the reigns of the former are not unfrequently made, in some instances, to commence from their partnership with their fathers in the throne, and in others from the commencement of their sole government after their fathers' decease; consequently the time of the reign is sometimes noticed as it respects the father, sometimes as it respects the son, and sometimes as it includes both.*[1]

IV. *Seeming chronological contradictions arise from the sacred historians adopting different methods of computation, and assigning differing dates to the same period.*

V. *The terms of time in computation are sometimes taken* inclusively, *and at other times* exclusively.

Thus, in Matt. xvii. 1., and Mark ix. 2., we read that *after* six days *Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart.* But, in Luke ix. 28., this is said *to come to pass* about an eight days *after*; which is perfectly consistent with what the other evangelists write. For Matthew and Mark speak *exclusively*, reckoning the six days between the time of our Saviour's discourse (which they are relating) and his transfiguration; but Luke *includes* the day on which he held that discourse, and the day of his transfiguration, and reckons them with the six intermediate days. So, in John xx. 26., *eight days after* are probably to be understood inclusively; it being most likely on that day se'nnight on which Jesus Christ had before appeared to his disciples. It were unnecessary to subjoin additional examples of a mode of reckoning which obtains to this day in common speech, and in almost every writer, except those who professedly treat on chronology.

The preceding, and various other ways by which disputes in chronology may be occasioned, are a sufficient argument to us, that they do not imply that there were, originally, chronological mistakes in the books themselves. And, if mistakes might arise in so many and such various ways, without any error in the original writings; if the same difficulties occur upon so very nice and intricate a subject in any or all the books which are extant in the world; and if it could by no means be necessary that books of divine authority should either be at first so penned as to be liable to no wrong interpretations, or be ever after preserved by miracle from all cor-

[1] Greswell does not admit this. Dissertations on the Gospels, (edit. 1837) vol. iii. p. 489.

ruption, it is great rashness to deny the divine authority of the scriptures, on account of any difficulties that may occur in chronology.

SECTION III.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN PROPHECIES AND THEIR FULFILMENT.

I. "*WHEN both a prediction and the event foretold in it are recorded in scripture, there is sometimes an appearance of disagreement and in consistency between them.*

"This appearance generally arises from some difficulty in understanding the true meaning of the prediction: it may be occasioned by any of those causes which produce the peculiar difficulties of the prophetic writings; and it is to be removed by the same means which serve for clearing these difficulties. It may proceed from any sort of obscurity or ambiguity in the expression, or from any uncertainty in the structure of a sentence."[1]

Thus, there is a seeming difference in Matt. xii. 40.[2] between our Lord's prediction of the time he was to be in the grave, and the time during which his body was actually interred. Now this difference is naturally and easily obviated by considering that it was the custom of the orientals to reckon *any part* of a day of twenty-four hours for a whole day, and to say it was done after three or seven days, &c., if it were done on the third or seventh day from that last mentioned. Compare 1 Kings xx. 29. and Luke ii. 21. And, as the Hebrews had no word exactly answering to the Greek νυχθήμερον to signify a natural day of twenty-four hours, they used night and day, or day and night, for it; so that to say a thing happened *after three days and three nights* was the same as to say that it happened after three days, or on the third day. Compare Esther iv. 16. with v. 1.; Gen. vii. 4, 12, 17.; Exod. xxiv. 18.; and Dan. viii. 14.

II. *Apparent contradictions between prophecies and their accomplishment sometimes proceed from the figurative language of the prophets; which is taken, partly from the analogy between the world natural and an empire or kingdom considered as a world politic, and partly from sacred topics.*[3]

Hence it is that the prophets so frequently express what relates to the Christian dispensation and worship in terms borrowed from the Mosaic religion; of which instances may be seen in Isai. ii. 2, 3., xix. 19., and lvi. 7.; Jer. iii. 17.; Zech. viii. 22.; and Mal. i. 11. For, the religion of Moses being introductory to that of Jesus, and there being, consequently, a mutual dependency between the two religions, "it is reasonable to suppose that, previous to such an important change of the economy, some intimations would be given of its approach. And yet, to have done this in a way that would have led the Jews to look with irreverence on a system under which not only themselves but their posterity were to live would not have harmonized with our notions of the divine wisdom. A method was therefore to be invented; which, while it kept the people sincerely attached to the law, would dispose them, when the time was come, for the reception of a *better covenant* that was to be established on *better promises*. Now the spirit of prophecy, together with the language in which that prophecy was conveyed, fully accomplished both these purposes. By a contrivance only to be suggested by divine prescience, the same expressions, which in their primary and literal meaning were used to denote the fortunes and deliverances of the Jews, for the present consolation of that people, were so ordered, as in a secondary and figurative sense to adumbrate the sufferings and victories of the Messiah, for the future instruction of the church of Christ. Had no expedient of this sort been employed, we should have wanted *one* proof of the connection between the Mosaic and Christian religions; and, on the other hand, had the nature of the Messiah's kingdom been *plainly* described, the design of the national separation would have been defeated. But, when spiritual blessings were promised under the veil of temporal blessings, and in terms familiar to the carnal expectations of the Jews, a proper degree of respect for the

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[1] Gerard, Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 434.
[2] Doddridge, Macknight, &c. on Matt. xii. 40.
[3] Newton on Daniel, p. 16. edit. 1733.

old system was preserved, at the same time that matters were gradually ripening for the introduction of the new; and the shadow of good things held forth obscurely in the law prepared them to look forward to that happier day, when the very image itself should be presented in full splendour, and distinctly defined by the gospel."[1]

III. *Apparent contradictions between prophecies and their accomplishment "may be occasioned by a prediction relating only to one part of a complex character or event, and on that account seeming to be inconsistent with other parts of it; and the appearance will be removed by taking in such predictions as relate to these other parts, and considering them all in connection."*[2]

Such seeming differences occur in the predictions relative to the exaltation and glory of the Messiah, compared with the prophecies concerning his previous sufferings. On this subject the reader may compare pp. 404—412. of the present volume. In Vol. I. pp. 549—562. we have given a table of the chief predictions relative to the Messiah.

IV. *Seeming differences in the interpretation of prophecies also proceed partly from the difficulty of fixing the precise time of their fulfilment, and partly from the variety of opinions adopted by expositors; who, being dissatisfied with the views taken by their predecessors, are each solicitous to bring forward some new interpretation of his own.*

These differences, however, are no more an objection against prophecy, than they are against the truth of all history; and we may with equal propriety conclude that things never came to pass, because historians differ about the time when they were done, as that they were never predicted, because learned men vary in their modes of explaining the accomplishment of such predictions. Expositors may differ in the niceties of the chronological part, but in general circumstances they are agreed; hence, whoever will consult them may be greatly confirmed in the truth of the prophecies, upon this very consideration—that there is less difference in the explanation of the principal prophecies than there is in the comments upon most ancient profane histories; and that those who differ in other matters must have the greater evidence for that in which they agree. Although there may be a difficulty in calculating the precise time when some predictions were fulfilled, because it is disputed when the *computation* is to begin, or how some other circumstance is to be understood, yet all interpreters and expositors are agreed, concerning these very prophecies, that they *are* fulfilled. For instance, in Gen. xlix. 10., it is certain that the sceptre has departed from Judah, whether that prophecy is to be understood of the tribe of Judah, or of the Jewish nation who were denominated from that tribe. Although the later Jewish writers deny its application to the times of the Messiah, yet the elder writers *invariably* refer it to him; and it is certain that the city and sanctuary are destroyed, and that the sacrifice and oblation are entirely done away, though interpreters do not agree about the precise time and manner of the accomplishment of *every* particular. In a similar manner, the prophecy of Daniel respecting the *seventy weeks* is equally plain, and its accomplishment in the destruction of Jerusalem is certain; notwithstanding the differences of opinion in assigning the precise epoch of time. Plain matter of fact shows that these memorable predictions are fulfilled; and the only difference is concerning a single circumstance. To doubt, therefore, of the fulfilment of prophecies, merely because we do not certainly know the exact time when each particular was accomplished, though we certainly know that they must have long since been fulfilled, is as unreasonable as if a man should question the truth of history on account of the uncertainties which are to be found in chronology. The existence of Homer is not denied because it is uncertain when he lived; nor is the reality of the Trojan war the less certain because the time of the capture of Troy has been variously determined. History, it has been well remarked, relates what has happened; and prophecy foretells what shall come to pass; and an uncertainty in point of time no more affects the one than the other. We may be uncertain of the time foretold by the prophet, and as uncertain of the time mentioned by the historian; but, when all other circumstances agree, there is no reason why our uncertainty, as to the single circumstance of time, should be alleged against the credibility of either of them.[3]

[1] Bishop Hallifax, Sermons on the Prophecies, serm. 1.
[2] Gerard, Institutes, p. 435.
[3] Jenkin on the Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. pp. 175, 176.

V. *Some of the prophetic declarations are not predictions concerning things future, but simply commands relative to things which were to be performed, or they are conditional promises and threatenings, not absolute predictions; so that, if it subsequently appear that these were not executed, such non-performance cannot create any difficulty or repugnancy between the supposed prophecy and its fulfilment.*

We may illustrate this remark by reference to the fast observed by the Jews on the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar: these fasts the prophet Zechariah (viii. 19.) in the name of Jehovah declares are to be abolished, and converted into a joyous festival; but, notwithstanding this declaration, we know that they continued afterwards to be observed. Another instance may be seen in 2 Kings viii. 10., Elisha's answer to Hazael; to which we may add the *seeming* assertion, that the last day was near, in Rom. xiii. 11, 12.; 1 Cor. x. 11.; 1 Thess. iv. 15.; Heb. ix. 26.; James v. 7, 8; 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13.; and 1 John ii. 18.

VI. *Some of the prophetic promises appear to have been made to individuals, which, however, were not fulfilled in them.*

But between such prophecies and their fulfilment there is no real discordance; because they were accomplished in the posterity of the person to whom the promise was made. Thus, in Isaac's prophetic blessing of Jacob, it was announced (Gen. xxvii. 29.) that he should be lord over his brethren. Now we know from the sacred writings that this never took effect in the person of Jacob; but it was fully verified in his posterity.

SECTION IV.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS IN DOCTRINE.

THESE arise from various causes; as contradictions from a mode of speaking which, to our apprehensions, is not sufficiently clear, from the same term being used in different senses in different texts, from the same word being used in apparently contradictory senses, from the different designs of the sacred writers, from the different ages in which the various sacred writers lived, and from the different degrees of their knowledge respecting the coming of the Messiah, and the religion to be instituted by him.

§ 1. *Seeming contradictions from a mode of speaking which, to our apprehensions, is not sufficiently clear.*

It has been the practice of some writers to assert that the apostles, St. Paul in particular, have argued both illogically and inconclusively; this assertion, however, falls to the ground of itself, when we consider the violent dislocations, to which writers of the school alluded to have resorted, in order to disprove what is self-evident from the Bible—the divinity and atonement of the Messiah. At the same time it is not to be concealed, that apparent contradictions do sometimes arise from a mode of speaking *which, to* OUR *apprehensions, does not seem sufficiently clear.* For instance, salvation is in one passage ascribed to *grace through faith,* which we are assured *is not of ourselves,* but is *the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast* (Eph. ii. 8—10.); and in another Abraham is said to be *justified by faith without works* (Rom. iv. 2—6.); while in a third

passage he is said to have been *justified by works* (James ii. 21.). The apparent difference in these points of doctrine is occasioned by the fruits and effects being put for the cause. A little attention to the argument of the apostle removes all difficulty. St. Paul's object in the epistle to the Romans was to show, in opposition to the objections of the Jews, that, how much soever Abraham excelled other men in righteousness during the course of his life, he had no cause for glorying before God; who justified, accepted, and covenanted with him, not for obedience, but for faith in the divine promise. Abraham believed God's word; and God accepted his faith, dealt with him as righteous, and became his God; in like manner as he now conducts himself towards all who truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his gospel. St. James, on the contrary, having encouraged the Christian converts to bear with patience the trials they should meet with, and improve them to the purposes of religion, presses upon them meekness and gentleness towards each other, as the *test of their sincerity*, and shows that *faith without love* is of no avail. Thus the doctrine asserted by each apostle is proved to be consistent; and the seeming repugnancy disappears. For the removal of difficulties arising from expressions not appearing sufficiently clear, the following observations will be found useful.

I. *A passage which is ambiguous, or which contains any unusual expression, must be interpreted agreeably to what is revealed more clearly and accurately in other parts of the scriptures.*

Numerous instances might be adduced in illustration of this remark, in which bodily parts and passions are ascribed to God; which peculiar modes of expression are to be explained in conformity with such other passages as remove the appearance of contradiction. Another example we have in Luke xiv. 13, 14. *When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee; for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.* From this passage, some have inferred that the resurrection of the just *only* is intended, and, consequently, that the wicked shall certainly perish. There is, it is true, something unusual in this expression; but, the doctrine of the resurrection of all mankind from the dead, which is so explicitly revealed in other parts of scripture, being laid down and acknowledged, we readily perceive that our Saviour was speaking, in the passage under consideration, of acts of kindness done purely for the love of God, and on the recompence which he would bestow on them. But of the universal resurrection no notice is taken; nor is it denied that the wicked will receive *their* reward.

II. *A passage, in which a doctrine is slightly treated, must be explained by one where the subject is more largely discussed; and one single passage is not to be explained in contradiction to many others, but consistently with them.*

For instance, Jesus Christ in one place says, that he judges *no* man; in another, that he *will judge all men;* in one passage, that he is *not* come to judge the world; in another, that he *is* come for judgment. These seeming inconsistencies occur in the gospel of St. John; it becomes necessary, therefore, to find out some other passage that will reconcile them. Thus, in John xii. 47., he says, *I came not to judge the world*; and, in chap. xi. 39., he says, *For judgment I am come into this world.* In the latter passage he adds the cause of his thus coming, namely, that they whose blindness proceeded from mere ignorance should be taught to see: while they who saw only through pride and prejudice should be left in their wilful blindness. Hence it appears, that our Lord was not speaking of the last judgment, from which we call God the judge of the living and of the dead; but that the tenor of his discourse was to enable his hearers themselves to determine whether they were ignorant or not; for in the same chapter (verse 16.) it is said that Jesus spoke these words to the Pharisees, who would not perceive their own ignorance, nor judge

themselves. In the other passage (John xii. 47.) we read, *I came not to judge* (rather to *condemn*) the world, but to save the world; not to make its inhabitants wretched, but to make them happy for time and for eternity, if they will be so wise as to listen to the proposals which I offer. Here the word *save* is plainly opposed to *condemn*; and that this is the proper meaning of the passage is evident from comparing chap. iii. verses 15—19.

The latter part of this rule the following passage will exemplify. In Gen. xvii. 10—14., the observance of circumcision is commanded; in Acts xv., the observance of that rite is affirmed not to be necessary. These propositions are apparently contradictory: Jesus Christ himself has determined them, Matt. xi. 13., *All the prophets, and the law, until John, prophesied*, intimating, as the context implies, that the observances of the law would thereafter cease.

III. *Between a general assertion in one text, and a restriction of it, or an exception to it, in another text, there is an appearance of contradiction which is sometimes removed by explaining the former with the proper limitations.*[1]

Several general expressions, in all languages, not only admit of, but also require a limitation; without which the true sense of many passages will not be understood. And, as the eastern nations indulged themselves most freely in the use of strong and figurative expressions, the scriptures require more limitations, perhaps, than any other book: as it respects the New Testament, St. Paul mentions principles on which we may build our limitations: *I speak after the manner of men* (Rom. vi. 19.). *It is manifest that he is excepted* (1 Cor. xv. 27.).

Thus, in Mark x. 11, 12., and in Luke xvi. 18., divorce is absolutely forbidden; but, in Matt. v. 32., and xix. 9., it is allowed for adultery only. Yet, in 1 Cor. vii. 15., it seems to be allowed, though the apostle does not authorize a second marriage.

The precept, *Except we become as little children, we shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven* (Matt. xviii. 3.), cannot mean that we are not to speak distinctly, or to walk steadily, but obviously refers to the docility, and freedom from ambition and worldly thoughts, which characterize children.

The observations offered in pp. 358—361. *supra*, on the figures of speech, termed synecdoche, and hyperbole, may be applied in illustration of the preceding remark.

§ 2. *Apparent contradictions from the same terms being used in different and even contradictory senses.*

I. *Sometimes an apparent contradiction, in point of doctrine, arises from the same words being used in different senses in different texts.*

In this case the seeming repugnancy is to be removed by restricting the term properly in each text.

Thus, in some passages of the New Testament, we read that the kingdom of Christ is *eternal;* but, in 1 Cor. xv. 24., it is said to have an *end:* in the latter passage, the *kingdom of Christ* means his mediatorial kingdom, which includes all the displays of his grace in saving sinners, and all his spiritual influence in governing the church visible on earth. By the eternal kingdom of Christ is intended the future state of eternal blessedness, which is so beautifully described as *an inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven*, &c. (1 Pet. i. 4, 5.).

In like manner, *It is appointed unto men once to die* (Heb. ix. 27.), that is, a temporal death; yet if any man keep Christ's sayings he *shall never see death* (John viii. 51.), that is, eternal death. *Hatred* of others is very sinful and odious (Tit. iii. 3.); and yet to *hate* our nearest relations, that is, to love them *less* than we love Christ, is a duty (Luke xiv. 26. compared with Matt. x. 37.). John the Baptist was *not* Elias (John i. 21.), that is, not the prophet who lived under Ahab; but he was *the Elias* predicted by Malachi (Mal. iv. 5, 6.), that is, one in the spirit and power of the ancient Elijah (Matt. xi. 11, 12, 14.; Mark ix. 11—13.; Luke i. 17.).

So we cannot stand before God in the righteousness of our own *persons* (Psal. cxliii. 2.), but we may appeal to him for the righteousness of our *cause*, in matters of difference between ourselves and others (Psal. xviii. 20., xxxv. 27.).

II. *Apparent contradictions, in points of doctrine, sometimes arise*

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[1] Gerard, Institutes, p. 436.

from the same word being used not only in different but also in contradictory senses.

Thus, in Josh. xxiii. 5., the same Hebrew verb יָרַשׁ, which usually signifies to inherit or possess, also means to dispossess or disinherit: *He shall expel them* (from their inheritance) *from before you; and ye shall possess their land*, succeed to their inheritance.[1] In like manner, the word *sin* also denotes a *sin-offering* in Gen. iv. 7.; 2 Cor. v. 21., and in many other passages of scripture.

The Greek language presents numerous similar examples of the same words having different senses. Thus εἴδωλον, in its primitive acceptation, bears a good sense, and simply means any representation or likeness of a thing; but it also most frequently denotes, in the New Testament, an image to which religious worship is given, whether it be intended of the *true* God, as in Acts vii. 41., or of a *false* deity, as in Acts xv. 20.; 1 Cor. xii. 2.; and Rev. ix. 20. So περίεργος, which simply means *curious*, and its derivative περιεργάζομαι, are used in a worse sense, and denote impertinent curiosity, as in 1 Tim. v. 13. and 2 Thess. iii. 11. So πλεονεκτέω, which primarily signifies to have more than another, also means to have more than one ought to possess, *to defraud and circumvent.* See 2 Cor. vii. 2., xii. 17, 18., and 1 Thess. iv. 6. (which last text denotes to defraud and injure by adultery; as numerous commentators have observed). And μεθύω, which (like the Hebrew verb שָׁכַר, Gen. xliii. 34.[2]) in its good sense denotes merely to *drink freely and to cheerfulness*, but not to intoxication (as in John ii. 10.), is often taken in an ill sense, and means to be *drunken*. Compare Matt. xxiv. 49.; Acts ii. 15.; and 1 Thess. v. 7., with Rev. xvii. 2, 6.[3]

§ 3. *Apparent contradictions, in points of doctrine, arising from the different designs of the sacred writers.*

A kind of repugnancy sometimes arises from the different designs which the sacred writers had in view; and this can be removed only by interpreting each passage agreeably to the writer's design.

It is obvious that the same person may express himself in various ways concerning one and the same thing; and in this case regard must be had to his intention. In St. Paul's epistles, for instance, we find the apostle frequently arguing, but more or less severely, with those who rigorously urged a compliance with the Mosaic rites and ceremonies; in some passages he expresses himself more gently towards his opponents; in others, with greater severity, calling the opinions thus asserted *doctrines of devils*, and *profane and old wives' fables* (1 Tim. iv. 1, 7.). To understand these passages aright, then, it is necessary that we distinguish the threefold design of the apostle, according to the three different classes of advocates for the observance of the Mosaic ritual. 1. Against those who maintained the rites prescribed by Moses from *weakness of mind*, and could not persuade themselves that these ought to be abandoned, the apostle argues with great lenity; compare Rom. xiv. throughout. 2. There were others, however, who, while they contended for and urged the external observance of the Mosaic law, expressed the utmost *contempt for the Christian religion*, which they affirmed either not to be true, or to be insufficient unless the observance of the law of Moses were superadded. Against this class of opponents St. Paul argues with much more severity, denying altogether the necessity of such observance; compare the epistle to the Galatians. 3. There was another class of persons who, to the external observance of the Mosaic ritual, joined certain philosophical notions borrowed from the Alexandrian school of philosophers, which were received among the Therapeutæ. According to these, the highest wisdom consisted in a state of celibacy, mortification, and abstinence from animal food: against these crude opinions the apostle argues vehemently, terming them profane and old wives' fables, and diabolical, that is, the most pestilent doctrines. The perusal of Philo's treatise on the Therapeutæ will show what pretensions that sect made to wisdom and piety, which con-

[[1] יָרַשׁ primarily means *to seize, to occupy*, mostly by force, in hiphil, *to cause to possess, to give possession* of anything to any one, and, with acc. of person, *to seize on one's possessions, to dispossess.* See Gesenius, *sub voc.*]

[2] They drank and were *merry* (literally *drank largely*) with him.

[3] The Latin language presents us with many examples of the same words which have different meanings. *Sacer* signifies not only that which is holy, but also that which is most cursed and detestable. Thus, we have in Virgil (Æn. iii. 57.) *auri sacra fames.* In our old English common law writers, *villanus* (villain) denotes a rustic of servile condition; but the English word is now exclusively a term of infamy.

sisted in mortification and abstinence, and with what sovereign contempt they regarded all other persons. To this class of St. Paul's antagonists are to be referred 1 Tim. iv. throughout, and also Col. ii. verse 8. to the end.

On the best mode of ascertaining the design of any book or passage in the sacred writings, see pp. 265—268. *supra.*

§ 4. *Apparent contradictions, arising from the different ages in which the sacred writers lived, and the different degrees of knowledge which they possessed.*

I. There is another class of doctrinal points, in which a species of repugnancy is produced by the *different ages in which the sacred writers lived.*

All expositors of the scriptures are agreed in the summary of religious truths revealed in them, and that, from the book of Genesis to the Revelation of St. John, this doctrine is constantly and unanimously delivered, viz. that there is one infinitely-wise, gracious, just, and eternal God; and that our salvation is of God through the atonement of the Messiah, &c. &c. But this doctrine is variously expressed, according as the ages, in which the writers lived, were more or less remote from the time when the Son of God was manifested in the flesh. Further, in the Old Testament, there are many very severe precepts relative to revenging of injuries on enemies, as well as many imprecations against the foes of David; no such precepts are to be found in the New Testament. Again, the law of revenge and retaliation, in the Mosaic system, is extremely severe, requiring eye for eye, hand for hand, tooth for tooth, &c. Widely different from this is the spirit of the Christian doctrine. [More will hereafter be said on the topic, in modification of this statement.]

II. An apparent contradiction likewise is caused by the *different degrees of knowledge possessed by the sacred writers* relative to the happiness to be procured for man by Jesus Christ.

In the Old Testament this happiness is almost constantly described as being *external;* but in the New Testament all external considerations are dismissed, and it is affirmed to be *spiritual* or *internal.* Hence also it happens that, although the same worship of the same Jehovah is treated of in the books of the Old and New Testaments, external worship is chiefly, though not exclusively, insisted upon in the former, but internal in the latter; in the Old Testament it is the *spirit of bondage*, but in the New it is the *spirit of adoption.* In this gradual revelation of the divine will we see the wisdom and goodness of God; who graciously proportioned it to the capacities of men, and the disposition of their minds to receive those intimations which he was pleased to communicate. And, as the sacred writers accommodated themselves to the imperfect or more improved degrees of knowledge which existed at the times they wrote, so it appears that they adapted their precepts to the religious, civil, and domestic or private customs of their countrymen. Hence, though religion in itself was always one and the same thing, yet the *manner* in which it was made known acquired some tinge,—

1. *From religious customs;* for, as all the more ancient people were accustomed to worship their own gods, agreeably to their own peculiar rites, so the Jews after their manner worshipped the only true God.

2. *Civil customs* also imparted some degree of peculiarity to religion. For, while one nation was separated from intercourse with others by its own customs, many things were spoken of God, as a national Deity, more peculiarly appropriated to that nation; but, if that separation be removed, Jehovah is described as the common parent of all mankind.

3. Lastly, in the *domestic or private institutes* contained in the Mosaic law, there are many things derived from the manners and customs of their forefathers; this fact has been shown by Michaelis, in his elaborate Commentaries on the Laws of Moses. In like manner the apostles adapted their instructions to the peculiar customs that obtained in different countries in their own age. They also express themselves differently towards Jews and heathens. An attentive consideration of these circumstances will contribute to clear up many apparent contradictions, as well as to solve very many of the objections brought by infidels against the sacred writings. Let times and seasons be accurately distinguished, and perfect harmony will be found to subsist in the different books of scripture.

SECTION V.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE SACRED WRITERS.

[THIS section will be devoted to the examination of passages in which it is alleged that the sacred writers are contradictory. It has been maintained not only that one book of scripture does not agree in many points with another, but also that in almost every single book discrepancies are found, invalidating its claims to proceed from him who is the invariable God of truth. Such allegations must be carefully investigated. Accordingly a number of places against which objection has been chiefly taken will be here compared; arranged in the following order: 1. Alleged contradictions in the Old Testament; 2. Alleged contradictions in the New; 3. Alleged contradictions between the Old Testament and the New. Some of these will illustrate the remarks made in the preceding sections.

In addition to the observations which have been previously offered, it may be well to remind the student that variations are not necessarily contradictions. We may find two statements or descriptions by no means identical; and yet, when put together, each being literally true, we shall have a consistent whole.[1] The following causes of this may be noticed:—

1. General terms are sometimes used by one writer, as sufficient for his purpose; while another finds it needful to describe with more particularity.

2. One writer will on occasion narrate one part of a history, that perhaps at which he was personally present; and another another part. But neither has professed to give singly the whole of what occurred.[2]

3. Two persons may have each a share in producing a certain event: one author will relate what one did; a second that which was done by the other. Comp. Exod. xviii. 17—26. with Deut. i. 9—15.

4. Care must be taken in examining the scripture not to identify different things. Similar events often recurred; and the same discourse was probably sometimes repeated with slight differences. One annalist narrates one of these; and it would be highly improper to represent him as contradicting another who recorded what was similar but not the same.

5. Different terms are often used to describe the same things; and yet the idea presented may be the same. The variation is of phraseology, not in the fact or truth.

6. In an argument the speaker is changed, or an objector introduced, to whom the author replies. This is the case in Rom. iii. 1., &c.

7. It must be added that the sacred writers use frequent condensation; particularly when relating histories well known to those they addressed. Hence, as in Stephen's speech, Acts vii., contra-

[1] See before, p. 303.

[2] See before, pp. 299, 300.

dictions have been supposed, which certainly, if they had really existed, the Jews would have been glad to expose.[1]

§ 1. *Alleged contradictions in the Old Testament.*

1. Gen. i. 6—10. with ii. 4.

As narrated in the first chapter, God formed the firmament, which he called heaven, on the second day, and did not fashion the earth till the third; while the second chapter seems to confine the creation of the heavens and the earth to a single day.

But there is no contradiction. It is enough to say that "day" in chap. ii. is used in an indefinite sense, as in a multitude of other places, Numb. iii. 1.; Psal. cxxxvii. 7.; Ezek. xvi. 56.

2. Gen. i. 20. with ii. 19.

In the first place the fowls are said to be produced from the waters; in the latter from the ground.

But the fault is in our version. The marginal rendering, "let fowl fly," expresses more exactly the meaning of the original, i. 20., where it was not intended to specify the element from which the fowl were formed Dathe well translates: Porro jussit Deus aquam edere animalia viva natatilia: aves autem super terra in aëre volare.[2]

3. Gen. i. 27. with ii. 5.

There is no contradiction. After the general statement of the six days' work, the writer returns to narrate the creation of Adam and Eve with some special details. Similar cases are frequent in most historians.

4. Gen. vi. 6. with 1 Sam. xv. 29.

From the imperfection of human language, thoughts and actions are ascribed to the Deity, which are to be interpreted only in a figurative way.[3] Literally "the Strength of Israel" will not repent; but he is said to repent when he changes his mode of dealing with his creatures in such a way as *in them* would indicate a change of mind.

5. Gen. vi. 19, 20. with vii. 2, 3, 8, 9, 15.

There were two commands given to Noah at widely-different times. It was enough, when he was instructed to build the ark, to tell him that generally pairs of animals were to be preserved. Long after, when the ark was completed, and in a week the rains were to descend, a specific direction was added, that, of clean beasts, *i. e.* for sacrifice, seven pairs were to be taken. This would be a comparatively-small increase of the whole number. And, when they actually entered the ark, it was (whatever the respective numbers) by pairs.

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[1] There are some valuable remarks on this topic in Davidson, Sacr. Herm. chap. xii. pp. 516., &c.

[2] Pentateuch. Halæ, 1791.

[3] ..... tropica locutione in scripturis sanctis etiam pœnituisse legitur Deum.— August., Op. Par. 1679—1700, De Civ. Dei, lib. xiv. cap. xi. 1. tom. vii. col. 362. "Repentance is either properly or improperly taken; properly taken, for a passion of nature or change of the mind; or, improperly, only for a change or alteration of actions. God repents not the first way, not so as to change his mind; but he is said to repent, when he doth, as a man which repents, change his actions in this or that particular, according to the purpose of his own will." The Reconciler of the Bible, Lond. 1662, p. 9.

6. Gen. vii. 12. with 17.

In one of these verses there is a more definite statement than in the other: in one the cause, the descending rain, in the other the flood, as the effect of it, is mentioned. There is no discrepancy, and no necessity to suppose, from the LXX. addition, *καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας*, in v. 17., that any words have been lost from the Hebrew text.

7. Gen. vii. 24. with viii. 3.

After "the rain from heaven was restrained," and "the fountains of the deep were stopped," the waters began to abate; but they prevailed, or were strong, for one hundred and fifty days; so that it was not till the end of that time that any considerable abatement could be observed.

8. Gen. xi. 26. with 32. and xii. 4.

If Terah was but seventy when Abram was born, and died before Abram at seventy-five left Haran, he could have lived but one hundred and forty-five years; and this number is actually found in the Samaritan text of Gen. xi. 32. But perhaps the reading was introduced there just to obviate the difficulty. There are strong reasons for believing that Abram was not the eldest son. His being named first is hardly even presumptive evidence that he was (comp. Gen. v. 32., x. 21.). If we suppose with Ussher that Abram the youngest was born sixty years after his eldest brother, the difficulty vanishes. It may be added that Abram possibly sojourned in Canaan in his father's life-time, but that, so long as Terah lived, Haran was accounted the domicile of the family, and was not entirely left till he was dead.[1]

9. Gen. xv. 13. with Exod. xii. 40.

Some would harmonize these passages by the fact that a round number is frequently in all authors used instead of one more exact. But it may be observed that the texts date from different points. Exod. xii. 40. is intended to include the whole time that Abraham and his race were sojourners, *i. e.* from the first call in Ur of the Chaldees till the Exodus; whereas in Gen. xv. a son is promised to Abram, and the period named, v. 13., may be supposed to date from Isaac's birth. In Exod. xii. 40. it is the sojourning, and not the dwelling in Egypt, that is stated to be 430 years. The LXX., however (and the Samaritan Pentateuch agrees), reads, *ἡ δὲ κατοίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἣν κατῴκησαν ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν ἔτη τετρακόσια τριάκοντα.*

10. Gen. xxix. 35. with xxx. 17.

Leah left off bearing children, but it was merely for a time.

11. Gen. xxxii. 30. with Exod. xxxiii. 20.

God—no doubt the second Person of the Trinity—repeatedly appeared in human form under the old dispensation. And it would seem that, on such occasions, till he disclosed himself by some prediction or some marvellous work, he was believed to be merely a man. Jacob was favoured with such a manifestation, and expressed his grateful wonder at the Lord's forbearing kindness, who had veiled his splendour and not overwhelmed him. But, in Exod. xxxiii. 20., God's glory in full brightness is intended; and this would be too dazzling for mortal eye to look on.

12. Gen. xxxiv. with xxxviii. and xlvi. 12.

There are serious chronological difficulties arising out of these different

[1] See a satisfactory explanation by Dr. Lee, The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, Append. H. (2nd edit.) pp. 531—533.

chapters. Some of them are stated, but not very lucidly, by Dr. Turner[1]; and his statements have been almost literally copied by others without care to disentangle the meaning. It would seem that, as Joseph was sold at seventeen (xxxvii. 2.), and was made Pharaoh's prime minister at thirty (xli. 46.), and as afterwards seven years of plenty (xli. 53.) and two of famine (xlv. 6.) elapsed before he was known to his brethren, there would not be more than twenty-three years between Joseph's sale and Jacob's journey into Egypt. Now, if Judah's marriage with Shuah was contracted at the time of Joseph's sale (xxxviii. 1, 2.), the space of twenty-three years could not have been sufficient for the successive birth and growth to manhood of Judah's three sons, of Judah's incest after that with Tamar, and of Pharez, his son by her, living to be married and to have sons (xlvi. 12.). Or, if the incest with Tamar occurred when Joseph was sold at the age of seventeen, Judah's marriage with Shuah must have preceded Joseph's birth, and have occurred when Jacob with his family still resided in Mesopotamia. It must be added that, if Jacob's stay with Laban were, as it is generally computed, but twenty years, fourteen of service for his wives, and six for his cattle, then, as the marriage with Leah was at the end of the first seven years (xxix. 20, 21.), and the birth of Joseph just before the agreement for the cattle (xxx. 25—31.), it being supposed that Joseph was the youngest, except Benjamin, of his father's children, the eleven sons and one daughter must have been born within the space of six years; at all events, Judah, as the fourth son, could have been but nine years old on the departure from Mesopotamia; and Dinah, born some time afterwards, must have been then too young to have excited Shechem's love.[2]

It seems necessary, therefore, to allow that Jacob spent more than twenty years at Padan-Aram; and some have maintained that in his expostulation with Laban (xxxi. 38, 41.) he intends to mark two separate periods of twenty years each. If this, which was Kennicott's opinion, be conceded, there was time for Jacob's elder sons to be grown men on the return to Canaan. And on any supposition, as there is no note of time to place Dinah's defilement immediately after that return, but rather, as Jacob previously resided a while at Succoth, having "built him a house" there (xxxiii. 17.), at a period considerably beyond it, the objection from her supposed youth falls to the ground.

The difficulty in respect to Judah's family is still not entirely solved. If we interpret the expression "at that time" (xxxviii. 1.) in a large sense[3], and believe Judah's marriage to have taken place on entering Canaan, then, as but thirty-four years at most intervened before the descent into Egypt, if we allow three years to the birth of Shelah, fifteen more to the time when being grown he was not given to Tamar, and she in consequence connected herself with Judah, then we must suppose that Pharez, born the year after, married before he was fifteen, in order for him to have had children on going into Egypt. Hengstenberg, therefore,

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[1] A Companion to the Book of Genesis, New York, 1841, pp. 333, 334.

[2] The dean of Canterbury, on Gal. iii. 17., seems very strangely to confound the chronology of Jacob's life. He tells us that Joseph was born when Jacob was ninety-one, "six years before Jacob left Laban, having been with him twenty years, and served him fourteen of them for his two daughters." He acknowledges (as he must) that Jacob's marriage with Leah was after the first seven years of service; and yet says that the birth of Levi was when Jacob was eighty-one, *i. e.* ten years before that of Joseph, and sixteen before Jacob left Mesopotamia, that is, after but four years of service. It is impossible to reconcile these statements. After having admitted that Joseph was born six years before his father quitted Laban, the dean appears to argue as if the birth and the departure were contemporaneous, placing both in Jacob's ninety-first year.

[3] This is Bush's view, Notes on Genesis, xxxviii. 1. p. 376.

maintains that the children of Pharez were born in Egypt.[1] His arguments are too long to be fully introduced here; a mere compendium can alone be given; and for further satisfaction the student must be referred to the book itself. But, if this hypothesis can be allowed, the narrative will be freed from considerable difficulty.

Dr. Hengstenberg chiefly urges these points:

(1.) Reuben had but two sons born in Canaan (Gen. xlii. 37.); but (Gen. xlvi. 9.) four are named. (2.) Benjamin is distinctly represented as a youth (Gen. xliii. 8, 29., xliv. 30, 31, 33.). (3.) Hezron and Hamul are regarded as a kind of compensation for Er and Onan, and by the way in which they are mentioned it is in some measure implied that they were not born in Canaan: "But Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan; and the sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul" (Gen. xlvi. 12.). (4.) According to Gen. xliii. 8., the family consisted of Jacob, his sons, and their little ones. And, in xlvi. 5., those that left Canaan were the same: "And the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their little ones, and their wives." Whereas in the genealogy the grandsons were not little ones; for they had, several of them, children of their own. (5.) In Numb. xxvi. no grandson of Jacob is mentioned besides those enumerated in Gen. xlvi. But we can hardly suppose that none of Jacob's sons had children in Egypt. Dr. Hengstenberg believes, then, that the number seventy is fixed on, on the principle that in Matt. i. the generations of our Lord's ancestors are divided (several names being omitted) into three lists of fourteen each.[2]

Kalisch strongly opposes this view; but he utterly fails in making out anything like a consistent chronology. Thus, while he supposes Jacob to have been seventy-eight when he went to Mesopotamia, he places Reuben's birth in his eightieth year, Judah's in his eighty-eighth, and yet says that Leah's first four sons were born within three years and a half.[3] Browne, on the other hand, fixes the birth of Pharez and Zarah just before the descent into Egypt. Their children, he consequently believes, born in that country. Benjamin's sons, too, he supposes to have been born there. For Rachel, he imagines, did not die till after Joseph's dreams, laying stress on what Jacob says (Gen. xxxvii. 10.): "Shall I, and *thy mother*, and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee?"[4] But he seems to have forgotten that the mention of "eleven stars" in the foregoing verse would not have been apposite before Benjamin's birth, when Joseph had but ten brethren. The various conclusions to which learned and laborious men come may teach us diffidence in our own judgment.

13. Gen. xlvii. 11. with Exod. i. 11.

Goshen, and Rameses (spoken of as a district), were probably synonymous.[5] The Rameses or Raamses built by the Israelites was the chief city in the district.

14. Gen. xlviii. 8. with 10.

There is no contradiction. Jacob's eyes were dim; but he was not totally blind.

15. Exod. iii. 2. with 4.

The "angel of the Lord" was no created being, but the Lord himself; not

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[1] Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, diss. vii. vol. ii. pp. 284—294.

[2] Ibid. pp. 293, 294.

[3] Comm. on the Old Test., Genesis, notes on xxviii. 6—9.; xxx. 14—24.; xxxviii. 27—30. pp. 519, 539, 626.

[4] Ordo Sæclorum, part i. chap. vi. pp. 311—316.

[5] See Lord Prudhoe (duke of Northumberland) in Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians (edit. 1847) vol. i. p. 77.

indeed the Father, whom no one hath seen (John vi. 46.), but the divine Son, to whom, equally with the Father, the titles of Godhead are due, and who is frequently termed "the angel of God's presence," "the angel of the covenant."

16. Exod. vi. 3. with Gen. ix. 26., xiii. 4., xxvi. 2., xxviii. 16., and xlix. 18.

It is evident that the expression, "by my name Jehovah was I not known" (Exod. vi. 3.), is not to be understood as asserting that the earlier patriarchs were ignorant of the appellation Jehovah; else by the employment of the word, and by the putting or leaving of it in the mouth of the old fathers, the writer of the Pentateuch—author, compiler, or reviser—would have imprinted on his work a glaring contradiction, which the most ordinary care and thought would have forbidden. Some other meaning, then, must be implied in the word "known." "Though," says Dr. Davidson, "the name Jehovah was known from the beginning, yet the ancient Hebrews were ignorant of the fulness of meaning contained in it. They knew *God Almighty* by the protection he afforded them, and the bountiful works of his providence; but they did not know *Jehovah* by the accomplishment of his promises. They were aware that he had *power* to fulfil his promises; but by *the actual fulfilment of them* he was not known to them. It was not till their deliverance from Egypt and establishment in Canaan that the name of Jehovah was fully known. He was known as the Being who made promises to the patriarchs; but as the mighty One who gave *effect* to them he was first revealed to their posterity when they were brought forth from Egypt. The emphasis lies in the term *know*, which here denotes a practical experimental knowledge of the fulfilment of promises."[1] The whole matter is well argued by Kurtz[2]; to whom reference will be made hereafter for the fuller elucidation of this matter.

17. Exod. vii. 19—21. with 22.

The plague was probably inflicted by degrees. In v. 20., it is merely said that the waters of the river were affected. In that stage of the judgment the magicians might readily obtain water for their incantations. Ultimately, no doubt, the threatening was accomplished to its full extent.

18. Exod. ix. 6. with 20.

The word "all," in the first verse referred to, is used in a popular way. Every author employs occasionally universal terms in a limited sense, without fear of being misunderstood.

19. Exod. xviii. 17—26. with Deut. i. 9—15.

There is no contradiction. Jethro suggested an expedient which Moses immediately adopted; so that he had no occasion to mention, in Deut. i., more than the patent fact. "In first recording the event," says Dr. Graves, "it was natural Moses should dwell on the first cause which led to it, and pass by the appeal to the people, as a subordinate and less material part of the transaction; but, in addressing the people, it was natural to notice the part they themselves had in the selection of those judges, in order to conciliate their regard and obedience. How naturally, also, does the pious legislator, in his public address, dwell on every circumstance which could improve his hearers in piety and virtue. The multitude of the people was

[1] Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xii. pp. 531, 532.
[2] Die Einheit der Genesis, Erste Abtheil. pp. xxii.—xxxii.

the cause of the appointment of these judges. How beautifully is this increase of the nation turned to an argument of gratitude to God!"[1]

20. Exod. xx. 5. with Ezek. xviii. 20.

No one can shut his eyes to the fact that the consequences of sin extend beyond the personal case of the sinner. A man, by profligacy or extravagance, may entail poverty and suffering upon his children. We see examples in every-day life. But this is no impeachment of the moral government of God. The very circumstances of trial into which children are thrown by their parents' fault may prove the fittest school in which to learn the best lessons for futurity. They will not be condemned unless they despise God's chastening, and provoke him by their personal sins. There is no interference with the distinct responsibility of each. And this is what is asserted in Ezekiel. The guilt of one is not transferred to and visited upon another. "The former passage respects men as members of society in the present life: it relates to their social and national capacity. The latter has regard to the personal responsibility and future doom of each."[2]

21. Exod. xx. 11. with Deut. v. 15.

The enforcement of the same precept by two different motives does not constitute two discordant precepts. In the former passage Moses urges the observance of the sabbath by a motive taken from the creation; in the latter by another derived from their deliverance from bondage in Egypt.

22. Levit. i. 1. with xxvii. 34.

There is no contradiction: the words בְּהַר סִינָי mean *at* or *near* Mount Sinai; just as those of Ezekiel, בִּנְהַר־כְּבָר (x. 15.), signify *by* or *near* the river Chebar. The one text, therefore, specifies exactly the place which the other indicates in a more general way.

23. Levit. xvii. 1—7. with Deut. xii. 15, 20—22.

The first law was given at an early period of Israel's sojourn in the wilderness, when the tabernacle had just been erected, and when it was easy for the people encamped around it to bring the animals they slaughtered to the door. The last precept was published just before the entrance into Canaan, and was one of those which are expressly said, in the first verse of the chapter in which it occurs, to be applicable to the people when resident in Palestine. *There*, it is provided, there was to be some place chosen for the sanctuary, whither sacrifices were to be brought, but, as that would be at a distance from many parts of the land (see especially v. 21.), therefore animals might be freely slaughtered for food at any man's own home.

24. Numb. iii. 22, 28, 34. with 39.

The three specified numbers, in vv. 22, 28, 34., make, when added together, 22,300; whereas it is evident that the number given in v. 39., viz. 22,000, is accurate, because the sum of the first-born in Israel (vv. 43, 46.), 22,273, is expressly said to be 273 in excess of the Levites.

Kennicott supposes that the Gershonites (v. 22.) were 7200; the numeral ך, 500, having been written for ר, 200. Bauer appeals to the Palmyrene inscriptions for proof that the final letters were in use in our

[1] Lectures on the Four Last Books of the Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 87.
[2] Davidson, Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xii. p. 534.

Lord's time, and believes that they were known and employed as numerals when the LXX. version was made.[1] But, if this supposition be rejected, that of Houbigant will solve the difficulty, who thinks it probable that in v. 28. שֵׁשׁ has been erroneously substituted by transcribers for שָׁלֹשׁ. Or it may be imagined that the 300 Levites were the first-born of their tribe, and, being by birth devoted to God, could not be substitutes for other persons.

25. Numb. iv. 3. with viii. 24.

The Levites spent five years, in an inferior position, in learning the duties of their ministry, before they were admitted to the fuller performance of their office.

26. Numb. xiii. 1, 2. with Deut. i. 22.

It is easy to suppose that the people first desired to send spies, and that God sanctioned it. There are examples of a similar kind (see Numb. xxvii. 1—11., xxxvi. 1—12.). Moses, when addressing the people in Deuteronomy, would naturally remind them of their part in the transaction; and certainly no such step would have been fully decided on without reference to the Lord.

27. Numb. xiv. 25. with 45.

It is most probable that the expression in v. 25. implies that the Canaanites and Amalekites had their settlements in the valley; and of this God warns the people of Israel: "The Amalekites and the Canaanites dwell in the valley." In spite of the warning, the Israelites attempted to ascend the hill which lay between them and the valley, and were defeated by the Canaanites, who had preoccupied it and taken post there. Comp. v. 43.

28. Numb. xiv. 30. with Josh. xiv. 1.

It is argued, from Josh. xiv. 1., that more of the Israelites than Joshua and Caleb survived the forty years' wandering. The murmurers of the congregation, above twenty years' old, were all to perish in the wilderness, and of them preeminently the unfaithful spies, who, accordingly, died very speedily (Numb. xiv. 36, 37.). Joshua and Caleb, who had not shared the sin, escaped the punishment, and, as being the only two of the spies who did not murmur, and moreover destined leaders of the host, they are specially named. If any others of the congregation—and doubtless such were some of the priests and Levites, who generally stood apart from the rest—did not murmur, they would not be exposed to the punishment.

29. Numb. xiv. 33. with xxxiii. 3. and Josh. iv. 19.

The forty years were complete save five days; the round number is therefore, naturally used.

30. Numb. xvi. 31—35. with xxvi. 10. and Psal. cvi. 17. Numb. xxvi. 10. may be explained "At the time of the death of Korah and the company." Comp. pp. 573, 574.

It is questioned whether Korah was swallowed in the earthquake or was consumed with the two hundred and fifty Levites in the fire. Dr. Graves takes the last supposition; but the words of Numb. xxvi. 10., וַתִּבְלַע אֹתָם וְאֶת־קֹרַח, are explicit; and the other passages do not contradict them.

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[1] Crit. Sacr. tract. i. § 23. p. 194.

31. Numb. xxxv. 4 with 5.

It is futile to represent these verses as in opposition. For it is evident that, if from any central point a line be drawn a thousand cubits long, and be produced to the same length on the opposite side of the centre, it will be in all two thousand cubits. If a similar line be drawn at right angles to the first, through the centre, and a square be constructed by straight lines passing through the four extremities at right angles to the original lines, each side of the square will be two thousand cubits, and the conditions of v. 5. will be fulfilled.

32. Deut. x. 6, 7. with Numb. xx. 22—27. and xxxiii. 30—38.

It would seem that the Israelites were twice at Kadesh. It is true that some writers have imagined that there were two places of the name, Kadesh-Barnea and Kadesh-Meribah, and that each was visited but once; but there are convincing reasons against this supposition.[1] The stations enumerated in Numb. xxxiii. 16—30. were in the route to Kadesh, which was reached in the second year after quitting Egypt. Here it was that the murmuring occurred, through the evil report of the spies; and from thence they were condemned to wander till that evil generation had perished. From Mosera or Moseroth, which lay near to Mount Hor, they marched to Bene-jaakan (called "Beeroth of the children of Jaakan," in Deut. x. 6.), in the district of Kadesh, and, turning back after their condemnation, they went by Hor-hagidgad to Jotbathah, and so on to Ezion-gaber. Afterwards they returned and reached Kadesh a second time, in the fortieth year; but none of the intermediate stations are named; probably they were those visited before. Denied a straight passage through Edom, they directed their course towards the Red Sea, compassing Mount Seir (Numb. xxi. 4.; Deut. ii. 1.), till at last they arrived in the plains of Moab. A portion of this last journey from Kadesh is noticed Deut. x. 6, 7., and more largely described in Numb. xxxiii. 37—48. Doubtless they revisited many stations where they had previously encamped (in Deut. x. 6, 7. some are mentioned); but the sacred writer does not in Numb. xxxiii. name any a second time. He simply notes their being at or near Hor (the precise station being Mosera, Deut. x. 6.), in order to record Aaron's death on the mountain; so that in Numb. xxxiii. 31., the route is upwards, and then, vv. 32—35., downwards; while, in Deut. x. 6, 7., many years after, it goes altogether downwards. There is thus no contradiction. By some the passage Deut. x. 6, 7. has been thought an interpolation; Hengstenberg, however, maintains that it is quite in accordance with the scope of this part of Moses's address, in which he was detailing the Lord's mercies to his people, to mention the continuation of the priesthood by its transference to Eleazar when Aaron died. But this is parenthetical: v. 8. resumes the general thread of his discourse; so that the words "at that time" are not to be referred to Aaron's death, but to the earlier period, after the promulgation of the ten commandments, when the Levites were separated in consequence of their faithfulness in avenging the sin of the golden calf. For fuller explanations the reader may consult Hengstenberg[2], and Kitto's Cyclop. of Bibl. Literature.[3]

33. Josh. x. 15. with 43.

It is argued that Joshua could not have returned to Gilgal, in the midst of his successes and pursuit of various tribes, till the entire expedition was over, as related v. 43. Some writers have, therefore, interpreted v. 15.

[1] See Kitto, Cyclopæd. of Bibl. Lit. art. Kadesh.
[2] Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, diss. vii. vol. ii. pp. 350—357.
[3] Art. Wandering.

as if it expressed only an intention of returning. But perhaps the passage, to v. 15., is a summary of the great events which occurred before Joshua's return to Gilgal, of which further details are afterwards furnished. It is very common with historians to note at first the beginning and the end of an expedition, or other matter, and subsequently to narrate the circumstances which contributed to that end; and they are not for this usually charged with making the end come twice over.

34. Josh. x. 23. with 37.

The Israelitish general is accused of killing the same king twice.

The objection is frivolous. When one petty chief and leader of the Hebronites had fallen, of course, if they still continued to defend themselves, another would immediately be appointed to fill his place.

35. Josh. xi. 19. with xv. 63. and Judg. i. 21.

There is no contradiction. Jerusalem, which was a frontier city, on the borders of Judah and Benjamin, though actually within the district assigned to the latter tribe, appears to have been alternately won and lost. Comp. Judg. i. 8. But through these vicissitudes the citadel or stronghold of Zion was held by the Jebusites till the reign of David.

36. Judg. vi. 1. with Numb. xxxi. 7—10.

The Midianites inhabited an extensive district. In the part into which Phinehas marched, the country was ravaged and the people destroyed; but it by no means followed that the whole nation was exterminated, or that it might not, nearly two hundred years afterwards, have again attained formidable power. Similarly the destruction of the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 7, 8.) was not so complete but that predatory bands of them were found a few years later rifling Ziklag (1 Sam. xxx. 1.).

37. Judg. ix. 5, 56. with 18.

Here a round number is used. Abimelech intended to slay his seventy brethren; but one of them, Jotham, escaped. A similar employment of a round number is in Judg. xi. 26.

38. Judg. xx. 35. with 46.

This apparent discrepancy may be explained on the same principle. In one place the exact number of the Benjamites who fell is recorded; in the other we have the round number of thousands.

39. 1 Sam. xii. 11.

No such judge as Bedan is mentioned in the book of Judges; and some writers have believed that Samson, who was בֶּן־דָּן, a Danite, is intended. This is a strange supposition enough. Doubtless many eminent persons lived in Israel whose names are not recorded in the compendious history; why should not Bedan be one of these? But, if he must needs be an individual mentioned before, the suggestion of Gesenius is by far the most reasonable that Abdon (Judg. xii. 15.) is meant. Gesenius produces examples of a similar abbreviation of names.

40. 1 Sam. xvi. 14—23. with xvii.

A great difficulty has always been felt in reconciling the fact of Saul's ignorance of David's person (xvii. 55.), with the supposition of David's having been previously employed as a minstrel in the king's presence. Bishop Horsley would transpose 1 Sam. xvi. 14—23. to chap. xviii., introduc-

ing these verses there between verses 9. and 10. But were this done some difficulties would still remain. Various solutions are discussed by Dr. Davidson, who declares himself dissatisfied with all.[1] But perhaps a more simple mode may be found of meeting the objections. Is it quite inadmissible to regard 1 Sam. xvi. 14—23. as a compendious history of David's introduction to and establishment with Saul, beginning before the combat with Goliath and extending beyond it, while chaps. xvii., xviii. 1—9., relate at length the intermediate details? Such a mode of composition is not without parallel in the Bible[2]; nor is it uncommon among historians in general.[3] According to this view David was first named to Saul as a musician. The person who recommended would be sure to say all he could in his favour. He had possibly heard of the shepherd lad's bravery in facing the lion and the bear that attacked his flock, and thence he takes occasion to proclaim him a mighty valiant man, giving him credit for qualifications which would be sure to tell in his favour with the warlike king. David, therefore, is sent for: he plays, and his music soothes Saul; but personally he is not much regarded by the monarch, or noticed by the chiefs about him. However, the narrative goes on, Saul "loved him greatly, and he became his armour-bearer" (v. 21.). Why should he be so promoted? Why should Saul think of making a young minstrel one of his body-guard, no place of honorary preferment, but demanding a well-tried soldier? The historian will give the steps of his advancement soon: he is now only telling in brief the result afterwards reached. David as yet was but occasionally with the king. When his musical talents were not put in requisition—and probably there were considerable intervals—he returned to feed his father's sheep. But now the Philistines had gathered their hosts; and Goliath came forth to defy the armies of Israel. Obliged to head his army in the field, Saul had lost his moodiness, and almost forgotten his minstrel attendant. It is then that David, sent by his father to his brothers with the army, hears of Goliath's challenge and offers to accept it. He is brought before Saul; but the king fails to recognize him. It is no wonder: he had scarcely seen him, save when the evil spirit was on him; and perhaps months had elapsed since David's harp had last been touched before him. Saul doubts whether the young man was equal to such a perilous encounter; and David, of course, makes no allusion to his previously standing before Saul. Had it come out then that he was but the minstrel, the discovery would have been enough to preclude his being allowed the combat: he relates, therefore, his killing the lion and the bear; and his evident enthusiasm wrings a consent from Saul that he shall go to battle. As he goes some reminiscence seems to strike the king, and he appeals to Abner: "Whose son is this youth?" Abner, the captain of the host, had never troubled himself about the royal minstrel; usually at the head of troops, he had probably never seen him. But, if he had, Abner was not the man to help him forward now. Abner was jealous and selfish, and foresaw, if David succeeded, a rival to himself; and, therefore, he indifferently declares that he knew not who he was. But by the king's command he was forced to inquire; and, when David had slain Goliath, Abner was willing to appear his patron, and took him to Saul. Then, in answer to Saul's query, "Whose

[1] Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xii. pp. 541—544.; Bibl. Crit. vol. i. chap. xxviii. pp. 397—401

[2] See 1 Sam. xiv. 48., where a succinct account of Saul's success against the Amalekites is given, while details are narrated in the next chapter. So, in 2 Kings xiii. 13., we have the death of Joash, and afterwards, in the same chapter, several particulars of his reign.

[3] See before, p. 459. Thus Gibbon relates (chap. xlviii.) the death of Heraclius, and gives a compendious account of his successors, long before he furnishes the details (chap. li.) of the disasters which clouded that monarch's latter years.

son art thou?" he replies, "I am the son of thy servant Jesse the Bethlehemite" (v. 58); adopting the style by which he was first named to the king (xvi. 18.). He is now recognized, found both a skilful musician and a valiant soldier, and attains the position mentioned before (xvi. 21.): Saul loves him and makes him his armour-bearer; and sends a second message to Jesse (v. 22.), which if not explained in this way would seem strange and unnecessary (see v. 19.). David is now established in the king's favour, and rises rapidly, till he is "set over the men of war" (xviii. 5.); not that he became captain of the host, but had a military command given him, in which he might and did distinguish himself, till Saul's jealousy was roused against him (xviii. 9.). If this mode of interpreting the history be allowed, the difficulties seem to be obviated. And why should not chap. xvii. be taken as explanatory of what had been related briefly at the end of chap. xvi.? The same principle *must* be applied to parts of chap. xvii. Thus the battle with Goliath is described, and the subsequent defeat of the Philistines (vv. 40—53.), before the narrative returns to mention Saul's inquiry of Abner, which was made as David went forth (v. 55.). And David's final disposal of the head and armour of Goliath is mentioned (v. 54.) before his interview with Saul (v. 57.). It is thus that the sacred writers are in the habit of condensing their narratives, stating facts in juxtaposition to other facts which were really separated by some interval of time. And there is no fault in this. The fault is rather with those who would infer a strictly chronological detail where no such chronological detail is intended.

41. 1 Sam. xxii. 20. with 2 Sam. viii. 17., 1 Chron. xviii. 16. and xxiv. 3, 6, 31.

Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, was high priest during the reign of David; but in the last-named passages we find Ahimelech (so it should be read, 1 Chron. xviii. 16.). Two solutions have been proposed: the one that a transposition has taken place, and that, for "Ahimelech the son of Abiathar," we should read "Abiathar the son of Ahimelech;" the other that Abiathar had a son named after his grandfather, who shared with his father the duties of the priesthood; as Hophni and Phinehas did with Eli.[1]

42. 1 Sam. xxxi. 4. with 2 Sam. i. 10.

The first-named passage relates the death of Saul as it really happened: the last is the story of the Amalekite, who hoped for a reward from David if he could make out that he had slain his enemy.

43. 2 Sam. viii. 4. with 1 Chron. xviii. 4.

If numbers were denoted by letters, it is easy to understand how the discrepancy arose. ן is 700; ז̈ 7000. A transcriber might confound one with the other.

44. 2 Sam. x. 18. with 1 Chron. xix. 18.

The discrepancy here has arisen in a similar way.

45. 2 Sam. x. 6. with 1 Chron. xix. 7.

The numbers will be found to agree; for the strength of the king of Maachah's troops is not given in Chronicles. In Samuel 200,00 are said to be footmen; whereas, in Chronicles, it is said generally of the 32,000 that they were רֶכֶב, *riders*, either in chariots or on horseback. Probably these

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[1] See before, p. 105. Comp. Bertheau on 1 Chron. xviii. 16, 17., in Suppl. to Keil, Commentary on the Books of Kings, vol. ii. pp. 266, 267.

were considered the more formidable description of force; and hence the generic name was given to the whole.

46. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. with 1 Chron. xi. 11.

The discrepancy is not so great as it at first sight appears. In Samuel we have יֹשֵׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת, translated, *that sat in the seat.* Here we should, doubtless, read יָשָׁבְעָם, a proper name; the error having arisen from בַּשֶּׁבֶת, which occurs in the line above, having caught the copyist's eye. The next difference is scarcely worth naming: the "Hachmonite" and the "Tachmonite" differ by but a single letter; the one, ה, very nearly resembling the other, ת. Then succeed in Samuel the words הוּא עֲדִינוֹ הָעֶצְנוֹ, rendered in our version, *The same was Adino the Eznite.* Gesenius, by the transposition of a letter, would read, הוּא יְעַדְּנוֹ הָעֶצְנוֹ, *he brandished it—his spear;* which is in perfect harmony with the expression used in Chronicles. The lifting or brandishing of the spear was probably the signal for his men to attack the enemy: thus we find it used Josh. viii. 18.; and the result was that 300 or 800 (which is the true number can be only conjectured) were killed or wounded by Jashobeam and his party.

47. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. with 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

God is not unfrequently said to do what he permits to be done. Certainly he does not tempt any man to evil (James i. 13.); but he very justly withdraws from those who disregard and disobey him, and, though he does not infuse evil into the mind of any, he allows them to follow their own sinful desires and to fall a prey to Satan, who is ever ready to take advantage of them. There had been sin in Israel; and, as a righteous retribution, David was permitted, unrestrained, to do that which brought swift punishment upon them.

48. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. with 1 Chron. xxi. 5.

It is said that the numbers here mentioned are incredibly large. But, taking those in Samuel capable of bearing arms at 1,300,000, the whole population would probably be 6,500,000. Now the area of Palestine *west of the Jordan* (that is, excluding the trans-Jordanic provinces, occupied by Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh) is about 11,000 square miles[1], not far inferior to that of Belgium, which is 12,500 square miles. But in 1846, the population of Belgium was 4,335,000. Hence the *whole* kingdom of Israel, which God had promised specially to bless and multiply, may very well be allowed to contain 6 or 7 millions, seeing that it would then be scarce more densely peopled than a modern European state.

As to the alleged contradiction in numbers, the editor of the quarto edition of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible thus harmonizes them: "It appears by Chronicles (1 Chron. xxvii.) that there were twelve divisions of generals, who commanded monthly, and whose duty it was to keep guard near the king's person, each having a body of troops consisting of 24,000 men, which jointly formed a grand army of 288,000; and, as a separate body of 12,000 men naturally attended on the twelve princes of the twelve tribes, mentioned in the same chapter, the whole will be 300,000, which is the difference between the two accounts of 800,000 and of 1,100,000." Whence may be deduced this natural solution as to the number of Israel. "As to the men of Israel, the author of Samuel does not take notice of the 300,000, because they were in the actual service of the

[1] This is the estimate given in the National Cyclopædia, art. Palestine; and, as the Jordan is mentioned as the eastern boundary, the area can include only Canaan proper. Comp. Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Palestine.

king as a standing army, and therefore there was no need to number them; but Chronicles joins them to the rest, saying expressly כל ישראל, 'all those of Israel were 1,100,000;' whereas the author of Samuel, who reckons only the 800,000, does not say כל ישראל, 'all those of Israel,' but barely ותהי ישראל, 'and Israel were,' &c. It must also be observed that, exclusively of the troops before-mentioned, there was an army of observation on the frontiers of the Philistines' country, composed of 30,000 men, as appears by 2 Sam. vi. 1.; which, it seems, were included in the number of 500,000 of the people of Judah, by the author of Samuel; but the author of Chronicles, who mentions only 470,000, gives the number of that tribe, exclusively of those 30,000 men, because they were not all of the tribe of Judah; and therefore he does not say כל יהודה, 'all those of Judah,' as he had said כל ישראל, 'all those of Israel,' but only ויהודה, 'and those of Judah.' Thus both accounts may be reconciled, by only having recourse to other parts of scripture treating on the same subject; which will ever be found the best method of explaining difficult passages."[1]

49. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13. with 1 Chron. xxi. 11, 12.

The discrepancy has arisen from the use of letters for numerals; ג, 3, is easily confounded with ז, 7. It is probable that the former number is correct.

50. 2 Sam. xxiv. 24. with 1 Chron. xxi. 25.

A further purchase is intended in the last place besides that in the former. The floor, oxen, and instruments were purchased for fifty silver shekels; the larger area, in which the temple was afterwards built, for six hundred shekels of gold. Or, the first-named sum was the price of the oxen; the last of the ground.

51. 1 Kings iv. 26. with 2 Chron. ix. 25.

There is most probably an error in Kings: the number should be 4000, as in Chronicles; and this suits better with the 1400 chariots which we elsewhere learn that Solomon possessed (1 Kings x. 26.).

52. 1 Kings v. 11. with 2 Chron. ii. 10.

More stress has been laid on the variation than was just. The solution as it is found in Davidson is satisfactory enough: the articles mentioned in the former place were supplied yearly, and were for Hiram's household; those in the latter were given but once, and were for the use of the labourers who were engaged in a specified work.[2] Two distinct matters are spoken of.

53. 1 Kings vii. 15. with 2 Chron. iii. 15.

The number 18 in Kings is right: 35 has been introduced into Chronicles by the error of a transcriber.

54. 1 Kings ix. 23. with 2 Chron. viii. 10.

Here is another instance of the same kind: רנ in Kings was probably mistaken for רנ.

55. 1 Kings ix. 28. with 2 Chron. viii. 18.

Here also כ was mistaken for נ.

[1] Fragments, No. xxxvii. pp. 62, 63. [2] Sacr. Hermeneut. chap. xii. p. 548.

56. 1 Kings xv. 10. with 2 Chron. viii. 18.

Gesenius, with much probability, considers אם in the first place used for *grandmother*. See also other critics.

57. 1 Kings xvi. 10, 15. with 23, 29.

Omri reigned from the 27th to the 38th year of Asa, when he was succeeded by his son Ahab; but for four years Tibni was in possession of part of the kingdom; so that Omri did not obtain full possession of the realm till the 31st year of Asa.

58. 1 Kings xxii. 51. with 2 Kings i. 17., iii. 1., viii. 16, 17., 2 Chron. xx. 31., and xxi. 5.

There is unquestionably much difficulty in reconciling the chronology of these places. In several instances the names of the sovereigns of Israel and of Judah are identical; and this may have contributed to increase the confusion by giving occasion for mistakes in number. Such is Browne's opinion, who regards 1 Kings xxii. 51. and 2 Kings i. 17. as corrupt. He therefore constructs a table from the lengths of the respective reigns, allowing twenty-two complete years to Ahab, twenty-five to Jehoshaphat, and one complete year to Ahaziah; and he finds that the result will accord with all the data, except in the particulars which he has stated to be erroneous.[1] Most commentators imagine that in this case, as well as in several others, a son was associated with his father in the sovereignty prior to the former's death; a measure likely to be adopted in kingdoms where the succession was not clearly and legally settled, and where it by no means followed that the eldest was held entitled to the crown. A distinct example of this, for the very reason here stated, we have at the close of David's reign, who commanded Solomon to be crowned in order to extinguish the claim of his elder brother, Adonijah. Keil's explanation is a sensible one: "The statement (2 Kings i. 17.) that this Jehoram (Ahab's son) became king in the second year of the Jewish Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, stands in contradiction with the statement iii. 1., that he came to the throne in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat. Most expositors and chronologists compose this difference by the assumption that Jehoshaphat had adopted his son as co-regent in the seventeenth year of his reign. It certainly appears to oppose this arrangement that—as Jehoram of Judah, viii. 16., became king in the fifth year of the Israelitish Jehoram, and therefore in the life-time of his father Jehoshaphat, or in the twenty-third year of his reign; since Jehoshaphat, according to 1 Kings xxii. 42. compared with 2 Kings iii. 1., only died in the seventh year of the Israelitish Jehoram—a twofold nomination of Jehoram to be co-regent must have taken place; which is highly improbable, inasmuch as the second nomination implies the abolition of the first, and the beginning of the reign of a contemporary Israelitish sovereign would scarcely be dated from a co-regency that was soon after abrogated; yet this view, proposed by Ussher (*Annal. M. ad* A. M. 3106 and 3112), Lightfoot (*Op.* i. p. 83. and 85.), Hartmann (*System. Chronol.* p. 237.), and Winer (*R. W.* i. p. 534.), is in general right, and loses the improbability attaching to it, as soon as we distinguish between mere co-regency and actual sovereignty. Jehoshaphat, in the seventeenth year of his reign, which runs parallel with the end of the twenty-first and the beginning of the twenty-second year of Ahab, went with the latter against the Syrians in the war against Ramoth in Gilead (1 Kings xxii.). This expedition appears to have given him

[1] Ordo Sæclorum, part i. chap. iv. pp. 225, 226.

occasion to nominate his son co-regent, and assign to him, during his own absence from the country, the administration of the government; from which time Jehoram remained co-regent with his father. But, in the twenty-third year of his reign, Jehoshaphat ceded to him the entire sovereignty; on which account the eight years of the Jewish Jehoram are to be reckoned, not from the death, but from the twenty-third year of Jehoshaphat's reign."[1]

59. 2 Kings xiii. 1. with 10.

If Jehoash king of Israel did not reign at first conjointly with his father, the number 37 in the last-named verse should be 39. The numeral letters were probably mistaken.

60. 2 Kings xiv. 17. with xv. 1, 32, 34.

Azariah and Uzziah are various names of the same person. Perhaps, in xv. 1. the number should be 15; טו and כז might readily be interchanged.

61. 2 Kings xv. 30. with 33.

Jotham most likely reigned some years in conjunction with his father (see v. 5.) and sixteen years alone. Comp. Keil, Comm. on the Books of Kings *in loc.*[2]

62. 2 Kings xv. 30. with xvii. 1.

Calmet supposes that Hoshea, in Pekah's twentieth year, conspired against him, and that this was in the eighteenth of Jotham's reign. It was two years before Hoshea was acknowledged king of Israel, viz. in the fourth of Ahaz and twentieth of Jotham (assuming that Jotham associated Ahaz with him in the sovereignty four years before his own death). Further, it was not till the twelfth of Ahaz that Hoshea acquired undisputed possession of the kingdom.

63. 2 Kings xxiii. 30. with 2 Chron. xxxv. 24.

In the former text מֵת may be translated *in a dying state.* And this is corroborated by the account in 1 Esdr. i. 30, 31. (Apocr.). But it is not necessary to resort to this. In Chronicles, after saying that he was carried (whether dying or dead) to Jerusalem, the historian sums up the narrative, "so he died," without reference to place.

64. 2 Kings xxiv. 6. with Jer. xxii. 18, 19. and xxxvi. 30.

It is assumed from the first-named passage that Jehoiakim died a natural death and was buried with his fathers; while the prophecy seems to threaten that he should die by violence and be deprived of burial.

Some have thought that there were two Chaldean invasions of Judæa in the reign of Jehoiakim (comp. 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2.; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5, 6.; Dan. i. 1, 2.). The Jewish king was overcome, and committed to custody, probably in the first of these, but was not taken to Babylon; Nebuchadnezzar being persuaded on his submission to allow him still to exercise a dependent rule over Judah. But, in consequence of Jehoiakim's disloyalty, his territory was again invaded; and at length, in the eleventh year of his reign, Jerusalem was, according to Josephus, surrendered on terms which were ill-observed, and the king slain. Still the scripture gives no details of this last invasion, if such invasion there were, nor does it distinctly

[1] Commentary on the Books of Kings, transl. by Murphy, vol. i. pp. 336, 337.
[2] Vol. ii. pp. 32, 33.

declare how Jehoiakim died. But it is to be remarked that the prophecy speaks nothing of the manner of his death. It simply declares that he shall be unlamented, and that his body shall have no funeral. It is acknowledged that the words "slept with his fathers" imply usually a natural death; and Jehoiakim might die a natural death without violence to the prophecy. The words do not, as some have maintained, imply also a funeral in the sepulchres of the kings; for we find them used to note the death of some, who died without violence, it is true, so far as we know, but who yet were buried where none of their predecessors had been (2 Kings viii. 24. compared with 2 Chron. xxi. 20.; 2 Kings xxi. 18.). It must be added that we should fall into grievous error if we concluded that because certain events are not related they therefore did not happen.[1]

65. 2 Kings xxiv. 8. with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

The latter text is erroneous. The effacing of a י would make the difference.

66. 2 Kings xxiv. 14. with Jer. lii. 28.

The difference in numbers may be accounted for on the same principle that has repeatedly been noticed. By a transcriber's error י and ג have been confounded. 10,023 was probably the exact sum, expressed in round numbers in Kings.

67. 1 Chron. v. 26. with 2 Kings xvii. 6.

Some writers have imagined an error in Chronicles, Tiglath-pilneser and Shalmaneser being confounded. But such a supposition is unnecessary. Two different events are referred to. The deportation of the trans-Jordanic tribes, who lay more exposed, was prior to the final disruption of the Israelitish monarchy (comp. 2 Kings xv. 19, 29.).

68. 1 Chron. vi. 70. with Josh. xxi. 25.

Dissimilar as *Aner* and *Taanach* are in English, it is easy to conceive that a Hebrew copyist might have mistaken one for the other: את־תענך in Joshua has thus passed into את־ענר in Chronicles. *Gath-rimmon* in the earlier book is an error, arising from the occurrence of the same word in the preceding verse. *Bileam*, the same as *Ibleam* (see Josh. xvii. 11.) is the town meant.

69. 2 Chron. iv. 3—5. with 1 Kings vii. 24—26.

Either בְּקָרִים, "oxen," in the former place, should be פְּקָעִים, "knops"; or, as has been very ingeniously conjectured, the knops were cast "in the similitude of oxen."

With regard to the difference of the quantity of water contained in the sea, various solutions have been proposed. Most of these are far-fetched; and it is more simple and satisfactory to suppose that ב and ג were interchanged. The number in Kings is probably the right one.

70. 2 Chron. xxii. 2. with 2 Kings viii. 26.

The age forty-two in Chronicles is evidently a mistake, it arose from the confounding of כ and מ.

71. 2 Chron. xxii. 8. with 2 Kings x. 13.

The sons of Jehoram had been slain (except Ahaziah only) by the

[1] Comp. Keil, Comm. on the Books of Kings, on 2 Kings xxiv. vol. ii. pp. 161—167. See also Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. ii. pp. 103, 104., who supposes that Jehoiakim fell ignobly in battle with the Chaldeans.

Arabians (2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17., xxii. 1.). The term "brethren" is, therefore, used in a more extended sense. The Chronicle-writer marks accurately that those who perished by Jehu's order were "sons of the brethren of Ahaziah," *i. e.* children (many of them) of those who were slaughtered by the Arabians.

72. 2 Chron. xxii. 9. with 2 Kings ix. 27.

It must be acknowledged that these passages present a difficulty. If, for want of more precise information and some connecting links in the narrative, we are not able altogether to remove it, the following suggestions will not be without their value. After the slaughter of Jehoram, the Israelitish king, Ahaziah, fled. Orders were, however, given by Jehu to pursue him. At first, going "by the way of the garden-house," he eluded his pursuers, and sought concealment in Samaria, not necessarily the city of that name, for the word is frequently used to denote the district (see 2 Kings xxiii. 18.; Ezra iv. 10; Amos iii. 9.). Hunted out from his hiding-place, he met or was brought to Jehu, who ordered him to be on the instant smitten in the chariot. This was at "the going up to Gur," whence he was conveyed in a dying state to Megiddo, where he expired.[1] Browne places the search for Ahaziah after the slaughter of the princes of Judah, and believes that the accounts may be made exactly to harmonize: "The only variance is that the one account says only in general that Ahaziah escaped, wounded, to Megiddo and died there (in that part of the country); the other says nothing about the wound, and gives the particulars of that which the former had stated briefly in two words, וַיָּמָת שָׁם."[2]

73. 2 Chron. xxviii. 20, 21. with 2 Kings xvi. 7—9.

It is futile to allege any contradiction here. Ahaz, pressed by Rezin, allured the king of Assyria to help him by treasures from the temple. The king of Assyria accordingly slew Rezin, and made himself master of Damascus; but he did not assist Ahaz against his other foes, the Edomites and Philistines, and left him in an exhausted state. The case has been illustrated by a passage in our own annals. The Britons invited the Saxons to help them against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons accordingly came and assisted them for a time, but at length they made themselves masters of the country. וְלֹא חֲזָקוֹ, 2 Chron. xxviii. 20., is rightly rendered "but strengthened him not."

74. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10. with 2 Kings xxiv. 17.

In the former passage the term "brother" is used, as elsewhere, in a more extended sense. It is a glaring error to allege 1 Chron. iii. 16. as a proof that Zedekiah was Jehoiakim's son. In the preceding verse it is distinctly asserted that he was the son of Josiah; so that the Zedekiah of v. 16. was either another of the name, or mentioned here as being Jehoiachin's (or Jechoniah's) successor.

75. Ezra ii. with Neh. vii. 6—73.

The discrepancies between these two chapters are sufficiently puzzling. But they are only in the detailed numbers: the sum total of the people is in each case the same. There is also some difference in the amount of the gifts bestowed. The attempts which have been made to harmonize

[1] See Keil, Comm. on the Books of Kings (transl. by Murphy), vol. i. p. 417.
[2] Ordo Sæclorum, part i. chap. iv. p. 237., note 3.

the passages do not seem very successful. Prideaux imagined that Nehemiah having taken the original register corrected it according to the state of the families in his time, "adding such as afterwards came up, and expunging others whose families were extinguished. And this hath caused the difference that is between the accounts we have of these genealogies in Ezra and Nehemiah. For in the second chapter of Ezra we have the old register made by Zerubbabel, and in the seventh of Nehemiah, from the sixth verse to the end of the chapter, a copy of it as settled by Nehemiah, with the alterations I have mentioned."[1] This, however, is not satisfactory. It will not account for the sum total as given by each writer being the same. Alting's solution is as follows: "Reckoning up the smaller numbers, we shall find that they amount to 31,089 in Nehemiah, and 29,818 in Ezra. Nehemiah also mentions 1765 persons not noticed by Ezra; and Ezra 494 omitted by Nehemiah. If, therefore, Ezra's surplus be added to the sum in Nehemiah, and Nehemiah's surplus to the number in Ezra, they will both become 31,583. Subtracting this from 42,360, there will be a deficiency of 10,777. These are omitted because they did not belong to Judah and Benjamin, or to the priests, but to the other tribes." This is pronounced satisfactory by Dr. Davidson[2]; but he has since changed his opinion. In fact, such a solution must be called only ingenious trifling. There can be little doubt that the numbers ought to agree; the same document being transcribed by the two sacred writers. And the text of one or both requires revision and correction. Kennicott's and De Rossi's collations show various readings in the numbers; and the Septuagint version repeatedly varies from the received Hebrew text. Critical labour carefully bestowed would probably diminish the difficulties now apparent, and open the way to a true solution.

76. Jer. xxv. 1., with lii. 12, 28, 29, 30., Dan. i. 1., and 2 Kings xxv. 8.

If an event or series of events, a war, an invasion, a siege, should occur near the close of a specific year of a king's reign, they would probably run on into the next year, and therefore such invasion or siege might by different historians, according as the commencement or conclusion was taken as the point of computation, be ascribed to an earlier or later year of the king. This fact, which is illustrated by our own custom of denominating an act of parliament "of the 7 & 8 of Victoria," is sufficient to account for the apparent differences in most of the passages referred to. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that Nebuchadnezzar had been associated in the sovereignty with his father. The date of his reign is hence reckoned sometimes from the beginning of his joint authority, sometimes (Dan. ii. 2.) from that of his sole government. This last mode of counting would naturally be used by an author living in Babylon.[3]

§ 2. *Alleged contradictions in the New Testament.*

1. Matt. i. 1—17. with Luke iii. 23—38.

The variation between these two pedigrees has been already noticed[4]; but some further observations are desirable.

It would, however, be impossible fully to discuss here the perplexed question of the different genealogies. It must suffice to refer the reader to

[1] Book vi. 1. (edit. 1858.) vol. i. p. 322. [2] Sacr. Hermeneutics, chap. xii. p. 554.
[3] The whole subject is discussed by Browne, Ordo Sæclorum, part i. chap. iii. sect. 1. pp. 165. &c.
[4] See before, pp. 435—437.

books where the matter is debated at large, and to give a somewhat more detailed account of those solutions which have been offered by one or two of the latest writers.

The arguments of Dr. Barrett are ably exhibited and condensed by Dr. Davidson, who thus sums up the whole: "Both (Matthew and Luke) reckon the natural line together from Abraham to David; after which Matthew gives the ancestors of Joseph, our Lord's reputed father, through Solomon, one of David's sons; whilst Luke gives the ancestors of Mary, our Lord's mother, through Nathan, another of David's sons. In this way the descent of Jesus Christ from David, from whom, according to promise, he was to spring, is fully established. These two lines afterwards coalesced in Salathiel, son of Jechoniah. But after Zorobabel the two lines again diverged; Matthew reckoning the descent of Joseph from Abiud; Luke that of Mary from Rhesa. The two lines then coalesced in Joseph and Mary."[1]

In Dr. Fairbairn's lately published volume, the Hermeneutical Manual, or Introduction to the Exegetical Study of the Scriptures of the New Testament, another principle is adopted. The author fully maintains that our Lord had a Davidic origin, and shows that, independently of any recorded genealogy, it is made plain in the New Testament that he was of the seed of David according to the flesh (Acts ii. 30., xiii. 23.; Rom. i. 3.; 2 Tim. ii. 8. &c. &c.), and that the evidence was so indisputable that we never find the Jews in our Lord's life-time or in the age of the apostles attacking Christianity by a denial of this fact. He then inquires whether, according to Jewish principles, it did not sufficiently satisfy the requirement of Christ's being a son of David for him to be born of one who by her marriage with Joseph, David's descendant, had thus obtained a right to be counted of the royal line. He urges that the "silence regarding Mary in the genealogical tables, and the stress that is laid in the gospels upon Joseph's connection with the house of David, certainly seems strange. It appears to imply that the Davidic descent of Joseph somehow carried that of Christ along with it; for the genealogies are produced as evidence of that very point." This is by no means a new idea; for Augustine, after observing that Joseph was rightly called the father of Jesus, because he was the husband of our Lord's real mother, proceeds: "Ac per hoc, etiam si demonstrare aliquis posset, Mariam ex David nullam consanguinitatis originem ducere, sat erat secundum istam rationem accipere Christum filium David, qua ratione etiam Joseph pater ejus recte appellatus est."[2] And in a late disquisition by Delitzsch[3] this view is insisted on, that, "according to the law and the established convictions of Israel, all depended upon Joseph's descent from David, not upon Mary's; and by virtue simply of his relation to Joseph Jesus was born in the house of David, was therefore the child of a Davidic person, and so was justly held to have sprung out of the house of David." Stress has been laid upon the fact that Mary is called the cousin of Elizabeth, who was "of the daughters of Aaron" (Luke i. 5, 36.); and it has been argued that Mary must hence have been of the tribe of Levi. Dr. Fairbairn does not, however, accede to this opinion. Intermarriages might take place betwixt individuals of different tribes (Exod. vi. 23.); and there is no reason why Elizabeth, the daughter of a priest, should not be cousin to a maiden of the tribe of Judah. The probabilities are very strong that Mary equally with Joseph belonged to the house of David. Still Dr. Fairbairn believes that neither

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[1] Sacr. Hermeneutics, chap. xii. pp. 589—605.
[2] August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. De Consens. Evang. lib. ii. 4. tom. iii. pars ii. col. 28.
[3] In Rudelbach's Zeitschrift, 1850, pp. 581. &c.

in Matthew nor in Luke is Mary's genealogy given, and shows that it was customary in early times to regard both as exhibiting Joseph's ancestry. Then, however, the question arises, why do they differ? Augustine will supply an answer: "... facile est, ut advertant duos patres habere potuisse Joseph, unum a quo genitus, alterum a quo fuerit adoptatus."[1] It seems hard to suppose, after the denunciations against Jehoiachin and Jehoiakim (Jer. xxii. 30., xxxvi. 30.), that these men were the parents of a seed out of which was at last to spring the ultimate possessor of David's throne. And therefore it is likely that "in the one (pedigree) we may have the succession in the strictly-royal line, the legal heirs to the throne of David (Matthew's), and in the other (Luke's) the succession of our Lord's real parentage up to David." This would account for the two names, Salathiel and Zorobabel, appearing in each genealogy. They were brought in from Nathan's line as heirs to the throne after Solomon's was defunct. And then, Dr. Fairbairn proceeds, "it only requires one or two very natural suppositions to bring the closing parts of the tables into correspondence; for, on the supposition that the Matthan of St. Matthew is the same with the Matthat of St. Luke (of which there can be little doubt), then Jacob the son of Matthan, in Matthew, and Heli the son of Matthat, in Luke, must in fact have been brothers, sons of the same father. And, if Jacob had no sons, but only daughters, and Joseph, Heli's son, married one of these — perfectly natural suppositions — then he became (on the principle of Matthew's table) also Jacob's son, and the lineal heir of the throne, as Jacob had been. It only requires that we make the further supposition — no-ways extraordinary or unreasonable — of that daughter being the virgin Mary, in order to meet all the demands of the case; for thereby the principle of each table would be preserved; and, Mary and Joseph being in that case first cousins, and cousins in that line which had the right of succession to the throne, the birth of our Lord was in every respect complete, whether viewed in respect to consanguinity or to relationship to the throne. .... It was the constant aim of the Jews to make inheritance and blood-relationships, as far as possible, go together. And it could not seem otherwise than natural and proper, that the daughter of the nearest heir to the throne of David should be espoused to the next heir. Nor is it undeserving of notice, as at least negatively favouring the supposition respecting Mary, that, while we read of a sister, we never hear of a brother belonging to her; excepting Joseph, female relatives alone are mentioned. So that, in the supposed circumstances of the case, there is nothing that even appears to conflict with the facts of gospel history: everything seems rather to be in natural and fitting agreement with them."[2]

Another very ingenious, though less satisfactory hypothesis may be found in Mr. Gough's volume, The New Testament Quotations collated with the Scriptures of the Old Testament. It is adopted from a tract (privately circulated), the leading ideas of which, it is stated, may be found in Analyse de Dissertations sur differens Sujets: Bruxelles, 1759, 12mo The pedigree in St. Matthew is taken to be that of Mary. Now, though each of the three divisions which the evangelist makes is said to comprise fourteen generations, yet it is clear, if they are counted, that one is deficient. Modes have been proposed of supplying this deficiency by adopting from some MSS. an additional name, or by reckoning some one person twice over at the close of one division and the head of another. But these are rejected as unsatisfactory. The original of St. Matthew's

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[1] Augustine, ubi supra, 5. Augustine, Retract. lib. ii. 16., would correct the last words into *alterum cui fuerit adoptatus*.

[2] Herm. Man. part ii. sect. i. pp. 181—199.

gospel was, it is most probable, in Hebrew. And in that language "there is frequently an ellipsis of such words as *husband*, *son*, and *brother*; and, moreover, numerous examples of the Hebrew idiom occur in the Greek text of the New Testament. . . . Now it may be supposed that, in the original Hebrew of St. Matthew, there was an ellipsis of the word *father*; which ellipsis, being also in the Greek, some early copyist supplied by the word *husband* (τὸν ἄνδρα), an error into which he might be led by the recurrence of the name Joseph a few verses after. We suppose, then, that Mary was the daughter of the Joseph mentioned in verse 16., and that she was espoused to another Joseph—that name being a very common one—who is first mentioned in verse 18., where the narrative really begins." If this supposition be admitted, the propriety of Matthew's superscription, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ," will be more apparent; and the number of fourteen generations will be included in the third series. A strong objection, however, is acknowledged in the fact that it pre-supposes the mistake of husband for father to have occurred at a very early period, and that there is no record of any question on the matter, or various reading in the passage. But it is replied that the Jewish converts were chiefly interested in it, and that they had by the hypothesis the right understanding in their Hebrew copies. It is added that, in some remains of the old Italic version, some variations (though not the proposed one) do present themselves in the reading of the passage in question. Further, "the hypothesis before us may, it is conceived, be sustained in all its points, even without the verbal change proposed. It is believed that the word ἀνὴρ does not, in a Jewish genealogy, of necessity mean *husband*, but the *man* standing towards a woman in the relation of head. In the case of a married woman, this would be her *husband*; but, in that of a virgin, her *father* would be regarded as her link of union to her tribe. If this be so, the result is precisely equivalent to that of the verbal change before suggested."[1]

Amid the difficulties which this subject presents, it must not be forgotten that the pedigrees were transcribed from registers carefully preserved in the public archives. To them any objectors might be referred; and thence satisfaction might be obtained. Accordingly, we do not find that the Jews ventured to question our Lord's descent. Controversy on the matter sprung up afterwards.

It may be remarked that in Luke iii. 36. the name Cainan is introduced, of which the Old Testament knows nothing. It is found in most copies of the Septuagint version; and from that, doubtless by the error of some transcriber, it has been transferred hither.[2]

2. Matt. ii. with Luke ii. 22—39.

A contradiction is supposed here; because Matthew does not record the presentation in the temple, and Luke passes over the visit of the wise men, and the flight into Egypt, and seems to imply that immediately after the presentation the holy family returned to Nazareth. And then it has been urged that each evangelist followed a separate tradition, and was ignorant of those circumstances which he does not mention. No error can be greater than that which imputes omission to ignorance. The sacred writers had abundance of materials; and it was one part of the operation of the Holy Spirit specially to guide them with unerring judgment to select those events which were most fitted for their purpose, most "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." St. John

[1] New Test. Quotations, note 203. pp. 311—314.
[2] See Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Genealogy.

expressly says that out of a large mass certain miracles and deeds of Jesus were alone recorded (John xx. 30, 31., xxi. 25).[1] That St. Luke was accustomed to lay facts together without intending thereby that one occurred in immediate sequence to the other is plain from a very cursory examination of his writings. And it might as well be argued from Luke xxiv. 36—51. that he believed the ascension to have occurred directly after the resurrection, as that from ii. 39. he supposed that nothing occurred between the presentation and the return to and dwelling at Nazareth. Mary and Joseph having gone to Bethlehem must, under the circumstances of the case, have continued there some time. It is likely that on the birth of Christ they might believe the city of David to be the most proper place of residence for him. It is certain that Joseph, a mechanic, who lived by his labour, must have looked out for employment while he stayed at Bethlehem, and it is possible that he might find enough to induce him to settle there. From Bethlehem, but about six miles from Jerusalem, it would be easy in a day to go up to the temple and to return. That this was prior to the visit of the Eastern sages is most probable, because the offering was that of poor people; not such as would have been made by those who had lately received costly presents. And, though Simeon and Anna drew attention to the holy child, yet Herod, we may be sure, and the great men of his court, would be the last to hear of such circumstances. The inquiry, the direction to Bethlehem, the rage of Herod when he found himself mocked, the flight into Egypt, will all then fall naturally into their places.[2]

3. Matt. iv. 1—11. with Luke iv. 1—13.

The temptations are narrated in a different order; but there is no contradiction. "Luke follows the order of place; Matthew that of time. Luke brings together the two temptations in the wilderness."[3]

4. Matt. viii. 5—13. with Luke vii. 1—10.

Luke's narrative is more circumstantial than that of Matthew. The former represents two messages as being sent by the centurion; while Matthew describes him as going in person. In all histories persons are said themselves to do what they do through the instrumentality of others (comp. John iv. 1, 2). Besides, it may be probably supposed that the centurion, having, as he thought, prepared the way by the recommendation of the Jews, himself accompanied the last deputation.

5. Matt. xii. 40. with xvi. 21. and Mark viii. 31.

There is no real contradiction. We must consider the Jewish mode of computation. In the Jerusalem Talmud, cited by dean Alford from Lightfoot, it is said that "a day and night together make up a עוֹנָה (a νυχθήμερον), and that any part of such a period is counted as the whole."[4] Examples illustrating this kind of reckoning may be found, Gen. xl. 13, 20.; 1 Sam. xxx. 12, 13.; 2 Chron. x. 5, 12. Also in the application of the chief priests to Pilate, Matt. xxvii. 63, 64., though they cite our Lord as having said that after three days he would rise again, they merely wish the sepulchre to be made sure "until the third day."[5]

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[1] See some valuable remarks on this subject by Dr. Goulburn, The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, chap. v. pp. 70—73.

[2] See Kitto, Daily Bible Illustrations, Sec. Series, thirtieth week, sixth day.

[3] Davidson, Sacr. Hermeneutics, chap. xii. p. 557.

[4] The Greek Testament, note on Matt. xii. 40.

[5] For a fuller explanation, see Dr. Davidson, Sacr. Hermeneutics, chap. xii. pp. 569—571. Comp. before, p. 443.

6. Matt. xvii. 1. with Mark ix. 2. and Luke ix. 28.

Matthew and Mark reckon the time *exclusively*, Luke *inclusively*. Besides the latter introduces a word of qualification, ὡσεὶ ἡμέραι ὀκτώ, "about an eight days."

7. Matt. xx. 29—34. with Mark x. 46—52. and Luke xviii. 35—43.

There appears some discrepancy in these narratives. For, while Matthew speaks of two blind men, Mark and Luke mention but one, whom the former names Bartimeus. Matthew and Mark, again, describe the miracle as wrought on departing from Jericho, Luke while Christ was approaching towards that town.

Various modes of solution have been proposed. Dr. Davidson censures Michaelis for pronouncing this a real contradiction, and for concluding that Luke was in error: "It is utterly at variance with the inspiration of Luke to suppose his testimony incorrect. It may not be incompatible with the loose theology of Michaelis to throw aside on some occasions the inspiration of the New Testament writers, when their statements are not understood or relished; but he who reverences the oracles of the living God will pause ere he have recourse to such unhallowed assertions. In order to reconcile these varying accounts, it is needful to remember that some of the evangelists give a more brief and condensed account of the very same event which others narrate more fully. On this occasion two blind men received their sight. This is expressly affirmed by Matthew. Only one is noticed by Mark and Luke. Matthew also relates that they were healed by Jesus on his departure from Jericho. The one mentioned by Mark was cured by Christ as he left Jericho. His name was Bartimeus. Taking the account of Matthew in connection with Mark's, we believe that there were in reality two blind men, both restored to sight by Christ as he passed from Jericho to Jerusalem. Let us now attend to what Luke says, '*As Jesus drew nigh to Jericho*, a certain blind man sat by the way-side begging.' There is no ground for supposing that this blind man was the same as Bartimeus mentioned by Mark. He is not so called. It is not said that he was Bartimeus. We believe that he was a different person. The reason of this opinion is that Bartimeus is said to have been healed by Christ as he left Jericho; whereas the blind beggar noticed in Luke's gospel received his sight from our Saviour drawing nigh to the city. Thus there is no contradiction between the narratives of the three evangelists. Matthew relates that Christ performed the remarkable miracle of giving sight to two blind men who sat begging by the way-side as he departed from Jericho; and we believe him. Mark notices but one of these, whose name he gives; but he does not say that Christ on that occasion healed no more than one. His account, therefore, is not contradictory to Matthew's, though it is not so full. Luke, again, informs us that the Saviour, before entering Jericho, healed a poor blind man who cried unto him. This last individual was wholly different from either of those mentioned by Matthew. Taking, therefore, the narratives of the three evangelists together, we perceive from them that three blind men received their sight from Christ during his visit to Jericho; one before he entered it, and two others as he left it."[1] This is a reasonable solution: blindness is not, especially in the East, a rare calamity; and the Saviour was no niggard of his gifts. There is nothing, therefore, improbable in three blind men receiving sight from him while at Jericho. Dr. Davidson has, however, it is fair to say, since abandoned this hypothesis. According

[1] Sacr. Hermeneutics, chap. xii. pp. 558, 559. Comp. Birks, Horæ Evang. 1852, book i. chap. vi. pp. 133, 134.

to some other writers, Greswell, Ebrard, &c., our Lord healed one blind man (as in Luke) on entering Jericho, and another (Bartimeus, as in Mark) on leaving it; and Matthew has, "with his characteristic brevity in relating miracles," combined both these in one.[1] Archbishop Newcome imagines that Christ spent some days at Jericho, in the course of which he naturally on occasion left the city and returned to it. This has been stigmatized as mere conjecture. Granting that it is so, it is no forced conjecture; and it is more becoming to adopt it than to represent the evangelists as contradicting each other. Statements which have seemed more decidedly at variance have been proved, by the recovery of a few connecting links, to be in exactest accordance.

Mr. Constable observes that the leading subject of all this part of Luke's narrative is our Lord's last journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, where he was about to suffer. The beginning of it is mentioned ix. 51.: "Here is its end strong upon the mind of Christ: it is as stedfastly kept in view by St. Luke. Very many places are visited; but they never for a moment hide from the narrator's view the city which was set upon a hill. From each intervening place, he ever points us onwards, onwards, till he places the great Victim in the temple of Zion, and on the cross of Calvary." The journey was a long one; and, when, towards its close, Jerusalem was not far off, the evangelist repeatedly uses the expression "he was nigh," or "he drew near" (xix. 11, 29, 37, 41.). In all these cases it was Jerusalem that he was approaching, that he was near. And so, if in xviii. 35. we interpret in the same way, and translate "when he was come nigh (Jerusalem), at Jericho," the discrepancy is in a great measure removed. There can be no difficulty in giving εἰς the signification of "at" or "near;" since instances are common of such a meaning (Matt. ii. 23.; Mark i. 9.; John iv. 5. compared with vv. 6, 8., xxi. 4.). It is true that, Luke xix. 1., after the healing of the blind, Jesus is said to have entered and passed through Jericho; but Mr. Constable supposes that, as the two narratives of the blind man and of Zaccheus are in a degree intermingled in point of time, Zaccheus having first tried to see Christ before he reached the city, and then having ran on, perhaps to a point beyond where the blind man was, the evangelist finished the story of the one, and then turned back, as it were, to relate the other.[2] These suggestions are certainly ingenious, if not quite convincing.

8. Matt. xxi. 38. with Acts iii. 17., xiii. 27. and 1 Cor. ii. 8.

It is futile to allege any discrepancy between the first and the other passages. The first occurs in a parable; and all the circumstances of a parable must not be pressed to a literal interpretation.

9. Matt. xxvi. 1—13. with Mark xiv. 1—9. and John xii. 1—8.

Several discrepancies have been supposed to exist in these accounts.

It is said that the time varies; Matthew and Mark placing the circumstance two days, John six days, before the passover. But the evangelists are not to be taken (as indeed no historians can be) as always relating occurrences according to their precise chronological sequence. The dean of Canterbury remarks on Matt. xxvi. 6—13., "This history of the anointing of our Lord is here inserted *out of its place*," and suggests as a reason for such a position its connection with Judas's application to the sanhedrim. He concludes: "It certainly cannot be said of Matthew (De Wette, Neander, Stier) that he relates the anointing as *taking place two days before the*

[1] See dean Alford, The Greek Test., note on Matt. xx. 29—34.

[2] Essays, Critical and Theological, 1859, essay iv. pp. 128—144.

passover: of Mark it *may* be said." It is true that the phraseology of Mark somewhat differs; but it ought not to be said that he *fixes* the anointing to a time but two days before the passover. He does so fix the consultation of the chief priests and scribes; and then narrates what happened at Bethany, where Judas first openly displayed that covetous temper of which the priests took advantage, and received his Master's rebuke. It was not at all unnatural that the evangelist, having mentioned the consultation, should go back to speak of the origin of that treachery which rendered it successful. Another solution resorted to is that St. John places together all that he intends to say about events at Bethany, and that therefore he anticipates the day of the supper.[1] Perhaps, however, this hypothesis is less satisfactory than that before-mentioned.

Then, again, Matthew and Mark describe the supper as in the house of Simon the leper; which fact does not appear in the gospel of John. But there is no contradiction. It is only by inference that Martha and Mary are supposed to be at home. And there is nothing improbable in the hypothesis that Simon was an intimate friend, a relative, the husband, perhaps, of Martha. Or, as Dr. Kitto ingeniously conjectures, he might be absent from his house on account of his leprosy; and it might thus be at the service of his friends.[2] This would account for no mention being made of Simon beyond the fact that the anointing was in his house.

Further, Matthew and Mark say that Christ's head was anointed, John his feet. But there is no contradiction. *Both* head and feet were anointed. We must not say that one evangelist was ignorant of what another records. Both Matthew and John were present, and (as before observed) had perfect knowledge of many things which they have not narrated.

The same remark may be made upon the fact that Matthew and Mark mention the disapproval generally of the disciples; John merely notes the objection which Judas made. Doubtless both narratives are literally true. Several of the disciples were displeased; but Judas alone gave expression to his discontent, and was specially touched by our Lord's rebuke. Here was the first overt act in his treason; and, when the success of that treason was to be detailed, or the conspiracy of the chief priests touched on, it was natural for a historian to speak of what occurred at the supper in immediate connection therewith.

10. Matt. xxvi. 17—20. with Mark xiv. 12—17. Luke xxii. 7—16. and John xiii. 1—4.

There is undoubtedly considerable difficulty in reconciling the accounts given by the different evangelists; and yet there are minute coincidences which indicate that, if we had a thorough knowledge of all the circumstances, the narratives would be found exactly to agree.

The difficulties, as stated by dean Alford, Dr. Davidson, and others, are these. The passover was the 14th day of Nisan. Hence it would seem, according to the first three evangelists, that Thursday, on which evening our Lord ate the passover with his disciples, must have been the 14th of Nisan. But St. John gives a different account. He begins (xiii. 1.) with saying that it was "before the feast of the passover." Also (xviii. 28.) he describes the Jews on Friday as having not yet eaten the passover; for they would not go into the judgment-hall "lest they should be defiled, but that

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[1] See Robinson, Harmony of the Four Gospels, part vii. § 131. Prof. Blunt seems to regard John xii. 2—11. as parenthetical, and considers that a remarkable coincidence may be discovered in the accounts of the three evangelists Undesigned Coincidences (edit. 1856.), part iv. 29. pp. 307—311.

[2] Daily Bible Illustrations, Sec. Series, thirty-ninth week, second day.

they might eat the passover." Then, again (xix. 14.), he speaks of the day of the crucifixion as "the preparation of the passover." Here, however, John coincides with the other evangelists. For they all, though they seem to represent Christ as having eaten the passover the night before, yet call the day of the crucifixion "the preparation" (Matt. xxvii. 62.; Mark xv. 42.; Luke xxiii. 54.). Further, St. John (xiii. 29.) appears to speak of the feast as yet future. And, in fine, as he represents the succeeding sabbath as "an high day"(xix. 31.), *i. e.* the first day of the feast, which was (see Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.) the 15th of Nisan, it would follow that Thursday was the 13th of Nisan; so that our Lord kept the passover on the 13th of the month, instead of on the legal day.

Some of the difficulties are readily removed; that, for instance, which arises from the disciples supposing that Christ told Judas to buy things needful for the feast. The *feast*, as we have seen, began the day after the passover. But in other respects it is harder to reconcile the several narratives. Various solutions have been offered; that our Lord ate an anticipatory passover; that he ate it at a time observed by some of the Jews, but not by all; that he did not eat the passover, but an ordinary meal; that St. John's expressions may be reconciled with the idea that the supper eaten was really the paschal supper, &c. Dr. Alford offers some suggestions, which he thinks ought to enter into the consideration of the question. (α) "That on the evening of the 13th (*i. e.* the beginning of the 14th) of Nisan, the Lord *ate a meal with his disciples*. . . . (β) That, *in some sense or other*, this meal *was regarded as the eating of the passover*. . . . (γ) That it was *not the ordinary passover of the Jews;* for (Exod. xii. 22.), when that was eaten, none might go out of the house until morning; whereas not only did Judas go out during the meal (John xiii. 29.), but our Lord and the disciples went out when the meal was finished. Also, when Judas went out, it was understood that he was gone to *buy;* which could not have been the case had it been the night of eating the passover, which in all years was sabbatically hallowed. (δ) John, who omits all mention of the paschal nature of this meal, also omits all mention of the distribution of the symbolic bread and wine. The latter act was anticipatory: the body was not yet broken, nor the blood shed. Is it possible that the words in Luke xxii. 15, 16. may have been meant by our Lord as an express declaration of the anticipatory nature of that passover-meal likewise? May they mean, 'I have been most anxious to eat this paschal meal with you to-night (before I suffer), for I shall not eat it to-morrow, I shall not eat of it any more with you?'"[1] Dr. Alford's arguments fail to prove that "it was not the ordinary passover of the Jews" which our Lord ate; since we cannot be certain that the directions, given (Exod. xii. 22.) for the original passover, were to be observed at every commemoration. Indeed, so far as we can conclude by reasonable inference, the originally-prescribed posture was not always subsequently continued.[2] It must be remembered that the evening of the 13th was the beginning of the 14th of Nisan. The Jewish day was from evening to evening. If Thursday was the 13th of Nisan, Thursday evening was the evening of Nisan 14. Half an hour before sunset John could properly say "before the feast of the passover" (John xiii. 1.); when the sun was gone down it was another day (the day being reckoned as twenty-four hours), it

[1] The Greek Testament, note on Matt. xxvi 17—19.

[2] A writer in the Journal of Sacred Literature, Oct. 1854, while strongly maintaining that the supper of which our Lord partook was not a paschal feast, is disposed to think that the ceremonies with which the first passover was celebrated were ever afterwards exactly observed. Scripture is silent on this. The analogy of the eucharist is against it. And modern Jews do not continue the original forms.

was the 14th of Nisan which lasted till sunset on Friday. At the legal time[1], therefore, our Lord ate the passover. There is still, however, a difficulty in regard to the Jews; and the expression used (John xviii. 28.) would seem to show that they had not yet eaten the passover. But may not φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα have a wider sense, and intend generally passover-observances? It is urged, indeed, that wherever the same phrase occurs in the New Testament it necessarily means eating *the* paschal supper. But this is not conclusive: the phrase occurs Matt. xxvi. 17.; Mark xiv. 12, 14.; Luke xxii. 8, 11, 15., and nowhere else; and in all these cases it is applied exclusively to the meal which our Lord ate on the Thursday evening; if, then, in this case it was not, as dean Alford believes, the ordinary paschal supper, neither can that meaning be maintained in the other (John xviii. 28.). But not to insist on this, the instances in which the phrase is used are too few to enable us to say with certainty that it must have always the restricted meaning.

Perhaps, however, after all, the true solution is that offered by Dr. Fairbairn.[2] He supposes that the Jews—understanding by the word that comparatively-small faction who took an active part in the seizure and trial of Christ—would have eaten the passover on Thursday night, had not the communication made to them by Judas hurried their proceedings. They had before (Matt. xxvi. 5.) resolved to defer our Lord's apprehension till the feast was over. But suddenly an opportunity presents itself. Judas goes to the elders, and promises to lead them that very night to a retired place where they would find their victim. Their resolve must be immediate: if they let slip this favourable occasion, they might never have such another. And the whole business they thought might be despatched in a few hours. They would delay their paschal supper till it was over. And, even though the time wore on, and morning dawned, still they did not relinquish their intention of eating the passover, and would keep themselves undefiled for it. The precise legal time, indeed, was passed; but that was of less importance, since they would have secured the destruction of Jesus. If this explanation—and it seems a reasonable one—be admitted, there is perfect harmony between the evangelists. Still, in this case, we should have to give up the view generally entertained, that our Lord suffered just at the time when the passover was legally sacrificed.[3]

If it be objected that in this (or any other case) the proposed solution is but hypothetical, the objector may be referred to the excellent remarks of Dr. Chalmers on the value of conjectures for defence. "A conjecture, then, a mere conjecture, at once unproved and unrefuted, and alike unsusceptible of both, may be of most effective influence in the business of argumentation. It may be of no force in the upholding of any position, and yet be all-powerful in neutralizing the objection to it of adversaries. . . . Conjectures, even mere conjectures, if only beyond the reach of positive refutation, are of use in theology. When their object is demonstrative, they may well be regarded as idle speculations. But, when their object is defensive, they are worthy of being retained, though for no other service than to neutralize the idle speculations of infidelity. This is their proper function; and to

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[1] This, however, is only on the supposition that the passover was to be eaten at the beginning of the 14th (which is the opinion of Rauch and others) not at the end, more generally thought to be the prescribed time.

[2] Hermeneutical Manual, part ii. sect. ix., a careful perusal of which is recommended to the student.

[3] There are some valuable remarks in Browne's discussion of the time of the crucifixion. Ordo Sæclorum, part i. chap. i. sect. ii. pp. 53, &c. See also Robinson, Harmony, part viii. §§ 133—158.; and Davidson, Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 102—109.

the thorough discharge of it they are altogether adequate."[1] So that it is no unsatisfactory service, even if we cannot prove how apparent contradictions *must* be reconciled, to point out a mode in which they *may* be reconciled. This is sufficient to rescue the sacred writers from the charge of error.

11. Matt. xxvi. 21—25. with Mark xiv. 18—21. and Luke xxii. 21—23.

Matthew and Mark intimate that Christ pointed out the traitor while eating the passover; Luke would seem to show that it was not till after the institution of the eucharist. But there is no contradiction. Luke puts together all he had to say of the passover and the eucharist before touching on the betrayal.

12. Matt. xxvi. 69—75. with Mark xiv. 66—72. Luke xxii. 54—62. and John xviii. 15—27.

Dr. Alford has constructed a convenient synoptical table, to exhibit at once the different incidents as recorded of the three denials by the four evangelists.[2] He adds some important remarks: "Generally, supposing the four accounts to be *entirely independent of one another*, we are *not bound to require accordance;* nor would there, in all probability, be any such accordance *in the recognitions of Peter by different persons.* These may have been *many* on *each occasion* of denial; and independent narrators may have fixed on different ones among them. No reader, who is not slavishly bound to the inspiration of the *letter*, *will require that the actual words spoken by Peter should in each case be identically reported.* . . ." (It might be added that Peter's words were spoken in a different language from that in which they are reported, and that it is very possible for two translations to be made of the same sentence both exactly literal, and yet in different words). "I do not see that we are obliged to limit the narrative to *three sentences* from Peter's mouth, each expressing a denial, *and no more.* On *three occasions* during the night *he was recognized,* on *three occasions he was a denier* of his Lord: such a statement may well embrace *reiterated expressions of recognition*, and *reiterated* and *importunate denials* on *each* occasion." There is no difficulty in respect to the first denial; the four accounts sufficiently harmonize: it was one person, the porteress, who taxed him. As to the second, Peter had retreated from the fire, as if he was altogether going away; and this perhaps attracted more general attention. Several persons thereupon charged him; the porteress again, another maid, a male servant, according to the first three evangelists. This is most natural: when a group of persons are assembled, conversation is not carried on by two interlocutors; several generally speak at once; and this is brought out by St. John, who uses the plural, εἶπον, "they said." Then, the third time, they that stood by recognized Peter as a Galilean; his provincial accent betrayed him; and a kinsman of Malchus, induced to look at his features, identified him as one of those that were seen with Jesus in the garden. The words of the denial he thereupon gave are differently reported, but, as it said that "he began to curse and to swear" (Matt. xxvi. 74.), it is evident that he uttered not just a single sentence only, but a succession of denials. Dean Alford observes upon the whole: "What I wish to impress on the minds of my readers is that, in narratives which have sprung from such truthful, independent accounts, they must be

[1] Natural Theology, book v. chap. ii. 18, 20. pp. 427, 429. (edit. 1855).
[2] The Greek Testament, note on Matt. xxvi. 69—75.

prepared sometimes (as *e. g.* in the details of the day of the resurrection) for discrepancies which, *at our distance, we cannot satisfactorily arrange:* now and then we may, as in *this* instance, be able to do so with something like verisimilitude; in some cases, *not at all.* But, whether we can thus arrange them or not, being thoroughly persuaded of the holy truthfulness of the evangelists, and of the divine guidance under which they wrote, our faith is in no way shaken by such discrepancies. We value them, rather, as testimonies to independence, and are sure that, if for one moment we could be put in *complete possession of all the details as they happened,* each account would find its justification, and the reasons of all the variations would appear. And this I firmly believe will one day be the case."[1]

It may be added that the three denials occurred in one place, "the palace of the high priest." The explanation, John xviii. 24., would seem to have a pluperfect meaning, introduced, as the evangelist had before said our Lord was led to Annas, to show it was from *Caiaphas* that he was taken (v. 28.) to Pilate. But, if objection be made to the so understanding of the word ἀπέστειλεν, it is easy to suppose that Annas and Caiaphas, being nearly related, lived, or at least transacted public business, in the same palace, though they occupied different apartments.[2]

13. Matt. xxvii. 5. with Acts i. 18.

Some interpreters have supposed that Judas's rope broke, and that consequently he fell, and being, very likely, on the edge of a precipice, was dashed to pieces. But the true solution seems to be given by a writer in the Journal of Sacred Literature, Oct. 1853. "Hanging was generally effected from a projecting precipice or a lofty tree. The latter being more certain, Judas most probably selected one, and, having climbed it and adjusted the rope, threw himself forward with great violence, from the branch on which he stood, thus producing the precise movement implied in the term πρηνὴς γενόμενος. There would be the combined motion of projection and descent, *pronus et præceps;* and, this having taken place (γενόμενος), the consequence would be ἐλάκησε μέσος, &c.; which may be thus fairly translated: 'His internal viscera were ruptured, and all his bowels were poured forth,' *not* from an external wound, but simply falling out *per anum.* . . . The revolting details here recorded are perfectly consistent with facts. In our own day, where executions are effected with comparative skill, criminals of large stature and bulk have, on the removal of the drop, suffered precisely what is here recorded of Judas; the internal viscera being suddenly shattered and ejected with great violence in the manner above described, without any external trace of injury but in the immediate region of the passage."

14. Matt. xxvii. 32. with Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26. and John xix. 17.

Criminals sentenced to crucifixion had ordinarily to bear their crosses. The cross was, therefore, no doubt laid on Jesus; and for some distance he carried it; but, enfeebled by the treatment he had endured, his strength probably failed; and the cross was transferred to Simon.

15. Matt. xxvii. 34. with Mark xv. 23

Tischendorf, in Matt. xxvii. 34., reads οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον, while in Mark it is called ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον. The wine was a cheap acid kind,

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[1] The dean refers to an article in the Christian Observer for Feb. 1853.

[2] St. Peter's denials are ably discussed in the Journal of Sacred Literatrue, April 1854, pp. 84—92. Comp. Birks, Horæ Evang. book iii. chap. ii. pp. 415—417.

the ordinary drink of the Roman soldiers, and was medicated with bitter ingredients. There is no occasion to resort to the supposition of Michaelis that the Greek translator of St. Matthew's gospel mistook the Chaldee words.

16. Matt. xxvii. 37. with Mark. xv. 26. Luke xxiii. 38. and John xix. 19.

It is not improbable that the superscription varied in each of the languages in which it was written; for both Luke (xxiii. 38.) and John (xix. 20.) say that it was written in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. We may then reasonably suppose Matthew to have recited the Hebrew:

THIS IS
JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.

And John the Greek:

JESUS THE NAZARENE THE KING OF THE JEWS.

Let us now view the Latin. It is not assuming much to suppose that Pilate would not concern himself with Hebrew names, nor risk an impropriety in speaking or writing them. It was thought essential to the dignity of a Roman magistrate, in the times of the republic, not to speak but in Latin on public occasions.[1] Pilate, indeed, according to Matthew, asked at our Lord's trial, *Whom will ye that I release unto you, Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?* And again, *What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ?* But we judge this to be related, as the interpreter by whom he spake delivered it in Hebrew.[2] For, if the other evangelists have given his exact words, he never pronounced the name of Jesus, but spake of him all along by a periphrasis: *Will ye that I release unto you* the King of the Jews? *What will ye then that I shall do unto him whom ye call* the King of the Jews? Thus he acted in conference with the rulers, and then ordered a Latin inscription, without mixture of foreign words, just as Mark repeats it:

THE KING OF THE JEWS.

Which is followed by Luke; only that he has brought down *This is* from above, as having a common reference to what stood under it:

THIS IS
THE KING OF THE JEWS:

Thus it is evident that there were variations in the inscription, and that the Latin was the shortest; but it is equally evident that these variations are not discrepancies or contradictions in the narratives of the evangelists.[3]

This objection has been lately examined with much good sense by Mr. Coker Adams, in a sermon preached before the university of Oxford. Fully admitting the principle just laid down, he believes that St. John records the very words written by Pilate, and that the three other evangelists have preserved the inscription in the three different languages used, Matthew the Hebrew, Mark the Latin, Luke the Greek. "Let me ask you," says Mr. Adams, "to regard these words, given by St. John, as the very words written by Pontius Pilate. Remember that their purport was to be conveyed in three different languages, that the word 'Jesus' occurs but in one of the three versions we have (and that to all appearance, the first), and the words 'of Nazareth' in none. Bear in mind, also, that there could have been but a narrow space on the cross for the inscription, which was to be legible to all. . . . Now look upon that well-known name 'Jesus

[1] Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 2. § 2.
[2] See Wolfius on Matt. xxvii. 2.
[3] Dr. Townson, Works, vol. i. pp. 200—202.

of Nazareth,' as written separately, above the rest of the inscription, and perhaps larger also (as is so often done with the name), and the three lines below as declaring the crucified to be 'the King of the Jews.' Observe how easily all the other lines come after this, how natural are the expressions which, in the first of the three, point out this 'same Jesus' as the owner of that title:

JESUS OF NAZARETH.

THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS;

and are then dropped, one by one, in the two lower lines; and, lastly, see how with this interpretation every word and particle of the accounts given by all the four evangelists agree both with each other and with probability; the three first announcing the derisive yet true proclamation of their Lord to those three great nations, the fourth relating those words which visibly on the cross, no less than really in their sense, belonged alike to all." [1]

17. Matt. xxvii. 44. with Luke xxiii. 39—43.

Some expositors suppose that the plural was used by St. Matthew indefinitely; while St. Luke more precisely employs the singular. But it is to be remembered that our Lord hung for many hours on the cross, that during that time his meek behaviour was remarkable, and also that extraordinary portents occurred. A deep impression was evidently made upon the mass of the spectators, and the howls of malice and derision, which through the earlier part of the morning had assailed him, were hushed. This is brought out in Luke xxiii. 48.: "men's tempers were now changed," as Dr. Alford observes.[2] What marvel then — save a marvel of divine grace—if he, who crucified justly had at first with callous heart joined his comrade and the mocking mob in reviling the great Sufferer, found by degrees the conviction growing that that Sufferer, to whom nature seemed to bear witness, was a Saviour, and cried to him with new-born faith, "Lord, remember me?"

18. Matt. xxvii. 54. with Mark xv. 39. and Luke xxiii. 47.

In the former passage the utterance is ascribed to the watchers as well as to the centurion. And we can hardly suppose that no observation was made except by the Roman officer. But, as St. Mark ascribes the words he records to the centurion personally, it seems not quite admissible to account for the difference between St. Luke and the two former evangelists by saying that in one place we have what the people, in the other what the centurion said. It must be remembered that the words are reported in a different language from that in which they were (most probably) uttered. And they are identical in meaning. Doubtless the officer in charge had become acquainted with the reason why the chief priests and Jewish rulers had arraigned their victim; viz. that he claimed to be the Son of God, which they called blasphemy. He might not understand the full import of the words; but the scene which he witnessed convinced him that Jesus was not guilty (for such is the right meaning of Luke xxiii. 47.); that his claim was well-founded; that he was, what he professed to be, the Son of God. The idea conveyed is exactly the same; though the wording of it differs.

19. Matt. xxviii. with Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. John xx. and 1 Cor. xv. 4—7.

Dr. Alford very well observes: "The independence and distinctness of

[1] The Inscription on the Cross as recorded by the Four Evangelists, a Sermon, &c., Oxford, 1858, pp. 23, 24.

[2] The Greek Testament, note on Luke xxiii. 48.

the four narratives in this part have never been questioned; and indeed herein lie its principal difficulties. With regard to them . . . . *supposing us to be acquainted with everything said and done, in its order and exactness, we should doubtless be able to reconcile, or account for, the present forms of the narratives;* but, not having this key to the harmonizing of them, all attempts to do so, in minute particulars, must be full of arbitrary assumptions, and carry no certainty with them."[1]

It is obviously impossible to discuss here fully the various questions which arise from the narratives of our Lord's resurrection. All that can be done is to point out as nearly as possible, from some of the best authorities, the order of events, and to refer the student to works where he may find the difficulties examined and solutions suggested.

Very early in the morning there was a great earthquake: an angel descended, rolled away the stone from the sepulchre, and sat upon it; and the Lord arose.

Probably about the same time, a party of women, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and others, had set out to visit the sepulchre. They carried with them spices and perfumes, with which they intended to embalm the body in a more orderly way than had been possible in the hurry on Friday afternoon after the execution. Here, however, there is a difficulty. According to Luke xxiii. 56., the spices and ointments were procured and prepared before the rest of the sabbath; according to Mark xvi. 1., the purchase of spices was not made till the sabbath was past. Two solutions may be offered, neither of them unnatural. There were several women who had ministered to Christ: it was hardly to be imagined that all would go in a body at one time to one particular shop to purchase the spices. Some might, therefore, procure theirs on the Friday at once, others defer their purpose till the Saturday evening. St. Mark only specifies three women: St. Luke speaks generally of women from Galilee; so that there is no distinct contradiction. Or, we may suppose that a purchase was made on the Friday, and that the next evening, finding they had not a sufficient quantity, they made a fresh purchase and obtained more.

As the women were on their way, Mary Magdalene seems to have outstripped the rest, for she arrived at the tomb ere the twilight ended (John xx. 1.); while, according to the other evangelists (Matt. xxviii. 1.; Mark xvi. 2.; Luke xxiv. 1.), the party reached it just as the sun was appearing above the horizon.[2] Mary, perceiving that the stone was rolled away, with characteristic zeal ran back to the city, apparently not staying for the approach of her companions, and told Peter and John that the body was removed. Meanwhile the other women arrived, saw the tomb empty, entered it, and were accosted by the angel who sat upon the stone, who announced the resurrection, and desired them to go and tell the disciples. As they were going Jesus himself met them, and reiterated the command. A difficulty is felt because the evangelists (Matt. xxviii. 5—7.; Mark xvi. 5—7.; Luke xxiv. 4—7.) do not agree as to the number or locality of the angels; Luke saying that there were two, whom he seems to place in the sepulchre, while Matthew and Mark mention but one, and Matthew says that he sat upon the stone, which it is assumed was outside the sepulchre. Mr. Williams well remarks that "the women appear to be frequently going and coming, and in pious sedulity visiting the tomb; which will account for many things through the whole of the narrative."[3] Besides, the angels need not be supposed immutably fixed all

[1] The Greek Testament, note on Matt. xxviii. 1—10.

[2] See the observations of Mr. I. Williams, Gospel Narrative of our Lord's Resurrection harmonized, (edit. 1855) pp. 62—64.

[3] Ibid. p. 24.

the time in the same place; and, further, angels when they appeared to some persons were not always visible to others that were with them (Numb. xxii. 31.; 2 Kings vi. 17.).

Peter and John, apprized by Mary Magdalene that the tomb was empty, ran both to see for themselves. John outran his companion, but did not go in till Peter arrived. Neither of them, it would seem, saw the angels: they went back; but the truth of the resurrection was dawning on their minds.

Mary, however, who had followed the two disciples, remained utterly perplexed and weeping at the sepulchre; and now looking into it saw two angels, who inquired the reason of her tears. And at the moment, turning round, she saw Jesus herself; and then occurred that most touching recognition (John xx. 16.). There is, however, another difficulty connected with the subject. In Mark xvi. 9. it is said that Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene. The solution may be that in that chapter three appearances are narrated; and this is the first of them. Or, as there seems strong ground for believing, it may be that vv. 9—20. are not from the pen of the evangelist.[1] *His* credit, therefore, is not involved by the statement.

The history is after this plain enough. There was the appearance to the two disciples at Emmaus; that to Peter, and that to the apostles in the evening. These are all that are recorded on the day of the resurrection.

For a full examination of the alleged discrepancies the student is referred to Dr. Robinson[2] and other harmonists.

20. Mark xv. 25. with John xix. 14.

Dr. Alford remarks that "it is preposterous to imagine that two *such accounts as these* of the proceedings of *so eventful a day* should differ by *three whole hours* in their apportionment of its occurrences. So that it may fairly be *presumed* that *some different method of calculation* has given rise to the present discrepancy."[3] And yet the dean, elsewhere, unaccountably declares the difficulty "insuperable."[4] Even Strauss, however, sees no such insuperable difficulty in the matter. "Ample details," says Dr. Lee, "concerning this question will be found in the eighth of Townson's 'Discourses on the Four Gospels;' where it is shown that St. John has, on all occasions, 'reckoned the hours as we do, from midnight to noon, and again from noon to midnight;' and also that the interval of time between the 'sixth hour' of St. John, and the 'third hour' of St. Mark (*i. e.* between *six* and *nine* o'clock in the forenoon) must have been fully occupied by the vacillation of Pilate, in consequence of his wife's message (Matt. xxvii. 19.), by the trial and condemnation of the two malefactors, and by the procession to Calvary."[5] It is not surprising that St. John, writing out of Judea (probably at Ephesus), and most likely after the destruction of Jerusalem, should use a mode of computation different from that of any of the earlier evangelists. In this solution Dr. Davidson acquiesced[6]; though he appears to have since abandoned it.

21. Luke i. 33. with 1 Cor. xv. 24.

There is no real contradiction between these statements. The kingdom of Christ may be viewed in two different lights, or have two separate

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[1] See Vol. IV. pp. 434—436.

[2] Harmony, part ix pp. 228—235. (edit. Boston, 1853), and in the Bibliotheca Sacra for Feb. 1845, pp. 162 &c. See also Birks, Horæ Evangelicæ, book iii. chap iii. pp. 423—454.

[3] Note on Mark xv. 25.

[4] Note on John xix. 14.

[5] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, lect. viii. note, pp. 391, 392.

[6] Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xii. pp. 563, 564.

departments. The sovereignty spoken of in Luke will never end or be succeeded by a fresh dominion. This is true, whether it be administered by Christ, the God-man, or whether God, as God, appear more immediately the King. The delivery of the kingdom, spoken of by St. Paul, respects the complete subjugation of Christ's enemies, when he shall have no further need to go forth conquering and to conquer. Then there will be an "end," not indeed of his mediatorial authority, for the body which he assumed thereto he will keep for ever; but, perhaps, of the delegated and special title under which he has exercised his power, and as one with the Father in the unity of the Holy Ghost he shall reign through eternity.

22. John v. 31. with viii. 14.

The observations of dean Alford seem to be satisfactory. He says "This assertion is not to be trifled away by an accommodation, or supposed to be introduced by '*Ye will say to me.*' . . . The words are said in all earnestness, and are *strictly true.* If such a separation, and independent testimony, as is here supposed, *could take place,* it would be a falsification of the very conditions of the truth of God as manifested by the Son, who, being the Λόγος, speaks, not of himself, but of the Father. And in this sense chap. viii. 14. is eminently true also, the φῶς being the ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης τοῦ Πατρός."[1]

23. John v. 37, 38. with Matt. iii. 16, 17

The interrogative form of translation proposed by Dr. Campbell is open to grave objection. There does not seem to be a reference in the word φωνή to the voice heard at our Lord's baptism, πώποτε excluding this. The view which Dr. Alford takes of the passage is satisfactory: "The connection of these verses has been much disputed. I believe it will be found to be this: 'The works of which I have spoken are only *indirect* testimonies: the Father himself, who sent me, has given *direct* testimony concerning me. Now that testimony cannot be derived by you nor any man by direct *communication* with him; for ye have never heard his voice nor seen his shape (or perhaps have not heard his voice, as your fathers did from Sinai, nor seen his visional appearance, as the prophets did). Nor (v. 38.) *in your case* has it been given by that *inward witness* (chap. iii. 33.; 1 John iv. 13, 14.) which those have (and had in a measure, even before the gift of the Spirit—see *inter al.* Psal. li. 11.) in whom his word abides; for ye have not his word abiding in you, not believing on him whom he hath sent. Yet (ver. 39.) there is a *form* of this direct testimony of the Father, accessible even to you: 'Search the scriptures,'"[2] &c.

24. Acts ix. 7. with xxii. 9. xxvi. 14. and 1 Cor. ix. 1.

Paul himself saw the Lord Jesus: the company with him perceived the light, but distinguished no person. Paul heard and understood the words that were spoken: they heard the sound of the voice, but did not comprehend the meaning of what was said (comp. John xii. 28, 29.). The εἱστήκεισαν in ix. 7. does not contradict the statement of xxvi. 14. The companions of Paul were at first fixed in speechless amazement at what they witnessed, and, as might be supposed natural, afterwards fell to the ground.

25. Rom. ii. 14. with Eph. ii. 3.

There is no contradiction here. The natural bias of mankind is to evil. But the apostle never meant to deny the power of conscience in the human heart. Hence, a Gentile who had not the written law might conscien-

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[1] The Greek Testament, note on John v. 31.
[2] Note on John v. 37—39.

tiously do many things contained in the law, and, abstaining from various vices, set up a law unto himself. But no such man fulfilled the law, so as to obtain thereby a meritorious righteousness before God.

26. Rom. xiv. 5, 6. with Gal. iv. 10, 11.

In these two passages different classes of persons, who were swayed by different motives, are addressed. In the Roman church were some Jewish converts scarcely as yet knowing how far ritual observances were abrogated, and Gentile converts who had never been imbued with the knowledge of special ordinances or particular days set apart, and who therefore did not regard them. It was a mere question of hardly-enlightened conscience and religious scruple; and the apostle desires the one to deal tenderly with the other party. In the case of the Galatians, Judaizing teachers were endeavouring to impose the legal yoke on the Gentile converts, and to make them rely on observance of the law for justification before God. This the apostle strongly censures; as the gospel truth was thereby undermined.

27. 1 Cor. viii. 8—13. with x. 19—21.

This is a matter nearly akin to that just noticed. Meats, abstractedly considered, are indifferent, and might be freely partaken of, according to the conviction of an enlightened Christian. But such a one must take care not to give offence to a weaker brother, who would conclude, if he saw him sit at meat in an idol's temple, that it was lawful to hold communion with idolatry. And, though an idol was really nothing, yet the worshippers of idols sacrificed to them as real beings, in fact they honoured demons instead of God. And from such a fellowship the Christian must stand apart. The principle is laid down in the first passage: the sinful application of it is censured in the second.

28. 1 Cor. x. 33. with Gal. i. 10.

So far from there being any contradiction here, we may see the very same principle illustrated in both passages. Instead of selfishly seeking his own profit, the apostle tells the Corinthians, he relinquished personal pleasure or comfort for the profit of others; he was ready to endure much that he might persuade them; their salvation was the object he aimed at; for this he scrupled not at any sacrifice. To the Galatians he writes in the same temper, jealous of whatever would debase their faith or peril their salvation. Regardless of personal consequences he vindicates the purity of the gospel; he would not curry favour with corrupt teachers. Men's profit and God's glory were, as before, his object, and not his own ease and advantage. It is to be observed that the "now" in Gal. i. 10. is emphatic. The apostle asks if he was *now* pleasing men in his denunciation of those who preached another gospel: *ἄρτι γάρ, nunc enim.* Causa, cur etiam *nunc* tam asseveranter scribat. *nunc* repetitur ex v. 9.[1]

29. 1 Cor. xi. 5. with xiv. 34., and 1 Tim. ii. 12.

To such an extent had impropriety gone in the Corinthian church, that women not only took upon them to speak and teach in the public assemblies, but also in unbefitting costume, *i. e.* with uncovered heads, dishonouring thereby their heads, viz. their husbands (comp. 1 Cor. xi. 3.). The apostle censures this last practice first; and afterwards announces his general rule, which he repeats to Timothy, that women are to learn in silence. If any special case occurred of a woman's receiving an express commission from God—such instances there are of Deborah, Anna, and others—in their case the former rule of covering the head would apply.

[1] Bengel, in Gal. i. 10.

30. Gal. vi. 2. with 5.

In the former verse we find τὰ βάρη: the apostle is inculcating Christian sympathy, which can be carried only to a limited extent; in the latter verse the word is φορτίον: each man will have a load (of imperfections and sins) of his own.

31. Heb. xi. 33. with 39.

The early fathers had the fulfilment of many promises; but that, by virtue of which all other promises were faithful and true, the appearing of Messiah, was not accomplished in their day.

32. 1 John i. 8. with iii. 9.

A man, born of God, still in this life commits sin: "this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated" (Art. ix.). Yet a new principle ultimately destructive of sin is introduced into his heart; and under the influence of this he cannot be, as he once was, the habitual slave of sin.

§ 3. *Alleged contradictions between the Old Testament and the New.*

1. Mark ii. 26. with 1 Sam. xxi. 1—9.

Ahimelech, the father of Abiathar, was nigh-priest when the event mentioned took place. But Abiathar was, no doubt, assistant to his father, and almost immediately after, by Ahimelech's murder, he became high-priest by right. There is, therefore, no contradiction. Men are frequently distinguished by the title or office which they subsequently bear: *e. g.* Matt. i. 6. it is said, "Jesse begat David the king;" though he was not king for thirty years after his birth. It must, however, be admitted that, if the reading be ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως (the article τοῦ being omitted before ἀρχιερέως), and Tischendorf (with other critics) regards this as the true reading, the interpretation will be "during the high-priesthood of Abiathar." Another suggestion has been made that the words are the title to a particular section of the history; just as (Mark xii. 26.) those, ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου, mean the section which comprises the appearing of God in the bush.[1]

2. John i. 18. with Exod. xxiv. 10.

God, in his full glory, no man hath seen or can see (Exod. xxxiii. 20.); but some visible manifestations of the second Person in the Trinity were occasionally made in old time. The expression, however, of John i. 18. includes more than bodily vision; even that "intuitive and infallible knowledge which enables him who has it to declare the nature and will of God."[2]

3. Acts vii. 2. with Gen. xii. 1.

It is somewhat rash, as Dr. Lee well observes, in modern critics, to accuse Stephen, against whom the Jews could find no answer (Acts vi. 10.) of historical inaccuracy[3]; and careful examination will supply very natural solutions of the alleged difficulties. Here it has been supposed that there were two calls, one in Ur, which Stephen mentions, the other to leave Charran, recorded Gen. xii. 1. It is very probable that Abraham's steps on many important occasions were directed by divine intimation; so that there is no reasonable objection to the belief that there was a call to leave Mesopotamia, and a call to quit Charran. But the expressions in Gen. xii. 1. would seem to show that the original call—exactly in accordance with

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[1] See before, pp. 105., 461.
[2] Alford, The Greek Testament, note on John i. 18.
[3] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, Append. H. (2nd edit.) p. 531.

Stephen's words—was "before he dwelt in Charran." For how could מֵאַרְצְךָ mean any other than the native country of Abraham? The English authorized version, taking this view, translates וַיֹּאמֶר "the Lord had said." And this is perfectly justifiable.

4. Acts vii. 14. with Gen. xlvi. 26, 27.

Stephen has reckoned the family of Jacob as seventy-five, the identical number which the version of the LXX. gives in Gen. xlvi. 27.; while the Hebrew text has seventy. According to the LXX., Joseph had nine sons (or grandsons) in Egypt; and, these being added to the sixty-six of Gen. xlvi. 26., the sum will be seventy-five. Still only seven of Joseph's descendants are *named;* and it is not easy to see how the LXX. gets the number nine, even if *he* were included. It may be questioned whether the simplest solution is not the best—that Stephen was satisfied to cite the number of Jacob's family from a version in every one's hands and generally esteemed of authority. But various other explanations have been given. It must be sufficient to quote a valuable note of Dr. Lee's: "Bishop Kidder considers 'that Moses designs to give an account of Jacob's whole family, or such as came out of his loins, Gen. xlvi. 6—8., and v. 26.; in order that, by comparing the small number who went down to Egypt with the great number who came out of that land, the protection of God might be the more manifest. Hence he does not include *the wives of Jacob's sons,* enumerating merely Jacob, his sons, and also Joseph's sons, which were born him in Egypt.' (See vv. 26, 27.) But take now the words and the design of St. Stephen. He does not confine himself to those who came 'out of Jacob's loins:' he plainly includes all those whom *Joseph called into Egypt.* 'Then sent Joseph and called his father to him, and *all his kindred,* three-score and fifteen souls.' 'Moses tells us how many Jacob and his seed amounted to, *omitting his sons' wives.* Stephen tells us how many *they were that Joseph called into Egypt.*' Some, therefore, in the list of Moses, must be left out of the number given by St. Stephen. Joseph and his two sons could not be said *to be called into Egypt;* still less could Hezron and Hamul, the sons of Pharez (Gen. xlvi. 12), who were not yet born.[1] Besides, Jacob, too, must be considered apart. Hence *six* persons are to be *deducted* from the number of Moses (viz. Jacob, Joseph, and his two sons, with Hezron and Hamul), in order to find those who are reckoned by St. Stephen; and hence sixty-four only are common to both. Add now the *eleven wives of the sons of Jacob,* and we get the number seventy-five, given by St Stephen. This conclusion is slightly modified by Dr. Hales: 'In this statement, the *wives* of *Jacob's* sons, who formed part of the household, are omitted; but they amounted to nine; for, of the twelve wives of the twelve sons, *Judah's* wife was dead (Gen. xxxviii. 12.), and *Simeon's* also, as we may collect from his youngest son, *Shaul,* by a *Canaanitess* (xlvi. 10.); and *Joseph's* wife was already in Egypt. These nine wives, therefore, added to the sixty-six, gave seventy-five souls, the whole amount of *Jacob's household* that went down with him to Egypt; critically corresponding with the statement in the New Testament, that *Joseph* sent for his father *Jacob* and *all his kindred,* amounting to seventy-five souls.'—*A New Analysis of Chronol.* vol. ii. p. 160. (p. 144. edit. 1830). Dr. Wordsworth's explanation does not appear to me satisfactory: 'The number seventy-five, which St. Stephen specifies, consists of the seventy mentioned (Gen. xlvi. 27.), together with the issue of the sons of Joseph's own sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, Machir (son of Manasseh), Galaad (son of Machir), Sutalaim,

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[1] See before, p. 454.

Taam (sons of Ephraim), Edom (son of Sutalaim).'—*The Acts of the Apost.* p. 32."[1] It will be observed that Dr. Hales's explanation is manifestly untenable. Judah's wife, it is true, was dead; but surely Tamar must be taken into the account. Also it is an arbitrary conjecture that Simeon's wife was dead; the more natural supposition is that he had two. Further, Asher had grandsons, some of the ten *sons* of Benjamin were, according to the larger usage of the word, his grandsons (Numb. xxvi. 38—40.); and, if Hezron and Hamul (as Dr. H. believes) were born in Canaan, Pharez had a wife: it is evident, then, that more than nine wives would have to be reckoned. The same objection would apply, though not so forcibly, to Bp. Kidder's hypothesis, which Dr. Lee approves. Hence, Dr. Wordsworth's would seem the preferable explanation.

5. Acts vii. 15, 16. with Gen. xxiii. 16—18., l. 13., and Josh. xxiv. 32.

These passages have been represented as irreconcilable. If they were, it would be no argument against the inspiration of the sacred writer, who simply records what Stephen uttered. But, as before observed, it is not probable that one so well versed in the history of his nation would make a blunder. "It is better," Dr. Davidson admirably observes, on Acts vii. 15, 16., "to tax ourselves with ignorance, than the Bible with confusion. . . . . Had Stephen ventured to utter expressions so contradictory to the Jewish scriptures as those in the text are usually represented to be, his enemies would have at once detected the error, and accused him of falsehood. They were too much incensed against him to let slip an opportunity of entangling him in his words. There is no mention of his incurring any such censure."[2] And Stier[3] goes still farther, and maintains that "to ascribe to Stephen an error of memory in the statement of a fact so well-known may be named almost a piece of infatuation (fast thöricht)."

Several explanations have been attempted. One is offered by Dr. Davidson in the place above referred to; but he has since given it up as untenable. Dr. Lee adopts the following after Luger; who, says he, "answers this common objection by pointing to the peculiar manner in which St. Stephen alludes to the national history. Abraham bought the sepulchre near Mamre; and there *Jacob* was buried (Gen. l. 13.): Jacob bought 'a parcel of a field' at Sychem; and there *Joseph* was buried (Josh. xxiv. 32.); that is, Abraham purchased a grave for Jacob; and so did Jacob for Joseph; and thus we have an additional instance of the law of *repetition* above alluded to. These two facts St. Stephen *combines in a single phrase;* and this same system of combination is constantly repeated throughout his address: *e. g.* cf. ver. 7. with Gen. xv. 13, 14. and Exod. iii. 12.; add, too, the statement of ver. 9. Compare, especially, the reference of ver. 43. 'I will carry you away *beyond Babylon*,' with the denunciation of Amos (v. 27.) against the *ten tribes:* 'Therefore will I cause you *to* go into captivity *beyond Damascus;*' in which words the deportation to *Assyria* (2 Kings xvii. 6.) is alone spoken of. *Babylon*, however, as the prophets declared, was to be the exile of disobedient *Judah;* and *both* denunciations are here *combined* by St. Stephen. So, also, in the passage before us, it is, with similar brevity, implied that Jacob was laid in the grave which Abraham had purchased in Hebron, Gen. xxiii. 19.; l. 13.; and Joseph in the possession which Jacob had purchased at Sychem, Gen. xxxiii. 19.; Josh. xxiv. 32."[4] A few words would suffice to the Jews, who were acquainted with the history.

[1] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, pp. 534, 535.
[2] Sacr. Hermeneutics, chap. xii. pp. 586, 587.
[3] Cited by Dr. Lee.
[4] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, Append. H. (2nd edit.) pp. 533, 534.

6. Acts xiii. 19—21. with 1 Kings vi. 1.

Some of the modes which have been proposed of reconciling these passages may be found noted by dean Alford; who characterizes them as "arbitrary and forced."[1] But there is reason to believe that the present reading in the Acts is incorrect. Accordingly, Dr. Davidson says, "Lachmann has the true reading, which runs thus: 'And, when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he divided their land to them by lot, about the space of four hundred and fifty years; and after this gave them judges until Samuel the prophet.' In this there is no difficulty."[2]

7. 1 Cor. x. 8. with Numb. xxv. 9.

Differences in numbers, we have sufficiently seen, are not uncommon; and it is often difficult to reconcile them. But because we have not now the requisite knowledge we may not conclude that they are irreconcilable. And it is somewhat uncharitable to style, as Dr. Alford does, on the first passage, the attempts—well intended they certainly are—of commentators to arrive at a satisfactory solution, "subtilties . . . discreditable alike to themselves and the cause of sacred truth."

8. 2 Tim. iii. 12. with Prov. xvi. 7.

In neither place must an universal sense be put upon the words. In primitive times persecution was rife; but very often (though by no means always) God turns enemies into friends of his people.

9. Heb. ix. 4. with 1 Kings viii. 9.

It must be remembered that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews is describing the tabernacle; while the reference in 1 Kings is to the temple. Still there is a difficulty; for, according to Exod. xvi. 32—34., Numb. xvii. 10., the pot of manna and Aaron's rod seem to have been placed *before*, not *in* the ark. Hence some would refer ἐν ᾗ to σκηνή, and not to κιβωτόν; but this can hardly be allowed. The Jewish rabbis represent the rod and the pot of manna as having been *in* the ark. See Dr. Alford, note *in loc.*; where all the difficulties connected with the description given in the earlier part of Heb. ix. are elaborately discussed.]

SECTION VI.

SEEMING INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN SACRED AND PROFANE WRITERS.

THE sacred scriptures contain facts which appear to be contradictory to the relations of the same facts by profane historians. But the objections lose all their force, when the uncertainty and want of credibility in heathen historians are considered, as well as their want of authentic records of the times.[3] It may further be added, that the silence of the latter, concerning facts related by the inspired writers, cannot be regarded as contradicting them; because many of these facts are either too ancient to come within the limits of profane histories, or are of such a description that they could not take notice

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[1] The Greek Testament, note on Acts xiii. 20.

[2] Sacred Hermeneutics, chap. xii. p. 588. Conf. Bengel, *in loc.*

[3] Bishop Stillingfleet has largely proved this point in the first book of his *Origines Sacræ*, pp. 1—65. (edit. 1709, folio). Comp. Rawlinson, The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records, 1859, lect. iii. pp. 109—112.

of them.[1] The silence or omission even of many historians ought not to overturn the testimony of any one author, who positively relates a matter of fact: if, therefore, a fact related in the scripture be contradicted by an historian who lived many centuries *after* the time when it took place, such contradiction ought to have no weight.

1. Justin, the abbreviator of Trogus Pompeius, who wrote at least eighteen hundred years *after* the time of Moses, relates that the Israelites were expelled from Egypt, because they had communicated the itch and leprosy to the Egyptians, who were apprehensive lest the contagion should spread; and that the Israelites, having clandestinely carried away the sacred mysteries of the Egyptians, were pursued by the latter; who were compelled to return home by tempests.[2]

When Justin's credulity and want of information are properly weighed, the contradiction falls entirely to the ground. The same remark is applicable to the accounts of the Jewish nation given by the prejudiced historian Tacitus; which are but injurious representations of their avowed enemies. Bp. Gray has observed that many of them had been *distinctly refuted* in the time of Tacitus by Josephus and other historians. They contain in themselves sufficient to show how full of errors they are; and, while they exhibit much truth blended with falsehood, they tend to establish the former, without conferring any shadow of probability on the latter.[3]

2. There are many, apparently considerable, contradictions of the scriptures in the writings of Josephus.

But these, as well as his *omissions*[4], may be accounted for by his peculiar situation. His country was now in great distress; its constitution was overturned, and his countrymen in danger of extirpation, from the circumstance of their being confounded with the Christians, who were reputed to be a sect of the Jews, and at that time were suffering persecution. Josephus's deviations from scripture, therefore, were made in order to accommodate his work to the taste of the Greeks and Romans.[5]

3. In consequence of this Jewish historian having omitted to notice the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem, which is related in Matt. ii. 16., the evangelical narrative has been pronounced a "fabrication," and "a tale that carries its own refutation with it."

This assertion was first made, we believe, by Voltaire, whose disregard of truth, especially in matters connected with the sacred history, is sufficiently notorious. But the evidence for the reality of the fact, and, consequently, for the veracity of Matthew, is too strong to be subverted by any bold and unsupported assertions. For,

In the *first* place, The whole character which Josephus ascribes to Herod is the most evident confirmation of the barbarous deed mentioned by the evangelist.

Secondly, The gospel of Matthew was published about the year of our Lord 38, at which time there doubtless were persons living who could, and (from the hostility then manifested against the Christian faith) who would, have contradicted his assertion if it had been false or erroneous: their silence is a tacit proof that the evangelist has stated the fact correctly. But,

Thirdly, The reality of the fact itself (though mentioned in his usual scoffing manner) was *not denied* by the philosopher Celsus, one of the bitterest enemies of Christianity, who

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[1] On this subject, see Vol. I. pp. 184—188.

[2] Justin. Hist. Philipp. lib. xxxvi. cap. 2. p 308. edit. Bipont.

[3] See Bp. Gray, Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. pp. 435—443.; and also Du Voisin, Autorité des Livres de Moyse, pp. 180—199.

[4] Ottius has compiled a curious treatise, intitled *Prætermissa à Josepho:* it is a collection of sixty-eight articles, of which, in all probability, the Jewish historian could not be ignorant; but which he chose to omit for the reason above assigned. This treatise is appended to Ottius's very valuable Spicilegium sive Excerpta ex Flavio Josepho, pp. 527—612.

[5] Divine Legation of Moses, book v. sect. 4. (Warburton's Works, vol. v. pp. 126—128) The bishop has given several instances at length, which we have not room to insert see pp. 130—132.

lived towards the close of the second century, and who would most unquestionably have denied it if he could.[1]

Fourthly, Matthew's narrative is confirmed by Macrobius, a heathen author, who lived about the end of the fourth century, and who mentions this massacre in the following terms: "Augustus," says he, "having been informed that Herod had ordered a son of his own to be killed, *among the male infants about two years old*, whom he had put to death in Syria, said, it is better to be Herod's HOG than his SON."[2] Now, although Macrobius is far too modern to be produced as a valid evidence in this matter, unsupported by other circumstances, and although his story is magnified by an erroneous circumstance; yet the passage cited from him serves to prove how universally notorious was the murder of the children in Bethlehem, which was perpetrated by the orders of Herod.

Further, as Bethlehem was a very small place, scarcely two thousand persons existed in it and in its dependent district; consequently, in the massacre, not more than fifty at most could be slain. In the description of the life of such a tyrant as Herod was, this was so trifling an act of cruelty, that it was but of small consequence in the history of his sanguinary government. [This was probably the reason of Josephus's silence.]

Lastly, As the male infants that were to be slain could easily be ascertained from the public tables of birth or genealogies, that circumstance will account for the reputed parents of our Saviour fleeing into Egypt, rather than into any city of Judæa.[3]

4. Luke ii. 2. is said to be contrary to historical fact, Saturninus and Volumnius being at the time the Roman presidents of Syria, and Cyrenius not being governor of that province until eleven years after the birth of Christ.

[The objections urged are these: (1.) There was no census of the *Orbis Romanus* under Augustus. (2.) Πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη must designate merely Judæa (Acts xi. 28.). But such a census could be made only in a Roman province; and Judæa did not become a province till the deposition of Archelaus, after a reign of ten years. (3) According to Tacitus, P. Sulp. Quirinius (the Cyrenius of St. Luke) was first sent from Rome eleven or twelve years after Christ's birth, to form Judæa into a province; C. Sentius Saturninus being the governor of Syria when our Lord was born. The inference has therefore been drawn that the gospel history is inaccurate.

The following modes of meeting the difficulty have been proposed: (1.) The word πρώτη stands for προτέρα, and ἡγεμονεύοντος depends on the comparative. Hence the meaning would be, "This census took place before Quirinius was prætor of Syria;" the statement being added to prevent any possibility of misconception. (2.) Πρώτη must be connected with ἐγένετο, and translated adverbially, "This census first took effect under Quirinius." (3.) For αὕτη we should read αὐτή, and understand that the decree might go forth in the days of Herod, but "the taxing itself occurred for the first time under Quirinius." (4.) St. Luke's object was to show how Christ's birth coincided with the political subjection of the Jews, which was now, for the first time, practically exhibited in the emperor's edict: "the taxing itself took place under Quirinius;" the *census* at Christ's birth being the preliminary stage of the *taxing* conducted by Quirinius (Acts v. 37.); and the word ἀπογραφή being susceptible of the twofold sense. (5.) The article must be omitted after αὕτη, which refers back to v. 1.; so that the sense is, "The issuing of the decree became an ἀπογραφή under Quirinius," *i. e.* the census was begun under Herod, and, having been interrupted by his death, was first completed by Quirinius; its date being defined by the time when it was completed.

Dr. Wordsworth considers only two interpretations "conformable to grammatical laws;" either, "This first taxing took place when Quirinius was governor of Syria" — and Justin Martyr declares that Quirinius was so at Christ's birth[4]; or, "This taxing became first, when

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[1] See the passages in Lardner's Works, vol. viii. p. 21. 8vo., or vol. iv. p. 122, 4to.

[2] Macrob. Saturn. lib. ii. cap. 4. The massacre of the infants is likewise noticed in a rabbinical work called Toldoth Jeshu, in the following passage: "And the king gave orders for putting to death every infant to be found in Bethlehem; and the king's messengers kill every infant according to the royal order." Dr. G. Sharpe, First Defence of Christianity, &c. p. 40.

[3] Lardner, Credibility, part i. book ii. chap. ii. sect. 1. Works, vol i. pp. 329—338. 8vo., or pp. 180—185. 4to.; Volborth, *Causæ cur Josephus cædem puerorum Bethlemeticorum*, Matt. ii. 16., *narratem silentio præterierit*, 4to. Gottingen, 1788, as analysed in the Monthly Review (O. S.), vol. lxxx. p. 617.; Schulz, Archæologia Hebraica, pp. 52, 53.; Colonia, La Religion Chrétienne autorisée par le Temoignage des Anciens Auteurs Payens, 1718, chap. vi. § 3. tom. i. pp. 208—220.

[4] Apol. i. 34. Op. Par. 1742. p. 65. Conf. Dial. cum Tryph. 78. p. 175.

Quirinius was governor of Syria" ; *i. e.* it began to be entitled *first*, when there had been a second under Quirinius ; just as a sovereign George or Charles is not styled the first, till another of the same name has succeeded.[1]

But there is a passage of Tacitus which may throw some light upon the matter : "Mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis (Quirinius) insignia triumphi adeptus datusque rector C. Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat. Quod tunc patefecit (Tiberius) in senatu, laudatis in se officiis et incusato M. Lollio, quem auctorem C. Cæsari pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat."[2] Zumpt has tried to discover the time when this reduction of the Homonadenses occurred, and what governorship it was which Quirinius then held.[3] He finds that, from B.C. 22, when Cyprus was assigned to the senate, Cilicia was separated from it, in order to be united, and placed under the same governor with Syria ; and that this union continued till the time of Vespasian. Hence, says Zumpt, "Quæ cum ita sint, P. Sulpicium Quirinium eo tempore, quo Homonadensium castella per Ciliciam expugnavit, certum est fuisse legatum Augusti pro prætore Syriæ."[4]

Now as to the date, Quirinius was consul B.C. 12. ; and C. Cæsar, to whom he was *rector*, died A.D. 4. ; so that this governorship cannot be Quirinius's administration of which Josephus speaks ; for that did not commence till A.D. 6. Further, we know of other governors of Syria till B.C. 4. ; and M. Lollius was *rector* of C. Cæsar from the close of B.C. 1 , to the beginning of A.D. 2. The distinct conclusion of Zumpt, therefore, is that Quirinius preceded Lollius, both as governor of Syria and *rector* of C. Cæsar, and that he succeeded Varus, who at the close of B.C. 4. returned from Syria to Rome. Hence the statement of St. Luke, that Quirinius was governor of Syria at the time of our Lord's birth is fully vindicated by a proof reached after a minute and lengthened deduction ; so that "it is the paucity," as Dr. Fairbairn remarks, "not the fulness of the collateral sources of information which brought into suspicion the accuracy of the sacred historian."[5] The succession of Syrian governors therefore appears to be : —

C. Sentius Saturninus, from	B.C. 9.
P. Quinctilius Varus	6.
P. Sulpicius Quirinius	4.
M. Lollius	1.
C. Marcius Censorinus	A.D. 3
L. Volusius Saturninus	4.
P. Sulpicius Quirinius (a second time)	6

Since it is now clear that the principal difficulty is removed, we need not be very solicitous as to the other objection, that contemporary history is silent as to a census at the time of our Lord's birth. This silence would not contradict the evangelist. But the fact is, that there are indications from trustworthy sources, independent of the New Testament, that such a census was among the plans of the administration of Augustus. These are produced by Dr. Lee, to whom, and to the authors he cites, the student must be referred for complete discussion.[6]]

5. In Luke iii. 19. Herod the tetrarch is said to have been reproved by John the Baptist for Herodias, his brother *Philip's* wife, whom he had forcibly taken away from her husband and married.

Now this is said to be irreconcilable with profane history, which asserts the brother's name to have been *Herod*. Hence it has been supposed that the name of *Philip* has crept into the text through the copyist's negligence, and ought to be omitted : Griesbach has omitted it in his text, but has inserted the word Φιλίππου in the margin, with the mark of doubtful genuineness. [But in Matt. xiv. 3. and Mark vi. 17. the same name appears. Doubtless the appellation in full of the personage in question was Herod Philip, a family and a personal name being united.]

6. Acts v. 36. *For before these days rose up Theudas*, &c. Josephus's account of Theudas (Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 5. § 1.) referred to a transaction that occurred several years *after* Gamaliel's speech, of which this text is a part.

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[1] See Wordsworth, The Four Gospels, 1856, *in. loc.* p. 139.

[2] Annal. lib. iii. 48.

[3] A. W. Zumpt, Comment. Epigraph. ad Antiq. Rom. pertinent. vol. ii. Berol. 1854.

[4] P. 98.

[5] Herm. Man. App. p. 471.

[6] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture (2nd. edit.). p. 401., note 1. See also Append. G. pp. 575—581. ; and Fairbairn, Herm. Man Append. pp. 461—475.

The contradiction is removed by the probability that there might be *two* impostors of the same name; for there were four persons of the name of Simon within forty years, and three of *Judas* within ten years, all of whom were leaders of insurrections.[1]

[It will be observed that alleged contradictions to morality, and to philosophy and the nature of things, are considered in the first volume, as their more appropriate place. See Vol. I. pp. 582—612.]

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE INFERENTIAL AND PRACTICAL READING OF SCRIPTURE.

SECTION I.

ON THE INFERENTIAL READING OF THE BIBLE.

I. *General rules for the deduction of inferences.*—II. *Observations for ascertaining the sources of internal inferences.*—III. *And also of external inferences.*

I. THE sense of scripture having been explained and ascertained, it only remains that we apply it to purposes of practical utility; which may be effected either by deducing inferences from texts, or by practically applying the scriptures to our personal edification and salvation. By INFERENCES, we mean certain corollaries or conclusions legitimately deduced from words rightly explained; so that they who either hear or read them may form correct views of Christian doctrine and Christian duty. And in this deduction of inferences we are warranted both by the genius of language, which, when correctly understood, means not only what the words uttered in themselves obviously imply, but also what may be deduced from them by legitimate consequences[2]; and likewise by the authority of Jesus Christ and his apostles, who have sanctioned this practice by their example. To illustrate this remark by a single instance: —

Our Lord (Matt. xxii. 23—32.), when disputing with the Sadducees, cited the declaration of Jehovah recorded in Exod. iii. 6., *I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;* and from thence he proved the *resurrection of the dead* inferentially, or by legitimate *consequence*. It should be observed that Abraham had been dead upwards of three hundred years before these words were spoken to Moses; yet still Jehovah called himself the God of Abraham, &c. Jesus Christ properly remarked that God is not the God of the *dead* (that word being equivalent to *eternal annihilation*, in the sense intended by the Sadducees, who held that the soul vanished with the body[3]), but of the *living:* whence it follows that, if he is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, they have not altogether perished, but their bodies will be raised again from the dead, while their spirits or souls

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[1] Dr. Lardner has collected the passages in question relative to these impostors. Works, vol. i. pp. 409—413. See also Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. pp. 179—181., or pp. 218, 219. edit. 1849.

[2] Qui enim intelligit, quod loquitur, non modo *vim*, sed *ambitum* quoque verborum perspicit; ideoque id omne, quod ex iis legitime colligi potest, adprobare etiam merito creditur. Buddeus, Elementa Philosophiæ Instrumentalis, pars ii. cap. ii. § xxx. p. 246.

[3] Συναφανίζει τοῖς σώμασι. Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. cap. 1. § 4. (al. cap. 2.)

are alive with God, notwithstanding they have ceased for many centuries to exist among mortals.[1] In the same reply our Saviour further confuted, *inferentially*, another tenet of the Sadducees, viz. that there *is neither angel nor spirit*, by showing that the soul is not only immortal, but lives with God even while the body is detained in the dust of the earth; which body will afterwards be raised to life, and be united to the soul by the miraculous power of God.

The foundation of *inferential reading* is the perpetual harmony of sacred things; so that any one, who has thoroughly considered and rightly understood a single doctrine, may hence easily deduce many others which depend upon it, as they are linked together in one continued chain. But, in order to conduct this kind of reading with advantage, it is necessary that we bring to it a *sober judgment*, capable of penetrating deeply into sacred truths, and of eliciting with indefatigable attention and patience, and also of deducing one truth from another by strong reasoning; and further, that the mind possess a sufficient knowledge of the *form of sound words in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus* (2 Tim. i. 13.). Without this knowledge, it will be impossible to make any beneficial progress in this branch of sacred literature, or to discover the exhaustless variety of important truths contained in the sacred writings. It will likewise be requisite to compare inferences when deduced, in order to ascertain whether they are correct, and are really worthy of that appellation. For this purpose the following rules may be advantageously consulted: —

1. *Obvious or too common inferences must not be deduced, nor should they be expressed in the very words of scripture.*

Thus, if from Matt. vi. 33., *Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you*, the following inferences be deduced — 1. The kingdom of God is to be sought in the first instance. 2. It is necessary that we seek the righteousness of God; and, 3. To him that thus seeks, all other things shall be added — although these are in themselves weighty truths, yet they are expressed too plainly in the very words of scripture to be called inferences. They are, rather, truths seated in the text itself, than truths deduced from those words.

2. *Inferences must be deduced from the true and genuine sense of the words, not from a spurious sense, whether literal or mystical.*

We have a striking violation of this sober and almost self-evident canon, in the inference deduced by cardinal Bellarmine, from a comparison of Acts x. 13. with John xxi. 16. From the divine command, *Rise, Peter, kill and eat*, compared with our Lord's direction to the apostle, *Feed my sheep*, he extorts this consequence, viz. that the functions of the Roman pontiff, as the successor of Peter, are twofold — *to feed the church, and to put heretics to death!* It is scarcely necessary to add that this inference is derived from putting a false and spurious sense upon those passages.

3. *Inferences are deduced more safely as well as more correctly from the originals, than from any version of the scriptures.*

It is not uncommon, even in the best versions, to find meanings put upon the sacred text, which are totally foreign to the intention of the inspired penman. Thus, from Acts ii. 47., *the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved*, the papists have absurdly pretended to deduce the perpetuity and visibility of the (Roman Catholic) church; and, from the same text compared with Acts xiii. 48., *as many as were ordained to eternal life believed*, some have inferred that those whom God adds to the church shall necessarily and absolutely be eternally saved. The question relative to indefectibility from grace is

[1] See before, p. 205.

foreign to a practical work like this; but, without throwing down the gauntlet of controversy, we may remark that these passages have *no relation whatever* to the doctrine of election; that Luke is speaking as an historian of a fact which fell under his own observation, relating to the Jews and not to the hidden counsels of God; and that, if the translators of our authorized version had rendered the original of Acts. ii. 47. *literally*, as they have done in other parts of the New Testament[1], it would have run thus: The Lord added daily to the church, *τοὺς σωζομένους, the saved*, that is, those who were saved from their sins and prejudices; and so the passage is rendered by Drs. Whitby, Doddridge, and other eminent critics and divines. Further, if Acts xiii. 48. had been translated according to the *proper* meaning of *τεταγμένοι*, that verse would have run thus: *As many as were disposed for eternal life believed;* which rendering is faithful to the original, and to the *context* and *scope* of the sacred historian, who is relating the effects of the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles. For the Jews had contradicted Paul, and blasphemed; while the religious proselytes heard with profound attention, and cordially received the gospel: the *former* were, through their own stubbornness, utterly *indisposed* to receive that gospel; while the *latter*, destitute of prejudice, rejoiced to hear that the Gentiles were included in the covenant of salvation through Jesus Christ; and, therefore, in this good *disposition* of mind, they believed. Such is the plain meaning deducible from the consideration of the context and scope of the passage in question; and that this rendering is strictly conformable to the original Greek is evident from the following considerations. In the first place, the word *τεταγμένοι* is *not* the word generally used in the New Testament to denote fore-ordination, or an eternal decree, but the verbs *ὁρίζω* and *προορίζω*, which exactly answer to our English words *determine* and *predetermine*. Further, Dr. Hammond remarks, the verb *τάσσω* or *τάττω* (whence the participle *τεταγμένος*), and its compounds, are often employed in the sense of our military word *tactics*, by which is meant whatever relates to the *disposal* or marshalling of troops (compare Luke vii. 8. and Rom. xiii. 1. Gr.); and hence, by analogy, it is applied to other things: thus, in 1 Cor. xvi. 15. we read, "*They devoted, ἔταξαν*, themselves to the ministry of the saints." See also 1 Macc. v. 27. and 2 Macc. xv. 20. (Gr.); and particularly Acts xx. 13., where we read that St. Paul went on foot to Assos, *for so he was, διατεταγμένος, disposed.* Similar expressions are to be found in the Greek classic writers.[2] It is also so translated in the Old Syriac, the most ancient of all the versions of the New Testament. This is of great moment; for that version was made at least four hundred years *before* the sense of this place was disputed by the different sects and parties of Christians. "Meanwhile," says Dr. Hammond, with equal truth and piety, "it must be remembered that these qualifications are not pretended to have been originally from themselves, but from *the preventing grace of God;* to which it is to be acknowledged due that they are ever pliable, or willing to follow Christ."

4. ***Those inferences are always to be preferred which approach nearest to the scope of a passage.***

Thus, in John vi. 37., Christ says, *Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.*

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[1] The participle *σωζόμενος* occurs in four other places of the New Testament, in all which our translators give the true meaning. These are Luke xiii. 23., *εἰ ὀλίγοι οἱ σωζόμενοι; are there few that be saved?* 1 Cor. i. 18., *τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν, but unto us which are saved;* 2 Cor. ii. 15., *ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις, in them that are saved;* Rev. xxi. 24., *τὰ ἔθνη τῶν σωζομένων, the nations of them which are saved.* In none of these instances have the translators given the forced meaning above noticed; and no reason can be assigned why they should have so rendered Acts ii. 47.

[2] Dr. Hammond (on Acts xiii. 48.) has cited and commented on several passages which we have not room to state. He renders the word *τεταγμένοι* by *fitly disposed and qualified for;* Dr. Wall, by *fit to receive;* and Mr. Thompson, the learned North American translator of the Scriptures from the Greek, by *fitly disposed.* Wolfius, Cur. Philol. in loc., considers the phrase *τεταγμένος εἰς* as equivalent to *εὔθετος εἰς* (Luke ix. 62.) in our version rendered *fit* (or, more correctly. *rightly disposed*) *for the kingdom of God.* Dr. Whitby translates the word by *disposed*, and Dr. Doddridge by *determined*, in order to preserve the ambiguity of the word. The meaning, he observes, of the sacred penman seems to be, that all who were deeply and seriously concerned about their eternal happiness openly embraced the gospel. And, wherever this temper was, it was undoubtedly the effect of a divine operation on their hearts. See Whitby, Doddridge, Wall, Wetstein, Bengel, Rosenmüller, and especially Limborch, Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum, pp. 133—136. folio, Rotterdam, 1711, on Acts xiii. 48., and Krebsius, Observationes in Nov. Test. ex Josepho, pp. 222—224. Compare also Franzius de Interpretatione Sacrarum Scripturarum, pp. 104—115.; Bp. Taylor's Works, vol. ix. p. 140.; Bishop Wilson's Works, sermon 56. vol. ii. p. 272. folio edit. Bath, 1782., or pp. 346, 347., 4to. edit. 1781; and Humphry, Comm. on the Acts of the Apostles, edit. 1854, p 116.

From this clause the two following inferences have been deduced. 1. That Jesus Christ is a most certain asylum for all persons whose consciences are burdened. 2. That Christians ought to receive those who are weak in faith, after the example of Christ, and to treat them with tenderness. Now, though both these inferences are good in themselves, the first is most to be preferred, because it harmonizes best with the scope of the passage (compare verses 37—40); which is to show that Christ will reject none "that truly repent and unfeignedly believe" in him.

5. *Inferences ought to embrace useful truths, and such as are necessary to be known, on which the mind may meditate, and be led to a more intimate acquaintance with the doctrines of salvation, and with Christian morality.*

It were no difficult task to illustrate this remark by a variety of examples; but this is rendered unnecessary by the admirable models presented in the valuable sermons of our most eminent divines, not to mention the excellent discourses of Masillon, Bossuet, Flechier, Claude, Saurin, Superville, Du Bosc, and other eminent foreign divines, both protestants and Romanists. The reader, who is desirous of illustrations, will find many very apposite ones in Claude's celebrated and elaborate Essay on the Composition of a Sermon.[1]

II. The *sources* whence inferences are deducible are divided by Rambach (to whom we are almost wholly indebted for this chapter[2]) into two classes, viz. *internal* and *external*: the former are *inherent* in the text, and flow from it, *considered in itself*; the latter are derived from a *comparison* of the text with *other passages and circumstances.*

To illustrate these definitions by a few examples: The sources whence inferences may be deduced, are *internal*, or inherent in the text, when such consequences are formed, 1. From the affections of the sacred writer or speaker; 2. From words and their signification; 3. From the emphasis and force of words; and, 4. From the structure and order of the words contained in the sacred text.

1. *Inferences deduced from the affections of the writer or speaker, whether these are indicated in the text, or are left to the investigation of the interpreter.*

Thus, in Mark iii. 5., we read that Jesus Christ looked round about on those who opposed him with *anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts:* the anger here mentioned was no uneasy passion, but an excess of generous grief occasioned by their obstinate stupidity and blindness. From this passage the following conclusions may be drawn: 1. It is the duty of a Christian to sorrow, not only for his own sins, but also to be grieved for the sins of others. 2. All anger is not to be considered sinful. 3. He does not bear the image of Christ, but rather that of Satan, who can either behold with indifference the wickedness of others, or rejoice in it. 4. Nothing is more wretched than an obdurate heart, since it caused him, who is the source of all true joy, to be filled with grief on beholding it. 5. Our indignation against wickedness must be tempered by compassion for the persons of the wicked.

2. *Inferences deduced from words themselves, and their signification.*

For instance, in Luke xxi. 15., our Lord addressing his disciples, says, *I will give you a mouth and wisdom.* Inference 1. Christ, the eternal wisdom, is the source and spring of all true wisdom. 2. *Will give.* They who attempt to procure wisdom by their own strength, without the aid of prayer, may justly be charged with presumption. 3. *You.* No one stands more in need of the gift of divine wisdom than they who are intrusted with the charge of teaching others. 4. *A mouth*, or ready utterance. The gift of

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[1] See particularly §§ 17—26. in Dr. Williams's edition of Claude's Essay, Christian Preacher, pp. 300—346.; or Mr. Simeon's much improved edition, Cambridge and London, 1827. 12mo.

[2] Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ, lib. iv. cap. 3. pp. 804—822.

eloquence is bestowed by God, as well as every other gift. *Wisdom.* It is possible for a man to acquire *cunning* by the mere force of corrupt nature; but nature cannot possibly confer true wisdom. 5. *And.* Eloquence, when not united with wisdom, is of little utility in promoting the kingdom of Christ. From this last inference, it appears that even the smallest particles sometimes afford matter from which we may deduce practical conclusions.

3. *Inferences deduced from the emphasis and force of words.*

We have an example in 1 Pet. v. 5., *Be clothed with humility; for God resisteth the proud.* Inference 1. *Humility.* Christian humility does not reside in filthy or rent garments, but in a modest mind, that entertains humble views of itself. *Be ye clothed,* ἐγκομβώσασθε, from ἐν, *in,* and κομβόω, to *gather,* or *tie in a knot.* The word means to *clothe,* properly, *with an outer ornamental garment, tied closely upon one with knots.* True humility is an *ornament* which decorates the mind much more than the most costly garments do the body.[1] 3. Humility is a garment with which we cover both our own virtues and the defects of others. 4. This ornament of humility, being exposed to many snares, must be most carefully guarded, and retained around us. 5. *The proud,* ὑπερηφάνοις, from ὑπέρ, *above,* and φαίνω, *to appear,* because such persons exalt themselves above others. No sin is less capable of being concealed, or escaping the observation of others, than pride. 6. *God resisteth,* ἀντιτάσσεται, literally, *setteth himself as in array against, the proud man:* this is a military term. The inference deducible is that, while other sinners retire, as it were, from the presence of God, and seek for shelter against his indignation, the proud man alone openly braves it.[2]

4. *Inferences deduced from the order and structure of the words contained in the sacred text.*

Thus, from Rom. xiv. 17., *The kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,* the following inferences may be derived, according to the order of the words, which depends upon the connection and order of the subjects treated of. 1. No lasting *peace* of conscience is to be expected, unless we previously lay hold of the *righteousness* of Christ by faith. 2. They only possess a genuine and permanent *joy,* who, being justified, cultivate *peace* with God through Jesus Christ. 3. In vain do those persons boast of the *righteousness* of Christ, who still continue in a state of hostility with God and man. 4. A peaceful conscience is the only source of spiritual joy.[3]

III. The sources of inferences are *external,* when the conclusions are deduced from a comparison of the text, 1. With the state of the speaker; 2. With the scope of the book or passage; 3. With antecedents and consequents; or, in other words, with the context; 4. With parallel passages, and other circumstances.

1. *Inferences deduced from the state of the writer or speaker.*

Thus, when Solomon, the wisest and richest of sovereigns, whose eager desire after the enjoyment of worldly vanities was so great, that he left none of them untried, and whose means of gratifying himself in every possible pleasure and delight were unbounded,— when he exclaims, (Eccl. i. 2.) *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity,* the following inferences may be deduced from his words, compared with the state of his mind. 1. Since the meanest artisan is not to be despised when speaking properly and opportunely of his own business, he must be more than usually stupid who does not give diligent attention when a most illustrious monarch is about to speak. 2. How admirable is the wisdom of God, who, when it pleased him to select a person to proclaim and testify the vanity of all things human, made choice of one who had most deeply experienced how truly vain they were! 3. When a sovereign, thus singularly possessed of glory, fame, human wisdom, riches, and every facility for the enjoyment of pleasures, proclaims the vanity of all these things, his testimony ought to be received by every one with great respect. 4. Since princes, above all others, are exposed to the insidious wiles of pleasures, it is worthy of remark that God raised up one of their own rank to admonish them of their danger.

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[1] See before, p. 238.

[2] See before, pp. 215–217, on emphatic words, which are sources whence inferences may be deduced.

[3] For a full illustration see Sermons on Subjects chiefly Practical, by Bp. Jebb, Serm. iv. pp. 71—98. London, 1815, 8vo.

2. *Inferences deduced*

(1.) *From the general scope of an entire book.*

For instance, let the following words of Jesus Christ, John viii. 51., *Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my saying he shall never see death,* be compared with the *general scope* of the book, which is announced in John xx. 31., *These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.* From this collation the following inferences will flow. 1. Faith in Christ is to be proved by obedience to his word. 2. True faith cordially receives not only the merits of Christ, but also his words and precepts. And, 3. Whosoever is made, through faith, a partaker of spiritual life, shall also be freed from spiritual and eternal death.

(2.) *From the special scope of a particular passage.*

The particular scope of Jesus Christ in the passage above cited, John viii. 51., was to demonstrate that he was not possessed by an evil spirit; since the keeping of his words would procure eternal life for all who obey him; while Satan, on the contrary, leads men into sin, whose wages is *death,* or everlasting perdition. Hence we may deduce the subsequent inferences. 1. That doctrine which produces such very salutary effects cannot necessarily be false and diabolical. 2. Saving truths are to be proposed even to those who are guilty of calumniating them. 3. There is no nearer way, by which to liberate the mind from doubts formed against truth, than a ready obedience to acknowledge truth. 4. The precepts of Christ are to be obeyed, even though they should be defamed by the most learned men.

(3.) *From the very special scope of particular words or phrases.*

The passage just referred to will supply us with another illustration. For instance, should it be asked, 1. Why our Lord prefixed to his declaration a solemn asseveration similar to an oath? it is replied, because he perceived the very obstinate unbelief of his hearers; whence it may be inferred, that it is a shameful thing that Christ should find so little faith among men. 2. Should it be further inquired, why he prefixed a *double asseveration?* it is answered, in order that, by such repetition, he might silence the repeated calumnies of those who opposed him: hence, also, it may be inferred that, in proportion to the malice and effrontery of men in asserting calumnies, the greater zeal is required in vindicating truth. 3. Should it still be asked, why our Lord added the words, *I say unto you?* we reply, it is in opposition to the assertion of his enemies in v. 48., *Say we not well that thou hast a demon?* From which we may infer that he, who is desirous of knowing the truth, ought to attend not only to the stories invented and propagated by wicked men against the godly, but also to those things which Christ says of them, and they of him.

3. *Inferences deduced from a collation of the text with the context.*

In this case, the principal words of the text should be compared together, in order that inferences may be deduced from their mutual relation. 1. Collate 1 Tim. i. 15., *It is a faithful saying,* with v. 4., *Neither give heed to fables.* Inference. The idle legends of the Jews (preserved in the Talmud), and the relations of the Gentiles concerning their deities, and the appearances *of the latter,* are compared to uncertain fables; but the narration in the gospel concerning Jesus Christ is both certain, and worthy of being received with faith. 2. Collate also 1 Tim. i. 15. with v. 6. *Vain jangling,* or empty talking. Inference. God usually punishes those who *will not* believe the most certain words of the gospel, by judicially giving them up to a voluntary belief of the most absurd and lying fables. 3. Compare the words *Worthy of all acceptation,* 1 Tim. i. 15., with v. 8., *The law is good.* Inference. The law, as given by God, is both good in itself and has a good tendency, though to a sinner it is so formidable as to put him to flight; but the gospel recommends itself to the terrified conscience, as a saying or discourse every way worthy of credit.

4. *Inferences deduced from a collation of the text with parallel passages.*

The advantage resulting from such a comparison, in investigating the *sense* of a passage of scripture, has already been stated and illustrated; and the observations and examples referred to, if considered with a particular view to the deduction of inferences, will supply the reader with numerous instances, whence he may draw various important corollaries. One instance, therefore, will suffice to exemplify the nature of the inferences deducible from a comparison of the text with parallel passages. In 2 Tim. i. 8., St. Paul exhorts Timothy *not to be ashamed of the testimony of the Lord.* Compare this with Rom. i. 16.; where he says, *I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and also to the Greek;*

and with Isai. xxviii. 16. and xlix. 23., last clause (cited in Rom. x. 11.), where it is said, *Whosoever believeth in him* (Christ) *shall not be ashamed,* that is, confounded or disappointed of his hope. From this collation the two following inferences may be derived. 1. Faithful ministers of the gospel require nothing from others which they do not by their own experience know to be both possible and practicable. And, 2. All those, who have already believed, or do now or shall hereafter believe in Christ, have, in and through him, all the blessings foretold by the prophets; all the promises of God, in (or through) him, being *yea*, that is, true in themselves, and *amen*, that is faithfully ful filled to all those who believe in Christ (2 Cor. i. 20.).

5. *A fifth external source of inferences is the collation of the text with the consideration of the following external circumstances, viz.*

(1.) *The time when the words or things were uttered or took place.*

Thus, in Matt. xxvii. 52., we read that *many bodies of the saints which slept arose;* but when? After Christ's resurrection (v. 53.), not before (as Rambach himself, among other eminent divines, has supposed); for Christ himself was the *first-fruits* of them that slept (1 Cor. xv. 20.). The graves were opened at his death by the earthquake; and the bodies came out at his resurrection. Inference. The satisfactory efficacy of Christ's death was so great, that it opened a way to life to those who believed on him as the Messiah that was to come, as well as to those who believe in him subsequently to his incarnation; and both are equally partakers of the benefits flowing from his resurrection.

(2.) *The place where the words were uttered.*

As in Matt. xxvi. 39, 42., *Not my will, but thine be done!* Where did Christ utter this exclamation? In a garden. Inference. He, who made an atonement for the sins of all mankind, voluntarily submitted himself, in the garden of passion, to the will of God; from which man withdrew himself in a garden of pleasure.

(3.) *The occasion upon which the words were spoken.*

Thus, in Matt. xvi. 3., Christ rebukes the Pharisees, *because they did not observe the signs of the times.* On what occasion? When they required him to show them a sign from heaven. Inference. Such are the blindness and corruption of men, that, disregarding the signs exhibited to them by God himself, they frequently require new signs that are more agreeable to their own desires.

(4.) *The manner in which a thing is done.*

Acts ix. 9. During the blindness in which Saul continued for three days and three nights God brought him to the knowledge of himself. Inference. Those, whom God vouchsafes to enlighten, he first convinces of their spiritual blindness.[1]

Other instances might be offered. From the sources already stated and explained, various kinds of inferences may be derived, relating to both faith and practice. Thus, some may be deduced for the confirmation of faith, for exciting sentiments of love and gratitude, and for the support of hope; while others contribute to promote piety, Christian wisdom and prudence, and sacred eloquence; lastly, others are serviceable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction, and for comfort. He who adds *personal practice* to the diligent reading of the scriptures, and meditates on the inferences deduced from them by learned and pious men, will abundantly experience the truth of the psalmist's observations, *Thy commandment is exceeding broad;* and, *The entrance of thy words giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple* (Psal. cxix. 96, 130.). "The scriptures," says the

[1] Francke, in his Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturæ Sacræ, cap. 3. (pp. 101—122. of Mr. Jacques's translation), has some very useful observations on inferential reading, illustrated with numerous instances different from those above given. See also Schaefer, Institutiones Scripturisticæ, pars ii. pp. 166—178.

late eminent Bishop Horne, "are the appointed means of *enlightening* the mind with true and saving knowledge. They show us what we were, what we are, and what we shall be: they show us what God hath done for us, and what he expecteth us to do for him: they show us the adversaries we have to encounter, and how to encounter them with success: they show us the mercy and the justice of the Lord, the joys of heaven, and the pains of hell. Thus will they *give to the simple*, in a few days, an *understanding* of those matters, which philosophy, for whole centuries, sought in vain."

In conducting, however, the inferential reading above discussed, we must be careful not to trust to the mere effusions of a prurient or vivid fancy: inferences *legitimately deduced* unquestionably do essentially promote the spiritual instruction and practical edification of the reader. "But, when brought forward for the purpose of *interpretation*, properly so called, they are to be viewed with caution, and even with mistrust. For scarcely is there a favourite opinion, which a fertile imagination may not thus extract from some portion of scripture; and very different, nay, contrary interpretations of this kind have often been made of the very same texts, according to men's various fancies or inventions."[1]

SECTION II.

ON THE PRACTICAL READING OF SCRIPTURE.

HAVING hitherto endeavoured to show how we may ascertain and apply the true sense of the sacred writings, it remains only to consider in what manner we may best reduce our knowledge to practice; for, if serious contemplation of the scriptures, and *practice*, be united together, our real knowledge of the Bible must necessarily be increased, and will be rendered progressively more delightful. *If*, says Jesus Christ, *any man will do his* (God's) *will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God* (John vii. 17.). This is the chief end for which God has *revealed* his will to us (Deut. xxix. 29.); and all scripture is profitable for this purpose (2 Tim. iii. 16.), either directing us what we should do, or inciting and encouraging us to do it; it being written for our learning, that *we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope* (Rom. xv. 4.); that is, that, by the strenuous exercise of that patience, which the consolations administered in scripture so powerfully support, we might have an assured and joyful hope in the midst of all our tribulation. Even those things, which seem most notional and speculative are reducible to practice. Those speculations, which we are enabled to form concerning the nature and attributes of God, grounded upon his works, ought to induce us to glorify him as such a God as his works declare him to be (Rom. i. 20, 21.); and it is a manifest indication that our knowledge is not right, if it hath not this influence upon our conduct and conversation (1 John ii. 3.).

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[1] Bishop Vanmildert, Lectures, p. 247.

The practical reading here referred to is of such a nature, that the most illiterate person may prosecute it with advantage; for the application of scripture which it enjoins is connected with salvation; and, consequently, if the unlearned were incapable of making such application to themselves, it would be in vain to allow them to peruse the sacred writings.[1] After what has been stated in the preceding part of this volume, the author trusts he shall stand acquitted of undervaluing the knowledge of the original languages of the scriptures, an acquaintance with which will suggest many weighty practical hints, that would not present themselves in a version. It is, however, sufficient, that every thing necessary to direct our faith, and regulate our practice, may easily be ascertained by the aid of translations. Of modern versions, the present authorized English translation is, upon the whole, undoubtedly a most accurate and faithful one.

The simplest practical application of the word of God will, unquestionably, prove the most beneficial; provided it be conducted with a due regard to those moral qualifications which have already been stated and enforced, as necessary to the right understanding of the scriptures.[2] Should, however, any hints be required, the following may, perhaps, be consulted with advantage.[3]

I. *In reading the scriptures, then, with a view to personal application, we should be careful that it be done with a pure intention.*

The Scribes and Pharisees, indeed, searched the scriptures, yet without deriving any real benefit from them: they *thought* that they had in them eternal life; yet they would not come to Christ that they might have life (John v. 40.). He, however, who peruses the sacred volume, only for the purpose of amusing himself with the histories it contains, or of beguiling time, or to tranquillize his conscience by the discharge of a mere external duty, is deficient in the *motive* with which he performs that duty, and cannot expect to derive from it either advantage or comfort amid the trials of life. Neither will it suffice to read the scriptures with the mere design of becoming intimately acquainted with sacred truths, unless such reading be accompanied with a desire, that, through them, he may be convinced of his self-love, ambition, or other faults, to which he may be peculiarly exposed, and that, by the assistance of divine grace, he may be enabled to root them out of his mind.

II. *In reading the scriptures for this purpose, it will be advisable to select some appropriate lessons from its most useful parts; not being particularly solicitous concerning the exact connection or other critical niceties that may occur (though at* other *times, as ability and opportunity offer, these are highly proper objects of inquiry), but simply considering them in a devotional or practical view.*[4]

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[1] Francke, Manuductio, cap. iv. p. 131., &c., or p. 124., &c., of the English version.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 466—468.

[3] These observations are selected and abridged from Rambach, Instit. Herm., and Francke, Brevis Institutio, Rationem tradens Sacr. Script. in veram edificationem legendi, annexed to his Prælect Herm. 8vo. Halæ Magd. 1717. Francke has treated the same topic nearly in a similar manner, in his Manuductio, already noticed, cap. iv.

[4] Doddridge, Rise and Progress of Religion, chap. xix. § 9. (Works, vol. i. p 359. Leeds, edit. 8vo.)

After ascertaining, therefore, the plain and obvious meaning of the lesson under examination, we should first consider the *present state of our minds*, and carefully compare it with the passage in question: next, we should inquire into the *causes of those faults* which such perusal may have disclosed to us, and should then look around for suitable remedies to correct the faults we have thus discovered.

III. *We should carefully distinguish between what the scripture itself says, and what is only said in the scripture, and, also, the times, places, and persons, when, where, and by whom any thing is recorded as having been said or done.*

In Mal. iii. 14., we meet with the following words: "It is in vain to serve God; and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinance?" And, in 1 Cor. xv. 32., we meet with this maxim of profane men, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." But, when we read these and similar passages, we must attend to the characters introduced, and remember that the persons who spoke thus were wicked men. Even those, whose piety is commended in the sacred volume, did not always act in strict conformity to it. Thus, when David vowed that he would utterly destroy Nabal's house, we must conclude that he sinned in making that vow; and the discourses of Job's friends, though in themselves extremely beautiful and instructive, are not in *every* respect to be approved; for we are informed by the sacred historian, that God was wroth with them, because they had not spoken of him the thing that was right (Job xlii. 7.).

IV. *In every practical reading and application of the scriptures to ourselves, our attention should be fixed on Jesus Christ, both as a* gift, *to be received by faith for salvation, and also as an* exemplar, *to be copied and imitated in our lives.*

We are not, however, to imitate him in all things. Some things he did by his divine power; and in those we *cannot* imitate him: other things he performed by his sovereign authority; in those we *must not* imitate him: other things also he performed by virtue of his office, as a Mediator; and in these we *may not*, we *cannot* follow him. But, in his early piety, his obedience to his reputed earthly parents, his unwearied diligence in doing good, his humility, his unblameable conduct, his self-denial, his contentment under low circumstances, his frequency in private prayer, his affectionate thankfulness, his compassion to the wretched, his holy and edifying discourse, his free conversation, his patience, his readiness to forgive injuries, his sorrow for the sins of others, his zeal for the worship of God, his glorifying his heavenly Father, his impartiality in administering reproof, his universal obedience, and his love and practice of holiness — in all these instances, Jesus Christ is the most perfect pattern for our imitation.[1] And the observation of these things, in a practical point of view, will be of singular use to us on this account; namely, that, whatever sympathy and benevolence Christ displayed on earth, he retains the same in heaven,

[1] The various features in the character of our Redeemer as man, which are enumerated above, are illustrated in an admirable, but little known tract of the pious commentator Burkitt (edited by the Rev. Dr. Glasse), intitled Jesus Christ, as Man, an inimitable Pattern of religious Virtue. 8vo. London. 1809. Having illustrated the different subjects, the editor terminates his essay with the following caution: "Take heed that ye do not so consider Christ for your pattern, as to *disown him* for your Saviour and Redeemer. God preserve us," he adds, "from this growing error, which stabs the heart of the Christian religion, in that it deprives us of the choicest benefits of Christ's death; namely, the expiation of sin by a proper satisfaction to the justice of God!"

seeing that he is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and that he ever liveth to make intercession for them that come unto God by him. For we have not an high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but (one who was) in all points tempted like as we are; so that we may now come with humble confidence to the throne of grace; assuring ourselves that we shall find, from the true mercy-seat of God, sufficient help in all our distresses (Heb. xiii. 8., vii. 25., and iv. 15, 16.). Jesus Christ, then, being our most perfect exemplar (1 Cor. xi. 1.), the particular actions and general conduct of other men, as related in the scriptures, should be regarded by us as models of imitation, only *so far as they are conformable to this standard.*

V. "*An example (that is, every good one) hath the force of a rule; all of them being* 'written for our admonition' (1 Cor. x. 11.). *But then we must be careful to examine and discern whether the example be* extraordinary *or* ordinary, *according to which the application must be made.*"[1]

In illustration of this remark, it may be observed, 1. That, in matters which were *extraordinary*, such as the killing of Eglon by Ehud (Judg. iii. 21.), Elijah's slaying the prophets of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 40.), and his invoking fire from heaven (2 Kings i. 10.), a conduct which, though approved in *him*, was condemned by our Lord in the apostles (Luke ix. 54, 55.); 2. In matters that were *temporary;* such were many of the ceremonies observed by the Jews, the washing of his disciples' feet by our Lord (John xiii. 14.), the celebration of love-feasts by the primitive Christians, &c.; and, 3. In matters that were *sinful*, as the drunkenness of Noah (Gen. ix. 21.), the adultery of David (2 Sam. xi.), the repining of Jonah (Jonah iv. 1—9.), Peter's denial of Christ (Matt. xxvi. 69—75.; Mark xiv. 66—72.; Luke xxii. 55—62.; John xviii. 15—18, 25—27.), &c. — in matters which were thus extraordinary, temporary, or sinful, the practice of holy men recorded in the scriptures is *NOT* to be a pattern for us; but, in all general holy duties, and in such particular duties as belong to our respective situations and callings, we are to set them before our eyes, and to follow their steps. When, therefore, we read of the uprightness of Noah, of Abraham's faith, the meekness of Moses, of David's devotions, the zeal of Josiah, the boldness of Peter and John in Christ's cause, of the labours of St. Paul, and other virtues of the ancient saints, it should be our study to adorn our profession with similar graces and ornaments.[2]

VI. *When we read of the* failings, *as well as the* sinful actions *of men, recorded in the scriptures, we may see what is in our own nature; for there are in us the seeds of the same sin, and similar tendencies to its commission, which would bring forth similar fruits, were it not for the preventing and renewing grace of God. And, as many of the persons, whose faults are related in the volume of inspiration, were men of infinitely-more elevated piety than ourselves, we should learn from them, not only to "be not high-minded, but fear"* (Rom. xi. 20.); *but, further, to avoid being rash in censuring the conduct of others.*

The *occasions* of their declensions are likewise deserving of our attention,

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[1] Bishop Wilkins on the Gift of Preaching, p. 23. of Dr. E. Williams's Christian Preacher; or p. 15. edit. 1843. See also some admirable observations on this subject in Bishop Taylor's Works, vol. xii. pp. 452. &c.

[2] See Dr. Hey's Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. p. 77. The whole of his chapter, on "applying sayings and actions recorded in the scriptures to ourselves," abounds with profound views, happily illustrated, and is worthy of repeated perusals.

as well as the temptations to which they were exposed, and whether they did not neglect to watch over their thoughts, words, and actions, or trust too much to their own strength (as in the case of St. Peter's denial of Christ), what were the means that led to their penitence and recovery, and how they demeaned themselves after they had repented. By a due observation, therefore, of their *words and actions*, and of the *temper of their minds*, so far as this is manifested by words and actions, we shall be better enabled to judge of our *real* progress in religious knowledge, than by those characters which are given of holy men in the scriptures, without such observation of the tenor of their lives, and the frame of their minds.[1]

VII. *In reading the promises and threatenings, the exhortations and admonitions, and other parts of scripture. we should apply them to ourselves in such a manner, as if they had been personally addressed to us.*

For instance, are we reading any of the prophetic sermons? Let us so read and consider them, and, as it were, realize to ourselves the times and persons when and to whom such prophetic discourses were delivered, as if they were our fellow-countrymen, fellow-citizens, &c., whom Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets rebuke in some chapters; while in others they labour to convince them of their sinful ways, and to convert them, or, in the event of their continuing disobedient, denounce the divine judgments against them.[2] So, in all the precepts of Christian virtue recorded in Matt. v., vi., and vii., we should consider ourselves to be as nearly and particularly concerned, as if we had personally heard them delivered by Jesus Christ on the Mount.[3] Independently, therefore, of the light which will thus be thrown upon the prophetic or other portions of scripture, much *practical* instruction will be efficiently obtained; for, by this mode of reading the scriptures, the promises addressed to others will encourage us, the denunciations against others will deter us from the commission of sin, the exhortations delivered to others will excite us to the diligent performance of our duty, and, finally, admonitions to others will make us *walk circumspectly*. Thus will St. Paul's comprehensive observations be fully realized; *Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning* (Rom. xv. 4.); and, *All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be made perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works* (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.).

VIII. *The words of the passage selected for our private reading, after its import has been ascertained, may beneficially be summed up or comprised in very brief prayers, or ejaculations.*[4]

The advantage resulting from this simple method, says Rambach, has been proved by many who have recommended it. If we pray over the substance of scripture, with our Bible before us, it may impress the memory and heart more deeply, and may form us to copiousness and variety both of thought and expression in prayer.[5] Should any references to the

[1] Lukin, Introduction to the Scriptures, p. 213. 12mo. London, 1669.
[2] Franzius, Tractatus de Interpretatione Sacrarum Scripturarum, Præf. p. 9.
[3] See Lively Oracles, sect. viii. § 41.
[4] Francke has given several examples of the practice here recommended, in the Brevis Institutio, at the end of his Prælectiones Hermeneuticæ. Similar examples are also in the tract, intitled Plain Directions for reading the Holy Scriptures, published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.
[5] Dr. Doddridge, Works, vol. i. p. 360.

scriptures be required, in confirmation of this statement, we would briefly notice that the following passages, among many others that might be cited, will, by addressing them to God, and by a slight change also in the person, become admirable petitions for divine teaching; viz. Col. i. 9, 10.; Eph. i. 17, 18, 19.; 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2. Psal. cxix. contains numerous similar passages.

IX *In the practical reading of the scriptures, all things are not to be applied at once, but gradually and successively; and this application must be made, not so much with the view of supplying us with materials for* talking, *as with matter for* practice.

Finally, *This practical reading and application must be diligently continued through life; and we may, with the assistance of divine grace, reasonably hope for success in it, if to reading we add constant* prayer *and* meditation *on what we have read.*

Prayer enlightens meditation; and by meditation prayer is rendered more ardent.[1] With these, we are further to conjoin a perpetual comparison of the sacred writings; daily observation of what takes place in ourselves, as well as what we learn from the experience of others; a strict and vigilant self-examination; together with frequent conversation with men of learning and piety, who have made greater progress in saving knowledge; and, lastly, the diligent cultivation of internal peace.[2]

Other observations might be offered; but the preceding hints, if duly considered and acted upon, will make us "neither barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Pet. i. 8.). And, if, to some of his readers, the author should *appear* to have dilated too much on so obvious a topic, its *importance* must be his apology. Whatever relates to the confirmation of our faith, the improvement of our morals, or the elevation of our affections, ought not to be treated lightly or with indifference. To borrow a remark of the eminently-learned Dr. Waterland, with a trifling variation, while moral or spiritual uses or improvements are raised upon texts of scripture, for the purposes of *practical edification* (whether such spiritual uses were really intended by the sacred penman or not), if the words be but *aptly* accommodated to them, and *pertinently* and *soberly* applied, and the analogy of faith be preserved, a good end will be answered, and the true *doctrine* at least will be kept, if not a true interpretation.

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[1] Oratio et meditatio conjunctione necessariâ sibi adinvicem copulantur. Et per orationem illuminatur meditatio, et in meditatione exardescit oratio. Bernard, Opera, Par. 1690. Serm. de Disc. eunt. in Em. 2. tom. v. col. 657. [This is not a genuine work of Bernard.] Again, Nemo repente fit summus: *ascendendo*, non volando, apprehenditur summitas scalæ. Ascendamus igitur, velut duobus quibusdam pedibus, *meditatione* et *oratione*. Meditatio siquidem docet quid desit: oratio ne desit obtinet. Illa viam ostendit, ista deducit. Meditatione denique agnoscimus imminentia nobis pericula: oratione evadimus, præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, In Fest. Andr. Serm. i. 10. tom. iii. col. 1063.

[2] The subjects briefly noticed in this paragraph are discussed more at length by Franzius, in the preface (pp. 9—11.) to his Tractatus Theologicus de Interpretatione Scripturæ Sacræ.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

TO

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND APOCRYPHA.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND APOCRYPHA.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE PENTATEUCH, OR FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES.

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PENTATEUCH.

I. *Title.*—II. *Argument of the Pentateuch.*—III. *Notice of other writings ascribed to Moses.*

I. THE PENTATEUCH, by which title the five books of Moses are collectively designated, is a word of Greek original[1], which literally signifies five books, or volumes; by the Jews it is frequently termed תּוֹרה, the Law, or the Law of Moses, because it contains the ecclesiastical and political ordinances issued by God to the Israelites. [We find this appellation more or less modified in various parts of the bible: סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה, Deut. xxviii. 61., xxix. 20., xxx. 10., xxxi. 26.; Josh. i. 8., viii. 34.; 2 Kings xxii. 8, 11.; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 15.; Neh. viii. 3.: ס׳ תּוֹרַת יְהוָֹה, 2 Chron. xvii. 9., xxxiv. 14.; Neh. ix. 3.: ס׳ תּוֹרַת הָאֱלֹהִים, Josh. xxiv. 26.; Neh. viii. 18.: ס׳ תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, Josh. viii. 31.; 2 Kings xiv. 6.; Neh. viii. 1.: ס׳ מֹשֶׁה, 2 Chron. xxv. 4., xxxv. 12.; Ezra vi. 18.; Neh. xiii. 1.: תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, 2 Chron. xxiii. 18.; Ezra iii. 2., vii. 6.: הַתּוֹרָה, 2 Chron. xxv. 4.; Neh. viii. 2, 7, 13, 14. The rabbins call the books of Moses חֲמִשָּׁה חוּמְשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה, "the five-fifths of the law." Among the Greeks the name was *ἡ πεντάτευχος*[2], sc. *βίβλος*; among the Latins, *Pentateuchus*[3], sc. *liber.*]

The Pentateuch forms, to this day, but one roll or volume in the Jewish manuscripts, being divided only into perashioth and sedarim, or larger and smaller sections.[4] This collective designation of the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy,

[1] Πεντάτευχος, from πέντε, five, and τεῦχος, a book or volume. Bible de Vence, tom. i. p. 310.

[2] Orig. Op. Par. 1718—1738. In Joh. tom. xiii. tom. iv. p. 236.

[3] Tertull. Op. Franck. 1597, Adv. Marcion. lib. i. 10. p. 354.

[4] For an account of these divisions, see before, pp. 35, 36.

is of very considerable antiquity, though we have no certain information when it was first introduced.[1] As, however, the names of these books are evidently derived from the Greek, and as the five books of Moses are expressly mentioned by Josephus[2], who wrote only a few years after our Saviour's ascension, we have some reason to believe that the five-fold division was made by the Alexandrian translators. [Keil, however, and others consider it original.[3]]

II. This division of the sacred volume comprises an account of the creation of the world, and of the fall of man, the outlines of the early annals of the world, and a full recital of the Jewish law, and of the events which happened to the Israelites from their becoming a distinct people to their departure out of Egypt, and their arrival on the confines of the land of Canaan—a period of two thousand five hundred and fifteen years according to the vulgar computation, or of three thousand seven hundred and sixty-five years, according to that of Dr. Hales. "It is a wide description, gradually contracted; an account of one nation, preceded by a general sketch of the first state of mankind. The books are written in pure Hebrew, with an admirable diversity of style, always well adapted to the subject, yet characterized with the stamp of the same author; they are all evidently parts of the same work, and mutually strengthen and illustrate each other. They blend revelation and history in one point of view, furnish laws, and describe their execution, exhibit prophecies, and relate their accomplishment."[4]

III. Besides the Pentateuch the Jews ascribe to Moses ten psalms, from Psal. xc. to xcix. inclusive. There is, however, no solid evidence to prove that all these psalms were composed by him; for the title of the ninetieth psalm, *A prayer of Moses the man of God*, which, they pretend, must be applied also to the nine following psalms, is not sufficient. Many of the titles of the psalms are not original, nor, indeed, very ancient; and some are evidently misplaced: we find also in some of these psalms the names of persons, and other marks, which by no means agree with Moses.

Further, some of the ancient fathers have thought that Moses was the author of the book of Job: Origen, in his commentary on Job, pretends that Moses translated it out of Syriac into Hebrew; but this opinion is rejected both by Jews and Christians.

There are likewise ascribed to Moses several apocryphal books; as an Apocalypse, or Little Genesis, the Ascension of Moses, the

[1] The author of the treatise *De Mundo*, which is commonly ascribed to Philo Judæus, was of opinion that Moses himself divided his work into five books; but he assigned no authority for such opinion. Jesus Christ and his apostles never cite the five books of Moses under any other name than that of *Moses*, or the *Law of Moses;* as the Jews ordinarily do to this day. Calmet conjectures that Ezra divided the Pentateuch into five books. Dissertations, tom. ii. p. 23.

[2] In his Jewish Antiquities, Josephus terms the Pentateuch the *Holy Books of Moses* (lib. x. cap. 4. § 2.); and, in his Treatise against Apion (lib. i. cap. 8.), when enumerating the sacred writings of the Jews, he says that *five of them belong to Moses.* Some critics have imagined that this distinction of the Pentateuch into five separate books was known to and recognized by St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 19.), by the term *five words;* but the context of that passage does not authorize such a conjecture.

[3] Einleitung, § 20. p. 65.

[4] Bp. Gray, Key to the Old Testament, p. 76. 5th edit.

Assumption of Moses, the Testament of Moses, and the Mysterious Books of Moses. The principal part of the Little Genesis was transferred by Cedrenus into his chronological history[1]: it was extant in Hebrew in the fourth century of the Christian era, for we find it cited by Jerome. From the Apocalypse just noticed, it has been pretended that St. Paul copied Gal. v. 6. and vi. 15.; and it has been imagined that what is said in the epistle of Jude (verse 9.), respecting the archangel Michael's contention with Satan for the body of Moses, was taken from the apocryphal Ascension of Moses. Such was the opinion of Origen, who, though he cites it in another place, alludes to it as not being in the canon.[2] All these pretended Mosaic writings, however, are confessedly spurious, and are supposed to have been fabricated in the early ages of Christianity.

SECTION II.

ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

I. *Title.*—II. *Author and date.*—III. *General argument.*—IV. *Scope.*—V. *Types of the Messiah.*—VI. *Synopsis.*—VII. *Literal sense of the first three chapters of Genesis vindicated.*

I. The first book of the Pentateuch, which is called Genesis (ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ), derives its appellation from the title it bears in the Greek Septuagint version, ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ; which signifies the Book of the Generation or Production, because it commences with the history of the generation or production of all things. The Jews name the books of the Old Testament either from their authors, or the principal subject treated in them, as the five books of Moses, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, or from the first Hebrew word with which they begin: thus, the book of Genesis is in Hebrew called בְּרֵאשִׁית, that is, *in the beginning,* from its initial word[3] [also from its contents, סֵפֶר יְצִירָה[4]].

II. Although nothing is more certain than that this book *was* written by Moses[5], yet it is by no means agreed *when* he composed the history which it contains. Eusebius and some eminent critics

[1] Cedrenus, enumerating the authorities consulted by him, says, that he "collected not a few things from the Little Genesis, ἀπὸ τῆς Λεπτῆς Γενέσεως. Historia Compendiaria, tom. i. p. 2. edit. Venet. 1729. Cedrenus frequently cites this apocryphal book in the course of his work.

[2] See the passages of Origen at length in Dr. Lardner's works, vol. ii. pp. 483—512. 8vo., or vol. i. pp. 541—557. 4to.

[3] To avoid unnecessary references to the same authorities, it may here be stated that, besides the treatises referred to for particular facts and arguments, in this and the following sections of the present volume, the author has throughout consulted the dissertations of Calmet; Carpzov, Introductio ad Libros Biblicos Veteris Testamenti; Jahn, Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis, and Ackermann's expurgated edition of it; the prefaces of Alber in his Interpretatio Sacræ Scripturæ; Heidegger, Enchiridion Biblicum, on which treatise Van Til's Opus Analyticum is a commentary; and Moldenhawer, Introductio in omnes Libros Canonicos Veteris et Novi Testamenti.

[4] De Wette, Einleitung, § 138.; but Buxtorf, Lex. Talmud. &c., col. 974., understands a cabalistic book by this appellation.

[5] See Vol. I. pp. 48—61.

after him have conjectured that it was written while he kept the flocks of Jethro his father-in-law, in the wilderness of Midian. The opinion of Theodoret, which has been adopted by Moldenhawer and other modern critics, is that Moses wrote this book after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt and the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai; for, previously to his receiving the divine call related in Exodus iii., he was only a private individual, and was not endued with the spirit of prophecy. A third conjecture has been offered by some Jewish writers, after rabbi Moses Ben Nachman, who suppose that God dictated to Moses all the contents of this book, during the first forty days that he was permitted to hold a communication with the Almighty on Mount Sinai, and that on his descent he committed the whole to writing. This hypothesis they found on Exod. xxiv. 12.

III. The book of Genesis comprises the history of about 2369 years according to the vulgar computation of time, or of 3619 years according to the larger computation of Dr. Hales. Besides the history of the creation, it contains the narrative of the original innocence and fall of man; the propagation of mankind; the rise of religion; the general defection and corruption of the world; the deluge; the restoration of the world; the division and peopling of the earth; the call of Abraham, and the divine covenant with him; with an account of the first patriarchs, to the death of Joseph. This book also comprises some important prophecies respecting the Messiah. See iii. 15., xii. 3., xviii. 18., xxii. 18., xxvi. 4., xxviii. 14., and xlix. 10.

IV. The Scope of the book of Genesis may be considered as twofold: 1. To record the history of the world from the commencement of time; and, 2. To relate the origin of the church, and the events which befell it during many ages. The design of Moses in this book will be better understood, if we consider the state of the world when the Pentateuch was written. Mankind was absorbed in the grossest idolatry, which for the most part had originated in the neglect, the perversion, or the misapprehension of certain truths, that had once been universally known. Moses, therefore, commences his narrative by relating in simple language the truths thus disguised or perverted. In pursuance of this plan, he relates, in the book of Genesis, the true origin and history of all created things, in opposition to the erroneous notions entertained by the heathen nations, especially by the Egyptians; the origin of sin, and of all moral and physical evil; the establishment of the knowledge and worship of the only true God among mankind; their declension into idolatry; the promise of the Messiah; together with the origin of the church, and her progress and condition for many ages. Further, he makes known to the Israelites the providential history of their ancestors, and the divine promises made to them, and shows them the reason why the Almighty chose Abraham and his posterity to be a peculiar people to the exclusion of all other nations, viz. that from them should spring the Messiah. This circumstance must be kept in view throughout the reading of this book, as it will illustrate many otherwise-unaccountable circumstances there re-

lated. It was this hope that led Eve to exclaim, *I have gotten a man, the Lord* (Gen. iv. 1. Heb.). The polygamy of Lamech may be accounted for by the hope that the Messiah would be born of some of his posterity, as also the incest of Lot's daughters (Gen. xix. 31—38.), Sarah's impatience of her barrenness (Gen. xvi.), the polygamy of Jacob (Gen. xxix.), the consequent jealousies between Leah and Rachel (Gen. xxx.), the jealousies between Ishmael and Isaac, and especially Rebekah's preference of Jacob to Esau. It was these jealousies, and these pretensions to the promise of the Messiah, that gave rise to the custom of calling God the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; and not the God of Lot, Ishmael, and Esau, the promise having been particularly made and repeated to those three patriarchs.[1]

V. Types of the Messiah are Adam, as being a public person and federal head (compare Rom. v. 14. Gr. and 1 Cor. xv. 45.); Melchizedek (Psal. cx. 4.; Heb. vi. 20. and vii.); and Isaac (Gen. xxii. with Heb. xi. 18, 19.).

VI. The Jews divide the book of Genesis into twelve perashioth or larger sections, and forty-three sedarim or smaller sections; in our Bibles it consists of fifty chapters. [All these divisions are of comparatively late date and without authority. It is not indeed easy to mark out satisfactorily the various distinct topics which the book comprises; insomuch that scarce any two writers agree as to the way in which they would divide it. Perhaps it may best be considered as comprising two parts:—

Part I. *The original history of mankind*, containing

1. A narrative of events from the creation to the flood (i.—v.); viz. the creation of man and his settlement in paradise (i., ii.); the fall of man and his expulsion from the garden (iii.); the history of Adam and his descendants till Noah (iv., v.).
2. The account of the flood and the restoration of the world (vi.—ix.).
3. History from the flood to the call of Abraham (x., xi.); including the peopling of the world (x.), the confusion of tongues and dispersion of mankind (xi.).

Part II. *The early history of the chosen race* (xii.—l.),

1. Under Abraham (xii.—xxv. 18.); including his call, the birth of Isaac, the death of Abraham, and settlement of his sons.
2. Under Isaac (xxv. 19.—xxviii. 9.).
3. Under Jacob (xxviii. 10.—l.); comprising his dwelling in Mesopotamia, his return to Canaan, events occurring in his family, the sale and imprisonment of Joseph, his deliverance and promotion, the famine, and descent of Jacob and his family into Egypt, his benediction, death and burial; with a supplement to the death and embalming of Joseph.

These divisions are, however, by no means exactly defined.]

For a summary of the religious doctrines and moral precepts of the patriarchal times, as exhibited in the book of Genesis, see Volume I. pp. 335—337.

[1] Allix, Reflections upon Genesis, in Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts, vol. i. pp. 247—259.

VII. From an imaginary difficulty in explaining the literal sense of the first three chapters of Genesis (a difficulty, however, which exists not with the devout reader of the sacred volume), some, who admit the Pentateuch to have been written by Moses, have contended that the narrative of the creation and fall is not a recital of real events, but an ingenious philosophical *mythos*, or fable, designed to account for the origin of human evil, and also as an introduction to a history, great part of which they consider to be a mere poetic fiction.[1] But the style of these chapters, as, indeed, of the whole book of Genesis, is strictly historical, and betrays no vestige whatever of allegorical or figurative description: this is so evident to any one that reads with attention, as to need no proof. And, "since this history was adapted to the comprehension of the commonest capacity, Moses speaks according to optical, not physical truth: that is, he describes the effects of creation *optically*, or as they would have appeared to the eye, and without any assignment of physical causes. In doing which he has not merely accommodated his narrative to the apprehension of mankind in an infant state of society, and employed a method of recital best suited to a vulgar capacity; but he thereby also satisfies an important requisition of experimental philosophy, viz. to describe effects accurately, according to their sensible appearances; by which means the mind is enabled to receive a clear and distinct impression of those appearances, and thus to reduce them to their proper causes, and to draw from them such conclusions as they are qualified to yield; for the determination of causes must follow our acquaintance with their effects."[2]

Further, in addition to the collateral testimony already adduced[3], to the credibility and reality of the facts related in the first three chapters of the book of Genesis, there are numerous incidental references, in the Old and New Testaments, to the creation, temptation, and fall of our first parents, which clearly prove that they were considered as acknowledged facts, not requiring proof, and handed down from primitive tradition. Of these we select the following instances, out of very many which might have been cited: —

1. *Allusions to the creation.* Psal. xxxiii. 9., *He spake, and it was* done; *he commanded, and it stood fast.* This is manifestly an allusion to Gen. i. 3., &c. Psal. xxiv. 2., *He* (Jehovah) *hath founded it* (the earth) *upon the seas, and established it upon the floods.* 2 Pet. iii. 5., *By the word*

[1] This notion is current among the divines of Germany, and the modern Socinians in this country: it is particularly enlarged upon by Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 351—365.; and by Gramberg, Libri Geneseos Adumbratio nova, pp. 16—18. Lipsiæ, 1828. 8vo.; and it is adopted by Dr. Geddes in his translation of the Bible, vol. i., and also in his Critical Remarks; of which the reader will find a masterly refutation from the pen of the late eminently-learned Bishop Horseley, in the British Critic, (O. S.) vol. xix. pp. 6—13. The younger Rosenmüller *had* adopted this mythical interpretation in the first edition of his Scholia on the Old Testament; but, maturer consideration having led him to see its erroneousness, he, greatly to his honour, returned to the proper and literal interpretation in the new edition of his Scholia, lately published. Dublin Christian Examiner, May, 1827, p. 388.

[2] Penn, Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies, vol. i. pp. 162, 163. (2nd edit.). In pp. 165—268. there is an elaborate vindication of the literal interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis. See also the historical and inspired character of the first three chapters of Genesis vindicated in Creation and the Fall, by the Rev. D. Macdonald, Edinb. 1856, part i. pp. 9—238.

[3] See Vol. I. pp. 144—155.

of the Lord the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water. In these two passages, the sacred writers allude to Gen. i. 6, 9. 2 Cor. iv. 6., *God, who commanded light to shine out of darkness, hath shined into our hearts, to* give *the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face* (rather *person*) *of Jesus Christ.* Here St. Paul alludes to Gen. i. 3. in so specific a manner, that it is impossible not to perceive the designed reference. From Eccl. vii. 29. and Eph. iv. 24., compared with Col. iii. 10. and James iii. 9. we learn that the divine image, in which man is said to have been created, is the moral image of God, viz. *uprightness* or *righteousness, true holiness,* and *knowledge.* And the creation of our first parents, related as a fact in Gen. i. 27, 28., is explicitly mentioned as a *real* fact by our Lord, in Matt. xix. 4. and Mark x. 6., as also by the apostle Paul. Compare 1 Cor. xi. 9.

2. *Allusions to the temptation and fall of our first parents, which are related* in Gen. iii. Job xxxi. 33., "If I covered my transgressions like *Adam*, by hiding mine iniquity in my bosom." Matt. xxv. 41., "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the *devil* and his angels." John viii. 44., "Ye are of your father the *devil*, and the works of your father ye will [*rather*, wish to] do. He was a *murderer* from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar, and the father of it." 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14., "Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived; but the woman, *having been deceived*, was in the transgression." 2 Cor. xi. 3., The *serpent beguiled Eve* through his subtilty. 1 John iii. 8., "He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the *works* of the devil."

The *reality* of the facts recorded in the first three chapters of the book of Genesis was acknowledged by the Jews who lived previously to the time of Christ. Vestiges of this belief are to be found in the apocryphal books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. *God created man to be immortal, and made him an image of his own eternity. Nevertheless, through envy of the devil, came death into the world; and they that hold of his side do find it* (Wisd. ii. 23, 24.). "Wisdom (that is, the eternal Son of God) preserved the *first-formed father* of the world, who was created alone; and *brought him out of his fall* (by the promised seed of the woman), and gave him power to rule all things" (x. 1, 2.). "Of the *woman* came the beginning of *sin;* and through her *we all die*" (Ecclus. xxv. 24.).

If words have any meaning, surely the separate and independent testimonies, here collected together, prove that the Mosaic narrative is a relation of real facts.[1] To consider the whole of that narrative as an allegory "is not only to throw over it the veil of inexplicable confusion, and involve the whole Pentateuch in doubt and obscurity, but to shake to its very basis Christianity, which commences in the promise, that 'the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent.' In reality, if we take the history of the fall in any other sense than the obvious literal sense, we plunge into greater perplexities than ever. Some well-meaning pious commentators have, indeed, endeavoured to reconcile all difficulties, by considering some parts of the Mosaic history in an allegorical, and other parts in a

[1] The arguments to prove the literal sense of the first three chapters of Genesis, which we have necessarily given with brevity, are ably and fully stated in Holden's elaborate Dissertation on the Fall of Man, London, 1823. 8vo.

literal, sense; but this is to act in a manner utterly inconsistent with the tenour and spirit of that history, and with the views of a writer, the distinguishing characteristics of whose production are simplicity, purity, and truth. There is no medium nor palliation; the whole is allegorical, or the whole is literal."[1]

In short, the book of Genesis, understood in its plain, obvious, and literal sense, furnishes a key to many difficulties in philosophy, which would otherwise be inexplicable. Thus it is impossible to account for the origin of such a variety of languages in a more satisfactory manner than is done in the narrative of the confusion of tongues which took place at Babel (Gen. xi. 1—9.). And, although some futile objections have been made against the chronology of this book, because it makes the world less ancient than is necessary to support the theories of some modern self-styled philosophers; yet even here, as we have already shown by an induction of particulars[2], the more rigorously it is examined and compared with the extravagant and improbable accounts of the Chaldæan, Egyptian, Chinese, and Hindoo chronology, the more firmly are its veracity and authenticity established. In fine, "without this history, the world would be in comparative darkness, *not knowing whence it came, or whither it goeth.* In the first page of this sacred book, a *child* may learn more in an hour, than all the *philosophers* in the world learned without it in thousands of years."[3]

[It is admitted that the mythical theory does not necessarily imply in the minds of those who adopt it pure baseless fiction. Real events, many would acknowledge, lie at the bottom of the mythos; but they are vailed, they say, in allegorical statement, and, if sifted to their literal truth, would be found unaccompanied by that supernatural machinery, by means of which eastern fancy has chosen to deliver them to the world. But, even with this concession, any such theory must be taken as irreconcilable with the facts of the case. For otherwise the tendency of Genesis would be to mislead the world. There is no indication on the part of the writer that he is describing allegorically: there is no line of demarcation between the supposed allegory, and the narrative which is generally acknowledged to be intended as a literal record. With regard to creation, indeed, which no human eye could witness, it has been above observed that Moses speaks "optically." The form in which the revelation of pre-Adamic events was made has been the subject of curious question. Was it conveyed as a narrative in words dictated (as it were) to the mind of the historian? Or was it presented as a series of visions to the eye of him who was afterwards to describe? This last supposition has been adopted by many; and by none has it been more lucidly explained than by Hugh Miller. "The revelation must have been either a revelation in words or ideas, or a revelation of scenes and events pictorially exhibited. Failing, however, to record its own history,

[1] Maurice, History of Hindostan, vol. i. pp. 368, 369.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 152—155. [See also an able article on Bunsen's Egypt and the Chronology of the Bible in the Quarterly Review, April 1859. No. CCX. pp. 382, &c.]

[3] Fuller, Expository Discourses on Genesis, vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

it leaves the student equally at liberty, so far as *external* evidence is concerned, to take up either view; while, so far as *internal* evidence goes, the presumption seems all in favour of revelation by vision; for, while no reason can be assigned why, in a revelation by word or idea, appearances which took place ere there existed a human eye should be *optically* described, nothing can be more natural or obvious than that they should be so described, had they been revealed by vision as a piece of *eye-witnessing*. It seems, then, at least eminently probable that such was the mode or form of the revelation in this case; and that he, who saw by vision on the mount the pattern of the tabernacle and its sacred furniture, and in the wilderness of Horeb the bush burning but not consumed—types and symbols of the coming dispensation and of its divine Author—saw also by vision the *pattern* of those successive pre-Adamic creations, animal and vegetable, through which our world was fitted up as a place of human habitation. The *reason* why the drama of creation has been *optically* described *seems* to be that it was in reality *visionally* revealed."[1]

If this view be adopted, many objections to the literal exactness of the early part of the Mosaic record are at once obviated. But it must be insisted on—whatever the mode in which the revelation was made—that succeeding scripture writers always treat the narrative of the creation, of the fall, &c., as literally true. Evidence of this has been given above; but larger evidence has been produced by archdeacon Pratt, who, confining himself to the New Testament, has shown that, if we are to regard the teaching of Christ and his apostles as worthy of credit, we cannot evade the conclusion that the book of Genesis is no collection of mythical stories, but a trustworthy narrative of events that actually occurred. After producing his proofs the archdeacon says: "Here are sixty-six passages of the New Testament in which these [the first] eleven chapters of Genesis are either directly quoted, or are made a ground of argument. Of these, five are by our Lord himself, two of them being direct quotations; thirty-eight by St. Paul, three being direct quotations; six by St. Peter; eight in St. John's writings; one by St. James; two by St. Jude; two by the assembled apostles; three, all of them direct quotations, by St. Luke; and one by St. Stephen. The inference which I would draw from this circumstance is, that our Lord and his apostles regarded these eleven chapters as *historical documents worthy of credit*, and that they made use of them to establish truths—a thing they never would have done had they not known them to be authoritative."[2]

It is the supernatural character of many of the events recorded which has led men to stigmatize Genesis as "unhistoric." With a reason of this kind the humble Christian can have no sympathy; nor

[1] The Testimony of the Rocks, lect. iv. pp. 168, 169. The whole lecture should be perused. See also Kurtz, Bibel und Astronomie; an abstract of which work is prefixed to the translation of the same author's Hist. of the Old Covenant, Edinb. 1859, vol. i. pp. iii.—cxxx.

[2] Scripture and Science not at Variance; with Remarks on the Historical Character, Plenary Inspiration, and Surpassing Importance of the Earlier Chapters of Genesis. By J. H. Pratt, M.A., Archdeacon of Calcutta (3rd edit.), chap. ii. p. 77.

will he be alarmed by the assertion that miracles are opposed to universal experience, and that therefore no testimony can establish the truth of them. This is not the place to discuss such a question: it is sufficient to observe that the whole objection is based upon a fallacy. The opposition is *not* between testimony and universal experience. The experience of others is learned by an individual only through testimony. And testimony declares that the experience of some is in favour of miraculous occurrences. To speak of *all* experience as against them is to put forth a figment. The opposition is, in each case, but of a single man's experience against the witness of many, or rather of negative against positive testimony. So that no one who acknowledges the sovereignty of the Creator need fear to admit the record wherein that sovereignty is testified, or imagine himself driven to account for supernatural events by supposing them the allegoric colouring of what really happened.[1]

"Genesis is a book," says Hävernick, "consisting of two contrasting parts: the first part introduces us into the greatest problems of the human mind, such as the creation and the fall of man; and the second into the quiet solitude of a small defined circle of families. In the former the most sublime and wonderful events are described with childlike simplicity; while, in the latter, on the contrary, the most simple and common occurrences are interwoven with the sublimest thoughts and reflections, rendering the small family circle a whole world in history, and the principal actors in it prototypes for a whole nation, and for all times. The contents in general are strictly religious. Not the least trace of mythology appears in it. Consequently there are no mythical statements, because whatever is mythical belongs to mythology; and Genesis plainly shows how very far remote the Hebrew mode of thinking was from mythical poetry, which might have found ample opportunity of being brought into play when the writer began to sketch the early times of the creation. It is true that the narrations are fraught with wonders. But primeval wonders, the marvellous deeds of God, are the very subject of Genesis. None of these wonders, however, bear a fantastical impress; and there is no useless prodigality of them. They are all penetrated and connected by one common leading idea, and are all related to the counsel of God for the salvation of man. This principle sheds its lustrous beams through the whole of Genesis; therefore the wonders therein related are as little to be ascribed to the invention and imagination of man as the whole plan of God for human salvation. The foundation of the divine theocratical institution throws a strong light upon the early patriarchal times: the reality of the one proves the reality of the other, as described in Genesis."[2]]

[1] See some good remarks on the alleged impossibility of miracles in Rogers, Reason and Faith, pp. 43, &c. Comp. Dr. M'Caul, Thoughts on Rationalism, 1850, pp. 30, &c.

[2] Kitto, Cyclop of Bibl. Lit. art. Genesis. Comp. Hävernick, Einleitung, § 120. I. ii. pp. 190—207. Dr. Dawson's Archaia, or Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures (Montreal, 1860), may be consulted for some able remarks on the object, character, and authority of the Mosaic narrative, chap. ii. pp. 17—48.

SECTION III.

ON THE BOOK OF EXODUS.

I. *Title.* — II. *Author, and date.* — III. *Occasion and subject-matter.* — IV. *Scope.*—V. *Types of the Messiah.*—VI. *Synopsis of its contents.*— VII. *Remarks on the plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians.*

I. The title of this book is derived from the Septuagint version, and is significant of the principal transaction which it records, namely, the ΕΞΟΔΟΣ, Exodus, or departure of the Israelites from Egypt. By the Jews, and in the Hebrew copies, it is termed, וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, *These are the words*, from the initial words of the book, or sometimes merely שְׁמוֹת. [It is also called נְזִיקִין.] It comprises a history of the events that took place during the period of 145 years, from the year of the world 2369 to 2514 inclusive, from the death of Joseph to the erection of the tabernacle. Twenty-five passages, according to Rivet, are quoted from Exodus by our Saviour and his apostles, in express words; and nineteen allusions to the sense are made in the New Testament. [Gough (New Testament Quotations) enlarges the number.]

II. That Moses was the author of this book we have already shown, though the time when it was written cannot be precisely determined. As, however, it is a history of matters of fact, it was doubtless written after the giving of the law on Mount Sinai and the erecting of the tabernacle; for things cannot be historically related until they have actually taken place, and the author of this book was evidently an eye and ear witness of the events he has narrated.

III. The book of Exodus records the cruel persecution of the Israelites in Egypt under Pharaoh-Rameses II.; the birth, exposure, and preservation of Moses; his subsequent flight into Midian, his call and mission to Pharaoh-Amenophis II.[1]; the miracles performed by him and by his brother Aaron; the ten plagues also miraculously inflicted on the Egyptians; the institution of the passover, and the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt; their passage across the Red Sea, and the destruction of the Egyptian army; the subsequent journeyings of the Israelites in the desert, their idolatry, and frequent murmurings against God; the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai, and the erection of the tabernacle.

IV. The Scope of Exodus is to preserve the memorial of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and to represent the church of God, *afflicted* and *preserved;* together with the providential care of God towards her, and the judgments inflicted on her enemies. It plainly points out the accomplishment of the divine promises and prophecies delivered to Abraham, that his posterity would be very

[[1] Comp. Vol. I. pp. 189, 190. These events no doubt occurred under monarchs of what is called the eighteenth dynasty, though there may be difficulties in identifying the individual kings. See Kalisch, Comm. on the Old Test., Exodus, Introd. p. xxiii. This author believes that the Exodus took place B.C. 1491, under Rameses V. Amenophis, the last king of the eighteenth dynasty. Others believe that Sethos II. was the monarch in question.]

numerous (compare Gen. xv. 5., xvii. 4—6., and xlvi. 27., with Exod. xxxviii. 26., and Numb. i. 1—3, 46.); and that they would be afflicted in a land not their own, whence they should depart in the fourth generation with great substance (Gen. xv. 13—16. with Exod. xii. 35, 40, 41.).[1] Further, "in Israel passing from Egypt, through the Red Sea, the wilderness, and Jordan, to the promised land, this book adumbrates the state of the church in the wilderness of this world, until her arrival at the heavenly Canaan, an eternal rest."[2] St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x. 1., &c., and in various parts of his epistle to the Hebrews, has shown that these things prefigured, and were applicable to, the Christian church. A careful study of the mediation of Moses will greatly facilitate our understanding the mediation of Jesus Christ.

V. Types of the Messiah are Aaron (Heb. iv. 14—16., v. 4, 5.); the paschal lamb (Exod. xii. 46., with John xix. 36., and 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.); the manna (Exod. xvi. 15., with 1 Cor. x. 3.); the rock in Horeb (Exod. xvii. 6., with 1 Cor. x. 4.); the mercy-seat (Exod. xxxvii. 6., with Rom. iii. 25.; Heb. iv. 16.).

VI. By the Jews the book of Exodus is divided into eleven perashioth or chapters, and twenty-nine sedarim or sections: in our Bibles it is divided into forty chapters, the contents of which are exhibited in the annexed Synopsis:—

Part I. *Account of the preparations for the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, agreeably to the promises made to the patriarchs* (i.—xii. 30.).

1. The increase and oppression of the children of Israel (i.).
2. The youth and early history of Moses, with his appointment to be the leader of Israel (ii., iii.).
3. The sending of Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh, and the infliction of the ten plagues, with the institution of the passover (iv.—xii. 30.).

Part II. *The narrative of the departure of the Israelites, till their arrival at Sinai* (xii. 31—xix. 2.).

1. The departure, with arrangements respecting the passover and sanctification of the first-born (xii. 31—xiii. 16.).
2. The miraculous passage of the Red Sea, and the thanksgiving of Moses and the people of Israel, on their deliverance from Pharaoh and his host (xiii. 17—xv. 21.).
3. Relation of miracles wrought in behalf of the Israelites, with their journey to the mount of God, and the arrival of Moses's wife and children with Jethro (xv. 22—xix. 2.).

Part III. *The promulgation of the law on Mount Sinai, and establishment of the theocracy* (xix. 3—xl.).

1. The preparation of the people of Israel by Moses, for the renewing of the covenant with God (xix. 3—25.).

[[1] The length of time during which Israel continued in Egypt has been variously estimated. But St Paul (Gal. iii. 17.) fixes the giving of the law 430 years after the promise to Abraham. The Egyptian sojourning may therefore be computed at one half this period, viz. 215 years. And this was long enough for the increase of the Israelites to the numbers named at the Exodus. For a different view, however, see Kurtz, Hist. of the Old Covenant (transl. Edinb. 1859), vol. ii. pp. 133—147.

[2] Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, p. 12.

2. The promulgation of the moral law (xx. 1—21.).
3. The judicial law (xx. 22—xxiii.).
4. The ceremonial law, including the construction and erection of the tabernacle (xxiv—xxxi., xxxv—xl.). In xxxii—xxxiv. are related the idolatry of the Israelites, the breaking of the two tables of the law, the divine chastisement of the Hebrews, and the renewal of the tables of the covenant.

VII. The circumstances attending the plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians are fully considered by Bryant in his learned treatise on this subject (8vo. London, 1810), from which the following particulars are abridged. As many of the Israelites were followers of the idolatry that surrounded them, these miracles were admirably adapted to display the vanity of the idols and false gods, adored by their oppressors, the proud and learned Egyptians. [Bryant's speculations, however, are for the most part fanciful.]

1. By the first plague, *water turned into blood* (Exod. vii. 14—25.), was demonstrated the superiority of Jehovah over their imaginary river-gods, and the baseness of the elements which they reverenced. The Nile, which was religiously honoured by the Egyptians, was turned into blood, an object of peculiar abhorrence to them.

2. In the plague of *frogs* (Exod. viii. 1—15.), the waters of the Nile became a second time polluted; and the land was equally defiled.

3. The plague of *lice* (Exod. viii. 16—19.) reproved the superstition of the Egyptians, who thought it would be a profanation of the temple, if they entered it with any animalcules of this sort upon them. The judgment, inflicted by Moses in this plague, was so proper, that the priests and magicians immediately confessed that this was *the finger of God.*

4. The plague of *flies* (Exod. viii. 20—32.), which was inflicted in the midst of winter, and not in the midst of summer, when Egypt swarms with flies, would show the Egyptians the folly of the god, whom they worshipped, that he might drive away the gad-fly, whose sting is extremely painful.

5. The fifth plague, *the murrain among cattle* (Exod. ix. 1—7.) destroyed the living objects of their stupid worship. When the distemper inflicted by this judgment spread irresistibly over the country, the Egyptians not only suffered a severe loss, but also beheld their deities and their representatives sink before the God of the Hebrews.

6. As the Egyptians were celebrated for their medical skill, the *sixth* plague, the infliction of *boils accompanied with blains* (Exod. ix. 8—12.), which neither their deities could avert, nor the art of man alleviate, would further show the vanity of their gods. Aaron and Moses were ordered to take ashes of the furnace, and to scatter them towards heaven, that they might be wafted over the face of the country. The ashes of human victims had been so scattered.

7. The plague of *hail, rain, and fire* (Exod. ix. 13—35.) demonstrated that neither Osiris, who presided over fire, nor Isis, who presided over water, could protect the fields and the climate of

Egypt from the thunder, the rain, and the hail of Jehovah. These phenomena were of extremely rare occurrence, at any period of the year: they now fell at a time when the air was most calm and serene.

8. Of the severity of the ravages, caused by the plague of *locusts* (Exod. x. 1—20.), some idea may be conceived from the account of those insects in Vol. III. pp. 89—91. The Egyptians had gods, in whom they trusted to deliver their country from these terrible invaders. But by this judgment they were taught that it was impossible to stand before Moses the servant of God.

9. The ninth plague consisted in *three days' darkness, over all the land of Egypt* (Exod. x. 21—27.). The Egyptians considered light and fire, the purest of elements, to be proper types of God. This miraculous darkness would, therefore, confirm still further (if further confirmation were wanting) the vanity of their idol-deities.

10. The infliction of the tenth and last plague, *the destruction of the first-born* (Exod. xi. 1—8. xii. 29, 30.), was most equitable; because, after the Egyptians had been preserved by one of the Israelitish family, they had (contrary to all right, and in defiance of the stipulation originally made with the Israelites when they first went into Egypt) enslaved the people to whom they had been so much indebted, had murdered their children, and made their bondage intolerable. We learn from Herodotus, that it was the custom of the Egyptians to rush from the house into the street, to bewail the dead with loud and bitter outcries; and every member of the family united in the bitter expressions of sorrow.[1] How great, then, must their terror and their grief have been, when, *at midnight, the Lord smote all the first-born of the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive that* was *in the dungeon; and all the first-born of cattle; and* when *Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not one dead!*

[As in the book of Genesis, so in that of Exodus, mythical elements have been supposed. But the literal truth of the narrative may be shown on the most solid grounds. "For neological criticism," says Hävernick, "it was of the utmost importance to stamp this book as a later production; the miracles contained in its first part but too manifestly clashing with the principles in which that criticism takes its starting-point. Its votaries, therefore, have endeavoured to show that those miracles were but mythological fictions, which had been gradually developed in process of time; so that the very composition of the book itself must necessarily have been of a later date. Neither do we wonder at such attempts and efforts; since the very essence and central point of the accounts of the miracles given in that book are altogether at variance with the principles of rationalism and its criticism, which can by no means admit the rise and formation of a people under such miraculous circumstances, such peculiar belief, and, in a religious point of view, such an independent existence, at

[1] Lib. ii. capp. 85, 86.

the side of all the other nations of antiquity. Indeed, the spiritual substance of the whole, the divine idea which pervades and combines all its details, is in itself such a miracle, such a peculiar and wondrous phenomenon, as to lend natural support and undeniable confirmation to the isolated and physical wonders themselves; so that it is impossible to deny the latter without creating a second and new wonder, an unnatural course in the Jewish history. Nor is that part of the book which contains the miracles deficient in numerous historical proofs in verification of them."[1]]

SECTION IV.

ON THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS.

I. *Title, author, and date.*—II. *Scope.*—III. *Synopsis of its contents.*

I. THE third book of the Pentateuch (by the Jews termed וַיִּקְרָא, *And he called,* from its initial word) is in the Septuagint styled ΛΕΥΙΤΙΚΟΝ, and in our version Leviticus, or the Levitical book, because it principally contains the laws concerning the religion of the Israelites, which chiefly consisted of various sacrifices; the charge of which was committed to Aaron the Levite (as he is termed in Exod. iv. 14.) and to his sons, who alone held the priestly office in the tribe of Levi; which St. Paul therefore calls a "Levitical priesthood" (Heb. vii. 11.). In the Babylonish Talmud it is called תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים, the *law of the priests,* which appellation is retained in the Arabic and Syriac versions, also תּוֹרַת הַקָּרְבָּנִים.

The author of this book was Moses; and it is cited as his production in several books of scripture. By comparing Exod. xl. 17. with Numb. i. 1. we learn that this book contains the history of one month, viz. from the erection of the tabernacle to the numbering of the people who were fit for war, that is, from the beginning of the second year after Israel's departure from Egypt to the beginning of the second month of the same year, which was in the year of the world 2514, and before Christ 1490. The laws prescribed upon other subjects than sacrifices have no chronological marks by which we can judge of the times when they were given.

II. The general SCOPE of this book is to make known to the Israelites the Levitical laws, sacrifices, and ordinances, and, by those "shadows of good things to come," to lead the Israelites to the Messiah (Heb. x. 1. with Gal. iii. 24.); and it appears from the argument of St. Paul, that they had some idea of the spiritual meaning of these various institutions (1 Cor. x. 1—4.).

This book is of great use in explaining numerous passages of the New Testament, especially the epistle to the Hebrews; which, in fact, would be unintelligible without it. In considering, however, the

[1] Kitto, Cyclop. of Bibl. Lit. art. Exodus.

spiritual tendency of Leviticus, care must be taken not to apply the types *too* extensively: the observation of Jerome as to its spiritual import is undoubtedly very pious and just, but few persons will acquiesce in his remark, that "*almost every syllable* in this book breathes a spiritual sacrament."[1]

III. Leviticus is divided by the Jews into ten perashioth, which in our Bibles form twenty-seven chapters: it consists of five leading topics; comprising

PART I. *The laws concerning sacrifices, in which the different kinds of sacrifices are enumerated, together with their concomitant rites;* as,

1. The burnt-offering (i.).
2. The meat-offering (ii.).
3. The peace-offering (iii.).
4. The offering made for sins of ignorance (iv., v.).
5. The trespass-offering for sins knowingly committed (vi., vii.).

PART II. *The institution of the priesthood, in which the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the sacred office is related, together with the punishment of Nadab and Abihu* (viii.—x.).

PART III. *The laws concerning clean and unclean animals, purifications both of the people, the sanctuary, and the priests* (xi.—xvi.).

PART IV. *Laws respecting various offences which could not be atoned for* (xvii.—xx.).

PART V. *The laws concerning the spotlessness of priests and sacrifices, also the sacred festivals, vows, things devoted, and tithes* (xxi.—xxvii.).

Chapter xxiii. treats of the great festivals, viz. the sabbath, the passover, and the feast of first-fruits, the feast of Pentecost, the feast of trumpets, the great day of atonement, and the feast of tabernacles. In xxiv. various ceremonial and judicial rites are enjoined; and in xxv. is recapitulated the law respecting the sabbatical year which had before been given (see Exod. xxiii. 10, 11.); the observance also of the jubilee is enjoined, &c. The jubilee was typical of the great time of release, the gospel-dispensation (see Isai. lxi. 1—3. with Luke iv. 19.). Chap. xxvi. presents various prophetic promises and threatenings, which have signally been fulfilled among the Jews (compare v. 22. with Numb. xxi. 6.; 2 Kings ii. 24., xvii. 25.; and Ezek. v. 17.). The preservation of the Jews to this day, as a *distinct* people, is a living comment on v. 44. Chap. xxvii. comprises regulations concerning vows, things devoted, and tithes.

["The book of Leviticus," says Hävernick, "has a prophetical character. The lawgiver represents to himself the future history of his people. This prophetical character is especially manifest in chaps. xxv. xxvi.; where the law appears in a truly sublime and divine attitude, and when its predictions refer to the whole futurity of the nation. It is impossible to say that these were *vaticinia ex*

[1] Singula sacrificia, imo *singulæ* pene *syllabæ*, et vestes Aaron, et totus ordo Leviticus spirant cælestia sacramenta.—Epist. ad Paulinum, § 7. *al.* epist. liii. 8. This, and the subsequent references to Jerome's prefaces, are made to the collection of them, which is prefixed to the Frankfort edition of the Latin Vulgate (1826, 8vo.).

eventu, unless we would assert that this book was written at the close of Israelitish history. We must rather grant that passages like this are the real basis on which the authority of later prophets is chiefly built. Such passages prove also, in a striking manner, that the lawgiver had not merely an external aim, but that his law had a deeper purpose, which was clearly understood by Moses himself. That purpose was to regulate the national life in all its bearings, and to consecrate the whole nation to God. See especially chap. xxv. 18., &c."[1]]

SECTION V.

ON THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

I. *Title, author, date, and argument.*—II. *Scope.*—III. *Types of the Messiah.*—IV. *Prediction of the Messiah.*—V. *Chronology.*—VI. *Synopsis of its contents.*—VII. *Observations on the book of the wars of the Lord, mentioned in Numbers* xxi. 14.—*History of Balaam.*

I. In conformity with the Hebrew custom, this fourth book of Moses is usually termed וַיְדַבֵּר, *And he spake,* because it commences with that word in the original text: it is also called בְּמִדְבַּר, *In the desert,* which is the fifth word in the first verse, because it relates the transactions of the Israelites in the wilderness [and סֵפֶר הַמִּסְפָּרִים, or הַפְּקוּדִים.]. By the Alexandrian translators it was entitled ΑΡΙΘΜΟΙ, which appellation was adopted by the Greek fathers; and by the Latin translators it was termed *Numeri, Numbers,* whence our English title is derived; because it contains an account of the numbering of the children of Israel, related in chapters i—iii. and xxvi. It appears from xxxvi. 13. to have been written by Moses in the plains of Moab. Besides the numeration and marshalling of the Israelites for their journey, several laws in addition to those delivered in Exodus and Leviticus, and likewise several remarkable events, are recorded in this book.

II. The Scope of the book of Numbers is to transmit to posterity, for a perpetual example, the providential care of the Almighty over the Israelites, during their wanderings in the wilderness, and the temptations and murmurings there by which they provoked and offended their heavenly Protector; so that, at length, *he sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest* (Psal. xcv. 11.). St. Paul, warning the converted Hebrews, expressly states that they could *not enter* into the land of Canaan *because of their unbelief* (Heb. iii.19.); and in 1 Cor. x. 1—11. he states that *all these things happened unto them for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition.* The method pursued in this book is precisely that which would be adopted by the writer of an itinerary: the respective stations are noted; and

[1] Kitto, Cyclop of Bibl. Lit. art. Leviticus.

the principal occurrences that took place at each station are related, omitting such as are of comparatively less importance. This circumstance is an additional *internal* proof that Moses was the author of the book of Numbers.

III. Types of the Messiah, in this book, are the water that issued from the rock (Numb. xx. 11. with 1 Cor. x. 4.); and the elevation of the brazen serpent (Numb. xxi. with John iii. 14.).

IV. This book contains only one prediction concerning the Messiah, viz. Numb. xxiv. 17, 19.; which Rosenmüller and some other eminent biblical critics have contended cannot apply to Jesus Christ. This passage, it is true, in its primary and literal meaning, intimates that from the people of Israel should arise a mighty prince, who would obtain an entire conquest and bear rule over the kingdoms of Moab and Edom; and it was fulfilled in David; for it is expressly recorded of him, that he finally subdued those nations (2 Sam. viii. 2, 14.). But, in its full import, it must be considered as referring to that illustrious personage, of whom David was a type and a progenitor, and is, in fact, a splendid prediction of the final and universal sway of the Messiah, when the middle wall of partition shall be broken down, and both Jews and Gentiles shall become one fold under one shepherd. This explanation is perfectly consonant to many other prophecies concerning the Saviour; which, in similar language, describe him as acquiring dominion over heathen countries, and destroying the enemies of his church; and it is observable that, in several of these ancient predictions, some particular opposers, as the Moabites and Edomites, are put for the "adversaries of the Lord" in general. (See Psal. ii. 8., lxxii. 8., cx. 6.; Isai. xi. 14., and xxv. 10.)[1]

In this passage, an eminent critic observes that Balaam, in prophetic vision, descries the remote coming of Shiloh, under the imagery of a *star* and a *sceptre*, or an illustrious prince. Though it was foretold that "the sceptre should depart from Judah" at his coming, this prophecy confirms to him a proper sceptre of his own; and our Lord claimed it when he avowed himself a *King* to Pilate, but declared that his "kingdom was not of this world" (John xviii. 36, 37.). This branch of the prophecy was fulfilled more than 1400 years after; when, at the birth of Christ, "the Magi from the East" (who are supposed by Theophylact to have been the posterity of Balaam) came to Jerusalem, saying, "Where is the [true] born king of the Jews? for we have seen his *star* at its rising, and are come to worship him."[2] (Matt. ii. 1, 2.)

V. The book of Numbers contains a history of the Israelites, from the beginning of the second month of the second year after their departure from Egypt, to the beginning of the eleventh month of the fortieth year of their journeyings—that is, a period of thirty-eight years and nine or ten months (compare Numb. i. and xxxvi. 13. with Deut. i. 3.). Most of the transactions here recorded took

[1] Robinson, Scripture Characters, vol. i. pp. 480, 481.

[2] Dr. Hales, Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 229., vol. i. p. 74, vol. ii. p. 56 (edit. 1830).

place in the second and thirty-eighth years: the dates of the facts related in the middle of the book cannot be precisely ascertained.

VI. According to the Jewish division, this portion of holy writ contains ten perashioth or chapters; in our Bibles it consists of thirty-six chapters, which comprise four principal parts or sections.

PART I. *The census of the Israelites,* including,

1. The enumeration of the twelve tribes, and the marshalling of them into a regular camp; "each tribe by itself under its own captain or chief, distinguished by its own peculiar standard" (i, ii.).

2. The sacred or ecclesiastical census of the Levites; the designation of them to the sacred office, and the appointment of them to various services in the tabernacle (iii., iv.).

PART II. *The institution of various legal ceremonies,* as,

1. The purification of the camp, by the removal of all unclean persons from it, and the trial of the suspected adulteress by the water of jealousy (v.).

2. The institution of the Nazareate (vi.).

3. An account of the oblations made to the tabernacle by the princes or heads of tribes (vii.).

4. The consecration of the Levites (viii.).

5. The celebration of the passover (ix. 1—14.).

6. Regulations concerning the moving or resting of the camp of Israel during their progress (ix. 15—x. 10.).

PART III. *The history of the journey from Mount Sinai to the land of Moab, comprising an account of the eight murmurings of the Israelites in the way.*

1. The departure (x. 11—36.).

2. *The first murmuring of the people on account of the length of the way;* which was punished by fire at Taberah (xi. 1—3.).

3. *Their loathing of manna, and murmuring for flesh,* punished by the sending of quails and a pestilence (xi. 4—35.).

4. *The murmuring of Aaron and Miriam at Moses;* for which Miriam was smitten with leprosy, but healed at the intercession of Moses (xii.).

5. The instructions given to the spies, and their "evil report" of the land (xiii.). *The murmuring of the people at Kadesh-Barnea;* for which all, who were twenty years old and upward, were sentenced to die without entering Canaan; and the men that brought up "the evil report of the land died by the plague," excepting Joshua and Caleb (xiv.). In xv. some ordinances are given for conducting the worship of Jehovah in the land of Canaan.

6. *The murmuring and rebellion* of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and their followers, with their punishment (xvi. 1—40.).

7. *The murmuring of the people against Moses and Aaron,* on account of the preceding judgment, and their punishment, with Aaron's intercession for them (xvi. 41—50.); the budding of Aaron's rod, as a confirmation of his priesthood, and as a monument against the rebels (xvii.); with directions concerning the superiority of the priestly office over that of the Levites (xviii.), together with regulations concerning the water of separation made with the ashes of a red heifer, and its use for purification (xix.).

8. *Their murmuring in the desert of Zin for water*, the unbelief of Moses, the perfidy of the Edomites, and Aaron's death (xx.).

9. *Their murmuring, as they journeyed to compass the land of Edom*, for which they were punished with fiery serpents, but on repentance were healed by looking at a brazen serpent (xxi. 1—20.).

PART IV. *A history of the transactions which took place in the plains of Moab* (xxi. 21—xxxvi.); including,

1. The conquest of Sihon and Og; the machinations of the enemies of Israel against them, their frustration, and the prophecies of Balaam[1], the ensnaring of the Israelites to commit idolatry by the Midianites, with their consequent punishment (xxi. 21 —xxv.).

2. A second enumeration of the people (xxvi.); in which it was found that in all the tribes there were only 1820 men less than at the first census[2], "notwithstanding the whole of that murmuring generation" (with the exception of Joshua, Caleb, and a few others) "perished in the wilderness."[3]

3. The remaining chapters relate the appointment of Joshua to be the successor of Moses, and contain various regulations concerning sacrifices, the partition of the promised land, the appointment of cities of refuge, &c. &c. (xxvii.—xxxvi.). Chap. xxxiii. contains a recapitulation of the several stages of the journeyings of the Israelites. As the best elucidation of this subject, the reader is referred to the accompanying map, together with the annexed table:—

[1] On the accomplishment of all these prophecies delivered by Balaam, consult Bishop Newton's Dissertations, vol. i. diss. v. and the Dissertation sur les Prophéties de Balaam, in the Bible de Vence, tom. iii. pp. 274—313. "Though God had probably rejected Balaam as an apostate prophet, he deigned to employ him on this signal occasion as the herald of the divine oracles; to illustrate the impotency of the heathen arts, and to demonstrate the power and foreknowledge of the divine Spirit." Bishop Gray (Key, p. 114). Bishop Butler has a fine discourse on the character of Balaam, Works, vol. i. serm. vii.

[2] Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, p. 26. The following comparative statement will show how much some of the tribes had *increased*, and others had *diminished*, since the first enumeration:—

	Ch. i.	Ch. xxvi.	
Reuben	46,500	43,730	2,770 *decrease*
Simeon	59,300	22,200	37,100 *decrease*
Gad	45,650	40,500	5,150 *decrease*
Judah	74,600	76,500	1,900 increase
Issachar	54,400	64,300	9,900 increase
Zebulon	57,400	60,500	3,100 increase
Manasseh	32,200	52,700	20,500 increase
Ephraim	40,500	32,500	8,000 *decrease*
Benjamin	35,400	45,600	10,200 increase
Dan	62,700	64,400	1,700 increase
Asher	41,500	53,400	11,900 increase
Naphtali	53,400	45,400	8,000 *decrease*
Total	603,550	601,730	1,820 *decrease* on the *whole* in 38 years.

Decrease in all 61,020. Increase in all 59,200.

	Ch. iii.	Ch. xxvi.	
Levites	22,300	23,300	increase 1,000

Reeves's Bible with Notes, on Numb. xxvi. 62. Dr. A. Clarke on Numb. xxvi. 51.

[3] Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, p. 26. § 4.

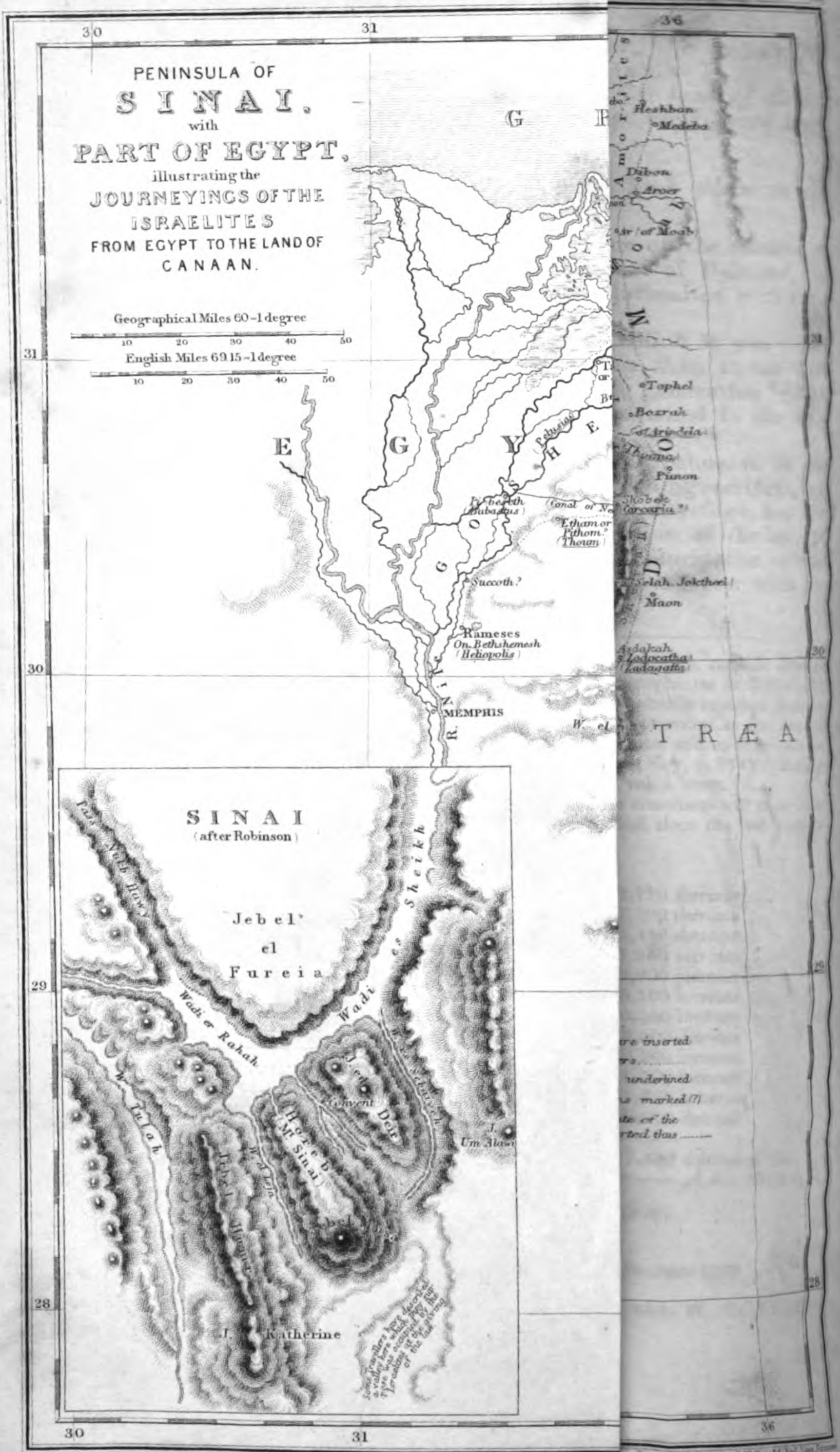

PENINSULA OF
SINAI,
with
PART OF EGYPT,
illustrating the
JOURNEYINGS OF THE
ISRAELITES
FROM EGYPT TO THE LAND OF
CANAAN.
Geographical Miles 60 - 1 degree
English Miles 69.15 - 1 degree
SINAI
(after Robinson)
Jebel el Fureia
Wadi er Rahah
Wadi es Sheikh
Horeb (Mt Sinai)
Convent
Jebel Deir
J. Um Alawi
J. Katherine
W. Tulah
Rameses
On. Bethshemesh
(Heliopolis)
Succoth?
MEMPHIS
Etham or Pithom?
(Thoum)
Pibeseth
(Bubastus)
Heshbon
Medeba
Dibon
Aroer
Ar (of Moab)
Tophel
Bozrah
Punon
Maon
TRÆA
Drawn & Engraved by E. Weller

TABLE OF THE STATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES IN THE WILDERNESS.[1]

(*From Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, Vol. I. pp.* 395–400., *or pp.* 394–400. (*edit.* 1830).)

Y.	M.	D.	Station	Reference	Numb.
1.	1.	15.	1. Rameses, near Cairo	Exod. xii. 37.	Numb. xxxiii. 3.
			2. Succoth	—— xii. 37.	—— xxxiii. 3.
			3. Etham, or Adsjerud	—— xiii. 20.	—— xxxiii. 5.
			4. Pihahiroth, or valley of Bedea	—— xiv. 1.	—— xxxiii. 7.
			5. Shur, Ain Musa 6. Desert of Shur, or Etham	—— xv. 22.	—— xxxiii. 8.
			7. Marah, "bitter" waters healed	—— xv. 23.	—— xxxiii. 8.
			8. Elim, valley of Corondel	—— xv. 27.	—— xxxiii. 9.
			9. Encampment by the Red Sea	. . .	—— xxxiii. 10.
1.	2.	15.	10. Desert of Sin, valley of Baharan	—— xvi. 1.	—— xxxiii. 11.
			Manna, for 40 years	—— xvi. 13.	
			Quails, for a day	—— xvi. 35.	
			Sabbath renewed, or revived	—— xvi. 23.	
			11. Dophkah	. . .	—— xxxiii. 12.
			12. Alush	. . .	—— xxxiii. 13.
			13. Rephidim	—— xvii. 1.	—— xxxiii. 14.
			Water, from the rock Massah	—— xvii. 6.	
			Amalekites defeated	—— xvii. 13.	
			Jethro's visit	—— xviii. 5.	
			Judges appointed	—— xviii. 25.	
1.	3.	15.	14. Mount Sinai, or Horeb	—— xix. 1.	—— xxxiii. 15.
			The decalogue given	—— xx. 1.	
			The covenant made	—— xxiv. 7.	
			The golden calf	—— xxxii. 6.	
1.	6.		The covenant renewed	Neh. ix. 18. Exod. xxxiv. 27.	
			The first muster, or numbering	—— xxxviii. 26.	
2.	1.	1.	The tabernacle erected	—— xl. 17.	
			Aaron consecrated, and his sons	Levit. viii. 6.	
2.	1.	8.	Sacrifices of atonement	—— ix. 1.	
2.	1.	14.	The second passover	Numb. ix. 5.	
2.	2.	1.	The second muster	—— i. 3.	
			Nadab and Abihu destroyed	—— iii. 4. Levit. x. 1.	
2.	2.	20.	15. Desert of Paran	Numb. x. 12.	
			16. Taberah	—— x. 33.	
			Murmuring of the people	—— xi. 3.	
			17. Kibroth Hattaavah, or Tophel	—— xi. 34. Deut. i. 1.	—— xxxiii. 16.
			Quails, for a month. Plague of the people. Council of LXX appointed.		
			18. Hazeroth	Numb. xi. 35. Deut. i. 1.	—— xxxiii. 17.
			Miriam's leprosy	Numb. xii. 10.	
2.	5.		19. Kadesh Barnea, in Rithmah, or "the desert" of Sin, or Paran	—— xii. 16. —— xxxii. 8.	—— xxxiii. 18.

[1] In the Bible de Vence, tom. iii. pp. 365—405., there is an elaborate geographical dissertation, Sur les xlii. stations des Israelites.

Y.	M.	D.				
			Twelve spies sent . .	Numb. xiii.	2.	
2.	7.	6.	Their return . . .	—— xiii.	26.	
			The people rebel . .	—— xiv.	2.	
			Sentenced to wander 40 years . . .	—— xiv. —— xxxii.	33. 13.	
			Ten of the spies destroyed . .	—— xiv.	37.	
			The people defeated by the Amalekites .	—— xiv.	45.	
			Rebellion of Korah, &c. .	—— xvi.	1.	
			Budding of Aaron's rod .	—— xvii.	10.	
			20. Rimmon Parez . .	. . .	.	Numb. xxxiii. 19.
			21. Libnah, or Leban . .	Deut. i.	1.	—— xxxiii. 20.
			22. Rissah	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 21.
			23. Kehelathah . . .	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 22.
			24. Mount Shapher . .	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 23.
			25. Haradah or Hazar Addar, or Adar .	. . . Numb. xxxiv. Josh. xv.	. 5. 3.	—— xxxiii. 24.
			26. Makheloth . . .	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 25.
			27. Tahath	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 26.
			28. Tarath	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 27.
			29. Mithcah	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 28.
			30. Hashmonah, or Azmon, or Zalmonah .	. . . Numb. xxxiv. Josh. xv.	. 5 4.	—— xxxiii. 29.
			31. Beeroth	Deut. x.	6.	
			32. Moseroth, or Mosera .	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 30.
			33. Benejaakan, or Banea .	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 31.
			34. Horhagidgad, or . . Gudgodah	. . . —— x.	. 7.	—— xxxiii. 32.
			35. Jotbatha, or Etebatha, or Elath . .	. . . —— ii. 1 Kin. ix.	. 8. 26.	—— xxxiii. 33.
			36. Ebronah	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 34.
			37. Ezion Gaber, or . . Dizahab	. . . Deut. i.	. 1.	—— xxxiii. 35.
40.	1.		38. Kadesh Barnea again, after 38 years .	—— ii.	14.	—— xxxiii. 36.
			Miriam's death . .	Numb. xx.	1.	
			Water from the rock Meribah . .	—— xx.	13.	
			Moses and Aaron offend .	—— xx. —— xxvii.	12. 14.	
			39. Mount Hor, or Seir, on the edge of Edom .	—— xx.	22.	—— xxxiii. 37.
			Aaron's death .	—— xx.	23.	—— xxxiii. 38.
40.	5.		King Arad attacks the Israelites . .	—— xxi.	1.	
			40. Kibroth Hattaavah, or Tophel, again .	Deut. i.	1.	
			41. Zalmonah, or Hashmonah, again . .	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 41.
			The people bitten by fiery serpents. .			
			The brazen serpent erected . . .	Numb. xxi.	8.	
			42. Punon	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 42.
			43. Oboth	—— xxi.	10.	—— xxxiii. 43.
			44. Jim, or Ije Abarim in the border of Moab	. . .	.	—— xxxiii. 44.
			45. The valley and brook Zered . . .	—— xxi. Deut. ii.	12. 13.	
			46. Arnon	Numb. xxi.	12.	

Y.	M.	D.				
			47. Beer, or Beer Elim	Numb. xxi.	16.	
				Isaiah xv.	8.	
			48. Jahaz	Numb. xxi.	23.	
			49. Heshbon	—— xxi.	24.	
			Sihon defeated.			
			50. Jaazer	—— xxi.	32.	
			51. Edrei	—— xxi.	33.	
			Og defeated.			
			52. Dibon Gad.			Numb. xxxiii. 45.
			53. Almon Diblathaim	Ezek. vi.	14.	—— xxxiii. 46.
			54. Mattanah	Numb. xxi.	18.	
			55. Nahaliel	—— xxi.	19.	
			56. Bamoth	—— xxi.	19.	
			57. Pisgah	—— xxi.	20.	
			58. Abarim.			—— xxxiii. 47.
			59. Shittim, or Abel Shittim	Numb xxv.	1.	—— xxxiii. 48.
			In the plains of Moab	Josh. iii	1.	
			Idolatry of Baal Peor	Numb. xxv.	3.	
			Midianites punished	—— xxv.	17.	
			The third muster	—— xxvi.	2.	
40.	11.	1.	Last exhortations of Moses	Deut. i.	2.	
40.	12.	1.	Joshua appointed his successor	Numb. xxvii.	18.	
				Deut. xxxiv.	9.	
			Death of Moses	—— xxxiv.	5.	
			A month's mourning	—— xxxiv.	8.	
41.	1.	1.	Joshua sends two spies	Josh. ii.	1.	
41.	1.	10	60. Passage of the river Jordan	—— iv.	29.	

[For a somewhat different table, adopted from Dr. Robinson, see Kitto's Cycl of Bibl. Lit. art. Wandering. In both it is assumed that the Israelites were twice at Kadesh Barnea. Some writers imagine that that place was visited but once. An article, entitled "Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor, or a Critical Inquiry into the Route of the Exodus," in the Journal of Sacred Literature, April 1860, pp. 1—60, may be advantageously consulted.

VII. Few passages in the Pentateuch have more exercised the ingenuity of biblical critics, than *the book of the wars of the Lord* mentioned in Numb. xxi. 14. Aben-Ezra, Hottinger, and others, are of opinion that it refers to this book of the Pentateuch, because in it are related various battles of the Israelites with the Amorites: Hezelius, and after him Michaelis, think it was an Amoritish writing, containing triumphal songs in honour of the victories obtained by Sihon king of the Amorites, from which Moses cited the words that immediately follow. Fonseca and some others refer it to the book of Judges. Le Clerc understands it of the wars of the Israelites who fought under the direction of Jehovah, and, instead of *book*, he translates, with most of the Jewish doctors, *narration*, and proposes to render the verse thus: "Wherefore, in the narration of the wars of the Lord, there is (or shall be) mention of what he did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of Arnon." Lastly, Dr. Lightfoot considers this book to have been some book of remembrances and directions written by Moses for Joshua's private instruction, for the prosecution of the wars after his decease (see Exod. xvii. 14—16.). This opinion appears to us the most simple, and is, in all probability, the true one.[2]

[1] See Winer, Realwörterbuch, art. Wüste.

[2] See Hävernick, Einleitung, § 132, I. ii. pp. 443, 444.; Hengstenberg, Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 182—185.

["We dwell for a moment," says Hävernick, "on the consideration of the great fact, which is the basis of the narrative of the whole book, namely, the sojourn of the Israelites during forty years in the wilderness. The manner in which the narrator states this fact we have mentioned above. ('The period of Israel's rejection,' he there says, 'is characterized by the circumstance that the historian is almost silent respecting it, as being a period not strictly belonging to theocratical history.') A view so strictly theocratical, and a description so purely objective, are most befitting the lawgiver himself. Modern criticism has chiefly taken offence at the statement that Jehovah had announced all this as a punishment to be inflicted upon the people. This, they say, is incomprehensible. However, the fact stands firm, that the Israelites really abode forty years in the wilderness. This fact is proved in the scriptures by many other testimonies. Hence arises the question how this protracted abode was occasioned, and what induced Moses to postpone or give up the conquest of Canaan. De Wette says that such resignation, in giving up a plan to which one has devoted the full half of a life, is not human. Göthe asserted that by such a representation the picture of Moses is entirely disfigured. All this renders the problem of our opponents the more difficult. De Wette says, 'Who knows what happened in that long period?' This question would amount to a confession of our entire ignorance concerning what was most important, and what is the real turning-point of the history of Israel, and would make an enormous and most striking gap in universal history. It is incredible that no tradition should have been preserved, in which was told to posterity what was here most important, even if it should only have been in a very disfigured form. It is incredible that what was most important should have been passed by, and that there should have been communicated only what was comparatively insignificant. If this were the case, the traditions of Israel would form a perfectly-isolated phenomenon. Thus the history of Israel itself would be something incomprehensible. Either the history is inconceivable; or the astounding fact is indeed a truth. And so it is. The resignation of Moses, and the sojourn of the people in the wilderness, can be explained only by assuming an extraordinary divine intervention. A merely-natural interpretation is here completely futile. The problem can only be solved by assuming that the whole proceeded from the command of God, which is unconditionally obeyed by his servant, and to which even the rebellious people must bow, because they have amply experienced that without God they can do nothing."[1]

The history of Balaam, one of the most remarkable narratives of this book, has given rise to much discussion. That, though an ungodly man, he was a true prophet seems undeniable. But it is not so clear whether the speaking of the ass was a literal fact, or whether it occurred in vision. The testimony of St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 16.) would appear decisive. But then there are grave doubts whether

[1] Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Numbers.

the second epistle ascribed to St. Peter be genuine.[1] In behalf of the supposition that the event did not literally occur, but was seen in vision, it is urged that the prophet expressed no surprise at the portent, that those who accompanied him do not seem to have witnessed it, and that Balaam himself afterwards (xxiv. 3, 4, 15, 16.) says that, falling into prophetic ecstasy, he had his eyes opened. It is a matter on which men will differ: the present writer believes that the supernatural event literally occurred.]

SECTION VI.

ON THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

I. *Title, date, and chronology.*—II. *Scope.*—III. *Predictions of the Messiah.* —IV. *Synopsis of contents.*—V. *Observations.*— *Table or harmony of the Mosaic law.*

I. THE Jews call this fifth book of Moses אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים [or, shortly, דְּבָרִים], that is, *These are the words,* because the original commences with these words: by some rabbins it is called מִשְׁנֵה תוֹרָה, or *the repetition of the law;* while others term it סֵפֶר תּוֹכָחוֹת, or the *book of reproofs,* on account of the numerous reproofs of the Israelites by Moses. The Greeks and Latins respectively call it ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΟΝ, *Deuteronomium* (whence our English title Deuteronomy is derived), that is to say, the *second law* (Δεύτερος Νόμος), because it contains a second statement of the laws which Moses had formerly promulgated to the Israelites. From a comparison of Deut. i. 5. with xxxiv. 1. it appears to have been written by Moses in the plains of Moab, a short time before his death; and this circumstance will account for that affectionate earnestness with which he addresses the Israelites. The period of time comprised in this book is five *lunar* weeks, or, according to some chronologers, about two months, viz. from the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year after the exodus of Israel from Egypt, to the eleventh day of the twelfth month of the same year, A.M. 2553, B.C. 1451. [The Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy is asserted chap. xxxi. (comp. xvii. 18.), and is corroborated by such passages as Josh. i. 5, 7.; 1 Kings ii. 3.; 2 Chron. xxv. 4.; Dan. ix. 13.; John i. 45.; Acts iii. 22. Hävernick has well discussed this topic, and has shown that the alleged contradictions and anachronisms may be explained; while he has produced from the book itself various plain though indirect traces which contribute to prove that it came from the hand of Moses.[2]] From the account of Moses's death recorded in the thirty-fourth chapter of this book, and the insertion of some explanatory words in other parts of Deuteronomy, it has been insinuated that Moses could not have been its author; but the following remark will clearly prove this notion

[1] For arguments in favour of its genuineness, see Vol. IV. pp. 604—608.
[2] Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Deuteronomy. More will hereafter be said on this subject.

to be unfounded. The words of Moses conclude with the thirty-third chapter: the thirty-fourth was added to complete the history, the first eight verses probably immediately after his death by his successor Joshua, the last four by some later writer, probably Samuel or Ezra, or some prophet that succeeded Samuel.[1] Another and equally satisfactory solution of this difficulty is the following; viz. that what *now* forms the *last* chapter of Deuteronomy was formerly the first of Joshua, but was removed thence, and joined to Deuteronomy, by way of supplement. This opinion will not appear improbable, when it is considered that sections and other divisions, as well as points and pauses, were invented long since these books were written; for, in those early ages, several books were connected together, and followed each other on the same roll. The beginning of one book might, therefore, be easily transferred to the end of another, and in process of time be considered as its real conclusion, as in the case of Deuteronomy; especially as the supplemental chapter contains an account of the last transactions and death of the great author of the Pentateuch.[2]

II. The SCOPE of the book of Deuteronomy is to repeat to the Israelites, before Moses left them, the chief laws of God which had been given to them; that those not born at the time when they were originally delivered, or incapable of understanding them, might be instructed, and excited to attend to them, and, consequently, be better prepared for the promised land. With this view the sacred historian recapitulates the various mercies which God had bestowed upon them and their forefathers, from their departure out of Egypt; the victories which by divine assistance they had obtained over their enemies; their rebellion, ingratitude, and chastisements. The moral, ceremonial, and judicial laws are repeated with additions and explanations; and the people are urged to obedience in the most affectionate manner, from the consideration of the endearing promises made to them by God, which he would assuredly perform, if they did not frustrate his designs of mercy by their own wilful obstinacy. That no person might thereafter plead ignorance of the divine law, he prescribed that it should be read to all the people at the end of every seventh year, and concluded his ministerial labours among the Israelites by a most admirable ode, which he commanded every one to learn, and by giving his prophetic benediction to the twelve tribes.

III. This book contains only one PROPHECY RELATIVE TO THE MESSIAH, viz. Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19., which was fulfilled fifteen hundred years after it had been delivered, and is expressly applied to Jesus Christ in Acts iii. 22, 23., and vii. 37.[3]; it also comprises

[[1] Sleidan's own death is related at the close of his history, lib. xxvi.; and yet no one has ever argued from this fact that the history was not a genuine work.]

[2] Alexander's Hebrew and English Pentateuch, cited by Dr. Clarke on Deut. xxxiv., who is of opinion that this chapter should constitute the first chapter of the book of Joshua.

[3] On the accomplishment of this prediction, see Vol. I. pp. 555—557.; Bishop Newton's *Sixth* Dissertation; and Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. pp. 279, &c., Works, edit. 1810.

several very remarkable predictions relative to the Israelites, some of which are fulfilled before our eyes.

IV. The Jews divide this book into ten perashioth or chapters: in our Bibles it consists of thirty-four chapters, the contents of which may be arranged under the four following heads: —

PART I. *A repetition of the history related in the preceding books;* comprising,

1. A relation of the events that took place in the wilderness, from their leaving Mount Horeb until their arrival at Kadesh (i.).

2. Their journey from Kadesh till they came to the land of the Amorites, and the defeat of Sihon, and of Og, with the division of their territories (ii., iii.).

3. An exhortation to obey the divine law, and to avoid idolatry, founded on their past experience of the goodness of God (iv.).

PART II. *A repetition of the moral, ceremonial, and judicial law;* containing,

1. *A repetition of the moral law or ten commandments* (v. 1—22.), and its effect upon the people of Israel (v. 22—33.); an exposition of the *first* commandment, with an exhortation to love God with all their hearts (vi.); an exposition of the *second* commandment against idolatry, prohibiting intercourse with idolatrous nations, and enjoining the extirpation of the Canaanites and their idolatry (vii.); strong motives to obedience (viii.—xi.).

2. *A repetition of the ceremonial law* (xii.—xvi.); a command to abolish all idolatry, and regulations for the worship of God (xii.); laws against false prophets, and idolatrous cities (xiii.); prohibition against disfiguring themselves in mourning (xiv. 1, 2.); recapitulation of the law concerning clean and unclean animals (xiv. 3—21.), and the payment of tithes to the Levites (xiv. 22—29.); regulations concerning the year of release (xv.); concerning the stated annual feasts (xvi. 1—17.); administration of justice (xvi. 18—20.); prohibition against planting groves or setting up idols near the altar of God (xvi. 21, 22.).

3. *A repetition and exposition of the judicial law* (xvii.—xxvi.); command to put idolaters to death, regulations for difficult controversies, and concerning a king (xvii.); maintenance of the priests and Levites (xviii. 1—8.); cautions against following Gentile abominations (xviii. 9—14.); prediction relative to a great prophet (xviii. 15—19.); criteria for distinguishing false prophets from true ones (xviii. 20—22.); laws relative to the cities of refuge (xix. 1—10.), the treatment of murderers (xix. 11—13.), and the evidence of witnesses (xix. 15—21.); laws concerning war, &c. (xx.); the expiation of uncertain murder, marriage with captives, &c. (xxi.); regulations concerning things lost or strayed, &c. (xxii.); who may or may not enter into the congregation, &c. (xxiii.); of divorces, the privileges of newly-married men, pledges, &c. (xxiv.); concerning lawsuits and punishments, weights and measures, &c. (xxv.); ceremonies to be observed in offering first-fruits (xxvi. 1—15.); the covenant between God and the Israelites (xxvi. 16—19.).

PART III. *The confirmation of the law; for which purpose the law was to be written on stones, and set up on Mount Ebal* (xxvii.); *prophetic promises to the obedient, and curses against the disobedient* (xxviii.[1]); *an exhortation to obedience from a review of their past*

[1] On the prophecies contained in this chapter see Bishop Newton, vol. i. diss. vii.

mercies, and to dedicate themselves and their posterity to God (xxix.), *promises of pardon to the repentant* (xxx. 1—14.); *good and evil set before them* (xxx. 15—20.).

PART IV. *The personal history of Moses, until his death;* containing,

1. His appointment of Joshua to be his successor (xxxi. 1—8.); and his delivery of a copy of the law to the priests, to be deposited in the ark, and publicly read every seventh year (xxxi. 9—13.); the announcement to Moses of his approaching death, with the solemn charge given to Joshua, &c. (xxxi. 14—27.).

2. The people convened (xxxi. 28—30.) to hear the prophetical and historical ode of Moses (xxxii. 1—47.).

3. The renewed announcement of Moses's approaching decease (xxxii. 48—52.); his prophetic blessing of the twelve tribes (xxxiii.).

4. The death and burial of Moses (xxxiv.).

V. For observations on the book of Deuteronomy, see Dr. A. Clarke, Pref. to Deut. Comm., vol. i. Bp. Lowth, Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, lect. xxvii., well illustrates the prophetic ode of Moses.

The following useful TABLE or HARMONY of the entire Jewish law, digested into proper heads, with references to the several parts of the Pentateuch where the respective laws occur, will assist the Bible student in investigating the tenour and design of the Mosaic Institutes, and also facilitate his references to every part of them. It is copied from Mr. Wilson's Archæological Dictionary, article Law; where it is stated to be "taken from a manuscript in the Library of St. John Baptist's College" (Oxford), "given by Archbishop Laud," and probably either compiled by him or by his direction. It is divided into three classes, exhibiting the Moral, Ceremonial, and Political Law.

THE FIRST CLASS.

The Moral Law written on the two tables, containing the ten commandments.

	Exod. chap.	Levit. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
The first table, which includes				
The first commandment,	20, 23.	—	—	5, 6, 13.
The second commandment,	20, 23, 34.	19, 20, 26.	—	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13.
The third commandment,	20, 23.	—	—	5.
The fourth commandment,	20, 23, 31, 34, 35.	19, 23, 26	—	—
The second table, including				
The fifth commandment,	20, 22.	19.	—	5.
The sixth commandment,	20.	19.	—	5.
The seventh commandment	20.	18, 19.	—	5, 23.
The eighth commandment,	20, 22.	19.	—	5.
The ninth commandment,	20, 23.	1 .	—	5.
The tenth commandment,	20.	—	—	5.
The sum of both tables,	—	19.	—	6.

The Second Class.

***The Ceremonial Law may be fitly reduced to the following heads;* viz.**

	Exod. chap.	Levit. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
Of the holy place,	20.	17.	—	12.
Of the matter and structure of the tabernacle,	25, 26, 27, 35.	—	—	—
Of the instruments of the same; viz.				
The laver of brass,	30.	—	—	—
The altar of burnt-offering,	27.	—	—	—
The altar of incense,	30.	—	—	—
The candlestick of pure gold,	25.	—	—	—
The table of shew-bread,	25, 26.	—	—	—
Of the priests and their vestments for glory and beauty,	28.	—	—	—
Of the choosing of the Levites,	—	—	18, 3, 8.	—
Of the priest's office in general,	—	—	3, 18.	—
Of their office in teaching,	—	19, 10.	—	18, 12, 17, 31.
Of their office in blessing,	—	—	6.	—
Of their office in offering, which function largely spreading itself is divided into these heads; viz.				
What the sacrifice ought to be,	—	22.	—	15, 17.
Of the continual fire,	—	6.	—	—
Of the manner of the burnt-offerings,	—	6, 7.	—	—
„ „ of the peace-offerings,	—	3, 7.	—	—
„ „ of the sacrifices according to their several kinds; viz.				
For sin committed through ignorance of the law,	—	4.	5.	—
For sin committed through ignorance of the fact,	—	5, 7.	—	—
For sin committed wittingly, yet not through impiety,	—	6.	5.	—
The special law of sacrifices for sin,	—	6, 7.	—	—
Of things belonging to the sacrifices,	—	2, 6, 7.	15.	—
Of the shew-bread,	—	24.	—	—
Of the lamps,	27.	24.	8.	—
Of the sweet incense,	30.	—	—	—
Of the use of ordinary oblations, whereof there were several kinds observed by the priests;				
Of the consecration of the high priests and other priests,	29, 30.	6, 8.	—	—
Of the consecration and office of the Levites,	—	—	8.	—
Of the dwellings of the Levites,	—	—	35.	—
Of the anointing the altar, and all the instruments of the tabernacle,	29, 30.	—	—	—
Of the continual daily sacrifices,	29.	—	28.	—
Of the continual sabbath-days' sacrifice,	—	—	28.	—
Of the solemn sacrifice for feast-days, which were diverse, and had peculiar rites, distinguished into these; viz.				
Of trumpets,	—	—	10.	—
Of kalends or beginning of months,	—	—	28.	—
Of the three most solemn feasts in general,	23, 34.	23.	—	16.
Of the feast of passover,	12, 13, 25, 34.	23.	9, 28.	16.
Of the feast of pentecost,	23, 24.	23.	28.	16.
Of the feast of tabernacles,	23, 34.	23.	29.	16.
Of the feast of blowing the trumpets,	—	23.	29.	—
Of the feast of expiation,	30.	16, 13.	29.	—
Of the first-fruits,	22, 23, 34.	2.	15.	26.
Of tithes,	—	21.	18.	12, 14, 26.
Of fruits growing and not eaten of,	—	19.	—	—

	Exod. chap.	Levit. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
Of the first-born, ...	13, 22, 34.	—	—	15.
Of the sabbatical year, ...	23.	25.	—	—
Of the year of jubilee, ...	—	25.	—	—
Of vows in general, ...	—	27.	30.	13.
What persons ought not to make vows, . .	—	—	30.	—
What things cannot be vowed, ...	—	27.	—	23
Of redemption of vows, ...	—	27.	—	—
Of the vows of the Nazarites, ...	—	—	6.	—
Of the laws proper for the priests; viz.				
Of pollutions, ...	—	22.	—	—
Of the high priest's mourning, ...	—	21.	—	—
Of his marriage, ...	—	21.	—	—
Of the mourning of the ordinary priests, .	—	21.	—	—
Of their marriage, ...	—	21.	—	—
Of their being forbid the use of wine, &c. .	—	10.	—	—
Of sanctified meats, ...	—	6, 17, 19, 22.	5, 18.	12, 15, 18.
Of the office of the Levites; viz.				
Teaching, ...	—	—	—	17, 27, 31.
Offering, ...	—	—	3, 4, 18.	10.
Other promiscuous ceremonial laws; viz.				
Of uncleanness in general, ...	—	15, 19.	5.	—
Of uncleanness in meats; viz.				
Of blood, ... Gen. ix.	23.	7, 17, 19.	—	12.
Of fat, ...	—	3, 7.	—	—
Of dead carcasses, ...	22.	17.	—	14.
Other meats and diverse living creatures, .	—	11, 20.	—	14.
Of uncleanness in the issue of seed and blood,	—	15, 12.	—	23.
In the dead bodies of men, ...	—	—	19.	—
In the leprosy, ...	—	13, 14.	5.	24.
Of circumcision, ... Gen. xvii.	—	12.	—	—
Of the water of expiation, ...	—	—	19.	—
Of the mourning of the Israelites, . . .	—	19.	—	14.
Of mixtures, ...	—	19.	—	22.
Of their garments and writing the law privately,	—	—	15.	6, 11, 22.
Of young birds not to be taken with the dam, .	—	—	—	22.
Of their paddle staves, ...	—	—	—	23.

The Third Class.

The Political Law.

	Exod. chap.	Levit. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
N. B. The magistrate is the keeper of the precepts of both tables, and to have respect to human society; therefore the political laws of the *Israelites* are referred to both the tables, and are to be reduced to the several precepts of The moral law.				
Laws referred to the first table, namely, 1st, to the 1st and 2nd commandments; viz.				
Of idolators and apostates, ...	22.	20.	—	13, 17.
Of abolishing idolatry, ...	23, 24.	—	33.	7, 12.
Of diviners and false prophets, ...	22.	19, 20.	—	18.
Of covenants with other gods, ...	23, 34.	—	—	7.

	Exod. chap.	Levit. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
2nd. To the third commandment; viz.				
Of blasphemies,	—	24.	15.	—
3rd. To the fourth commandment; viz.				
Of breaking the sabbath,	31, 35.	—	15.	—
Political laws referred to the second table:				
1st. To the fifth commandment; viz.				
Of magistrates and their authority,	18, 30.	—	11.	1, 16, 17, 23.
Of the power of fathers,	21.	20.	—	21.
2nd. To the sixth commandment; viz.				
Of capital punishments,	—	—	—	21, 24
Of wilful murder,	21.	24.	35.	19.
Of manslaughter unwittingly committed, and of the cities of refuge,	21.	—	35.	19, 21, 22.
Of heinous injury,	21.	24.	—	25.
Of punishments not capital,	—	—	—	25.
Of the law of war,	—	—	—	20, 23.
3rd. To the seventh commandment; viz.				
Of unlawful marriages,	—	18, 20.	—	7, 22.
Of fornication,	—	19.	—	23.
Of whoredom,	22.	21.	—	22.
Of adultery and jealousy,	—	19, 20.	5.	—
Of copulation against nature,	22.	18, 20.	—	—
Of divorcements,	—	—	—	24.
Other matrimonial laws,	21.	18, 20.	—	21, 22, 24, 25.
4th. To the eighth commandment; viz.				
Of the punishment of thefts,	22.	—	5.	—
Of sacrilege, Joshua vii.	—	—	—	—
Of not injuring strangers,	22, 23.	19.	—	10.
Of not defrauding hirelings,	—	19.	—	24, 14, 15.
Of just weights,	—	19.	—	25.
Of removing the land-mark,	—	—	—	19.
Of lost goods,	22.	—	—	—
Of stray cattle,	22, 23.	—	—	22.
Of corrupted judgments,	23.	19.	—	16, 24.
Of fire breaking out by chance,	22.	—	—	—
Of man-stealing,	—	—	—	24.
Of the fugitive servant,	—	—	—	23.
Of gathering fruits,	—	19, 23.	—	23, 24.
Of contracts; viz.				
Borrowing,	—	—	—	15.
Of the pledge,	22.	—	—	24.
Of usury,	22.	25.	—	23.
Of selling,	21.	25.	—	15.
Of the thing lent,	22.	—	—	—
Of a thing committed to be kept,	22.	—	—	—
Of heirs,	—	—	26, 27, 33, 36.	21.
5th. To the ninth commandment; viz.				
Of witnesses,	—	5.	—	17, 19.
The establishing the political law,	—	—	—	4.
The establishing the divine law in general,	—	—	—	6, 11, 29, 30, 31.
From the dignity of the lawgiver,	—	19, 20, 22.	15.	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 26, 27.
From the excellency of the laws,	—	—	—	4, 26.
From the promises,	15, 19, 23, 24.	18, 26.	—	4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 28.
From the threatenings,	23.	26	—	4, 7, 11, 27, 28, 29, 30.

In studying the Pentateuch, particularly the four last books, the Lectures of the Rev. Dr. Graves, and the Horæ Mosaicæ of the Rev. G. S. Faber, will be found of great use.

[SECTION VII.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Internal evidence of Mosaic authorship, passages from the Pentateuch.—References to it in the later books of scripture, the apocrypha, &c., testimonies of Christ and his apostles.—Doubts as to the Mosaic authorship, grounds of objection.—Documentary, fragmentary, supplementary hypotheses, Elohist and Jehovist.—Analysis of names Elohim, Jehovah.—Early patriarchs were acquainted with the name Jehovah.—Exod. vi. 2, 3 *examined.—Use of names according to their significations.—Examination of alleged contradictions, repetitions, difference of modes of thought in the Elohist and Jehovist, difference of language.—Book of Deuteronomy.—Hupfeld's theory.—How far the use of different documents may be admitted.—Kurtz's division of Genesis.—Connection of the various parts of the Pentateuch.—Objections considered from the use of particular phrases, allusions, &c.—Alleged dates of Elohim and Jehovah documents.—Early date and unity of the Pentateuch.*

THE five books of the Pentateuch have ordinarily been considered as the work of Moses in both the Jewish and the Christian churches. It is proposed in the present section to examine this question, in order to see whether the state in which we find them is or is not consistent with the voice of tradition and the witness of the church.

There are declarations in the book itself in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The following passages may be referred to as examples:—

Exod. xvii. 14.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven."

Exod. xxiv. 3, 4, 7.

"And Moses came and told the people all the words of the Lord, and all the judgments; and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which the Lord hath said will we do. And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. . . . And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people; and they said, All that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient."

Exod. xxxiv. 27, 28.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words; for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel. And he was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights: he did neither eat bread, nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments."

Numb. xxxiii. 2.

"And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys, by the commandment of the Lord; and these are their journeys according to their goings out."

Deut. i. 5.

"On this side Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare this law."

Deut. xvii. 18.

"And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests the Levites."

Deut. xxviii. 58.

"If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book," &c.

Deut. xxxi. 9—11, 22, 24—26.

"And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing. . . . . Moses therefore wrote this song the same day, and taught it the children of Israel. . . . . And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee."

It is at once plain from these passages that Moses was in the habit, at God's command, of committing things to writing, for preservation to future ages. The questions arise whether the testimonies cited apply to the whole Pentateuch, or only to certain specified portions; and, further, whether it is fair to conclude on the last supposition that Moses wrote nothing but the pieces distinctly said to have come from his pen.

Let us examine the several passages just transcribed.

In Exod. xvii. 14. the expression used is כְּתֹב זֹאת זִכָּרוֹן בַּסֵּפֶר, which is literally, "Write this a memorial in the book." It is true that Bleek maintains that the notion of a particular book, *the* book, the known book, rests only on the punctuation, and that the word might as well be בְּסֵפֶר; but Hävernick[1] and Hengstenberg[2] have shown good reason why this cannot be allowed. And certainly, looking at the passage, and considering the purpose for which the writing was to be made—to hand down for a warning to posterity the sin and punishment of Amalek—it can scarcely be believed that a mere "monograph," a separate brief notice of the wars with the Amalekites was intended. The purpose is rather, like the similar case (Isai. xxx. 8.), to call peculiar attention to the awful judgment to be long after fully executed against the nation which had the fatal pre-eminence of being the first to attack God's chosen people.

In Exod. xxiv. 4, 7. we find that "Moses wrote all the words of the Lord," and afterwards took "the book of the covenant,"

[1] Introduction to the Pentateuch, § 4.; Einleitung. § 108., I. ii. pp. 15—17.
[2] Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, diss. v. vol. ii. pp. 123—125.

סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית, and read in the ears of the people. Now what was this "book of the covenant," in which "all the words of the Lord" were written? Hävernick is inclined to give an extended sense to the expressions used, and to suppose, because (among other reasons) the basis of the covenant is found in Genesis, that the Pentateuch, so far as at that time compiled, must be intended.[1] Allowing that there is some weight in his arguments, it yet seems more reasonable to believe, with Hengstenberg and other writers, that it was but Exod. xx. 1—17., 22—26., xxi.—xxiii., as it were, the law in compendium or miniature, that was meant.[2] According to this view, "the book of the covenant" was that which contained the duties of the covenant, not all the events relating to it.

In Exod. xxxiv. 28. we find אֵת דִּבְרֵי הַבְּרִית, "the words of the covenant," meaning here the ten commandments.

In Numb. xxxiii. 2. the writing was of the stations occupied by Israel in their marches; but it seems improbable that this register was a detached thing: it was more likely one item or head contained in a larger history.

Deut. i. 5., הוֹאִיל מֹשֶׁה בֵּאֵר הַתּוֹרָה, "Moses began to declare this law," E.V. But בֵּאֵר must imply writing. Its proper meaning is "to dig in," "to grave" (*e.g.* on tablets), hence "to inscribe;" as Hävernick has properly noted. Compare Deut. xxvii. 8.; Hab. ii. 2.[3] Coupling this text with xxviii. 58, 61., xxix. 20, 21, 27., xxx. 10., it is clear that Moses had written a law-book, containing commands, curses, &c.

Deut. xvii. 18. It would seem that an authorized exemplar of the law to be written was in the charge of the priests.

The narrative, Deut. xxxi. 9—11, 22. 24 - 26., taken in connection with the passages from Deuteronomy just noticed, will afford matter for discussion. It appears that, when Moses had written "this law," or "the words of this law," he delivered the book to the priests, to be preserved by them with the ark of the covenant. Now, first, it is hard to determine exactly the point at which Moses ceased to write and the continuator began. For that at least some verses at the end of Deuteronomy were added after Moses, *e. g.* the account of his death, no one is likely to deny. Various authorities have fixed this point at xxx. 20., xxxi. 23. (chap. xxxii. being a supplement from Moses's pen), xxxii. 52., xxxiii. 29., xxxiv. 4. Hengstenberg supposes that there were two deliveries, xxxi. 9, 25, 26., the first in the presence of the whole people, the last more privately to the Levites, and that after the first Moses received the book back again and added to it some fresh portions, xxix. 1. (E. V. 2.)—xxxi. 13., and then xxxi. 14—23.[4] It must be confessed, however, that the supposition is scarcely probable. But the matter is of no great importance: there is a distinct testimony of Moses, or of the continuator, or, more likely, of both, to the fact that the law was written by the great legislator himself.

[1] Introduction to the Pentateuch, § 4.

[2] Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, diss. v. vol. ii. p. 125.; Keil, Einleitung, § 33. 1. p. 128.

[3] See, however, Hengstenberg upon the meaning here attributed to the word, diss. iii. vol. i. pp. 447, 448.; diss. v. vol. ii. p. 135; Keil, Einleitung, § 33. p. 130.

[4] Diss. v. vol. ii. pp. 126, 127.

A more momentous question afterwards rises, whether "the law," said to be composed by Moses, enjoined to be written out by kings, xvii. 18., and to be read to the people, xxxi. 10, 11., and solemnly delivered into the guardianship of the priests, was merely the book of Deuteronomy, or the entire Pentateuch Hävernick[1] and Hengstenberg[2] have strongly argued in favour of the last hypothesis; and they are followed by Keil.[3] It adds force to this opinion that no trace of the five-fold division of the Pentateuch can be with any certainty shown to exist prior to the Alexandrine translation. And the argument from the command to read the law once in seven years at the feast of tabernacles is not easily evaded. It is true that a Jewish tradition would confine the "law," Deut. xxxi. 11., to the book of Deuteronomy. But Keil has well shown that that tradition is contradicted by fact. In Neh. viii. we have an account of this solemn reading of the law; and there was then read (vv. 14, 15.) a command, not found in Deuteronomy, but only Lev. xxiii. 40, 42. Attempts have been made to evade the force of this argument; and we are told that the whole Pentateuch was too voluminous to be read at the feast; and Hengstenberg has replied that it might be left to the discretion of the spiritual overseers to fix on particular sections, and thus the spirit of the command would be complied with. This answer is very unsatisfactory; and the more because it is utterly needless. The whole Pentateuch was *not* too voluminous to be read at the feast of tabernacles. That feast lasted seven days; and on the eighth there seems also to have been a solemn assembly. Will any man that can calculate gravely affirm that it might not all be read through easily, conveniently, in seven days? A considerable portion of each day would doubtless be dedicated to the public reading. Thus, in the account in Nehemiah of the first day's reading, it is distinctly said to have been several hours, from early "morning until mid-day" (viii. 3.), מִן־הָאוֹר עַד־מַחֲצִית הַיּוֹם; and it is as distinctly added (v. 18.) that the reading was "day by day, from the first day unto the last day." According to our division there are 187 chapters, which would allow about 27 chapters each day[4]; surely no such mighty task to be enjoined once in seven years. It is a curious feature in the discussion, that some who object to the entire Pentateuch as too long for seven days presume that Ezra read the *whole* book of Deuteronomy the *first* day, to comply with the law, and that on the succeeding days he read selections from the other books, such as he judged most fit for the instruction of the people.

The conclusion, then, is that in the Pentateuch several considerable portions are expressly declared to be written by Moses; and, further, that there are strong grounds for believing that "the book of the law" mentioned in Deuteronomy comprised the whole Pentateuch. Even if, however, this be considered doubtful, no valid inference can be drawn, from the statements of Moses having written

[1] Einleitung, § 108. I. ii. pp. 24, &c.
[2] Diss. v. vol. ii. pp. 125, &c.
[3] Einleitung, § 33. pp. 128, 129.
[4] The Hebrew contains fewer words, too, than the English version. In Gen. i. the numbers are respectively 434 and 797; in Numb. xxxvi., 212 and 445. It is true that the Hebrew words are generally longer than the English, still not so much as to make that text equal in length to our version.

certain pieces, that he did *not* write other parts, with regard to which such statements are not made. It is common in other books (an example from Isaiah has been given) to find express notices that such or such things were recorded by the author; without thereby intending to invalidate his claim to the rest. More positive proof is required before such a conclusion can be admitted.

It is now necessary to see whether succeeding books of the bible give any testimony to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch.

In the book of Joshua, narrating the early history of Israel immediately after Moses's death, we find such passages as the following:—

i. 8. "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night," &c.

viii. 30—32, 34. "Then Joshua built an altar unto the Lord God of Israel in mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of the Lord commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses. . . and he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses (comp. Deut. xxvii. 8.). . . . and afterward he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law."

xxiii. 6. "Be ye therefore very courageous to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses," &c.

xxiv. 26. "And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God," &c.

These expressions are conclusive to show that at the time of the Israelitish conquest of Canaan under Joshua there was a volume or book existing, known as "the book of the law of God," or "the book of the law of Moses." This fact is met by some critics with an assertion that the book of Joshua was really the production of a later age (of which notice will hereafter be taken); and by others with the supposition that the words used do not imply the entire Pentateuch. The arguments by which this is maintained do not appear conclusive. But it shall be sufficient here to notice an acute observation of Keil, that there is a distinction carefully made (Josh. viii. 30—34.) between the law to be inscribed on stones, with that to be read to the people, and the general body of the law. The latter is called (vv. 31, 34.) the *law-book;* no such term is applied to that law (possibly the ten commandments, or some short compendium) which was written on the stones (v. 32.), or that (doubtless the blessings and cursings before prescribed) which was read to the people (v. 34. comp. v. 35.).[1] It can hardly be imagined that the distinction was accidental; and, if such a distinction was intended, it may be fairly asked in what words it could have been more decisively expressed?

And as to the exception taken against Josh. xxiv. 26., as if the book of the law were as yet incomplete, the conclusion to be drawn from the statement there made is simply that there then existed a book, and that Joshua annexed to it some of the history of his age; a presumption that in this book there had been written not merely laws, but history also, and that Joshua was appointed to carry on the theocratic narrative. He did not add to the *law,* but to the book or collection which contained it.

It is at least proved, allowing the book of Joshua to be written

[1] See Hävernick, Introduction to the Pentateuch, § 32.; Einleitung, § 136. I. ii. pp. 495, 496.; Keil, Einleitung, §§ 33, 34. pp. 129. 130.

by himself or a contemporary, that some record or volume (be it the entire Pentateuch or not) from the pen of Moses was extant and held in honour by the Israelites at their first settlement in Canaan. A few references shall be made to later history showing that such volume continued to exist and to be appealed to. The reader is requested to examine the following: —

1 Kings ii. 3., viii. 53.; 2 Kings xi. 12., xiv. 6., xxi. 8., xxii. 8, 10, 11, 16., xxiii. 24, 25.; 1 Chron. xvi. 40., xxii. 12, 13.; 2 Chron. xvii. 9., xxiii. 18., xxv. 4., xxx. 16., xxxi. 3., xxxiii. 8., xxxiv. 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 30., xxxv. 6, 12, 26.; Ezra iii. 2., vi. 18., vii. 6.; Neh. i. 7, 8., viii. 1—3, 5, 8, 14, 15, 18., ix. 3., x. 34, 36., xiii. 1—3.; Dan. ix. 11, 13.; Mal. iv. 4.[1]

Many will not acknowledge that the entire Pentateuch is intended in all these cases; and certainly there is no improbability in the supposition (taken by itself) that the expression *the law*, or *the book of the law*, received an extension of meaning—as to the original nucleus other documents were added—till the whole grew into the volume we have. But this becomes questionable when it is recollected that no hint in history is given of such accretion, that there is no reason (as before observed) to imagine that the Pentateuch was divided into the five books before the age of the Alexandrine translators, the Jews keeping it now in one roll, and that on such an hypothesis there must first have been an addition of several books into one, and then a separation of one book into five.

Be this, however, as it may, it will be at least acknowledged that, after the Babylonian captivity, and in our Saviour's time, the Pentateuch existed substantially as we have it, and was denominated the book, or the books, of Moses. It is necessary to examine therefore whether Christ and his apostles have sanctioned the belief that Moses was the author.

Before, however, proceeding to this, it may be not undesirable to note a few passages in the apocryphal writings, which go to show how thoroughly, in the interval between the last prophets and the advent of Christ, the Jews were persuaded that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. The following references may be consulted: 1 Esdr. i. 11., v. 49., vii. 6, 9., ix. 39, 40.; 2 Esdr. xiv. 3—6.; Tob. vi. 12., vii. 13.; Ecclus. xxiv. 23., xlvi. 1.; Bar. i. 20., ii. 2, 3, 28.; Sus. 3, 62.; 2 Macc. i. 29., ii. 11., vii. 6, 30. If we add to these the testimony of Josephus, who, when enumerating the books of Scripture, writes *τούτων πέντε μέν ἐστι τὰ Μωϋσέως, ἃ τούς τε νόμους περιέχει, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν, μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς*[2], no doubt can exist that in our Saviour's time the book of the law, the entire Pentateuch, in its five-fold form, was believed to be from the pen of Moses.

Now then how did our Lord and the apostles treat it?

Matt. xix. 7.

"They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?"

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[1] See Keil, Einleitung, § 34. [2] Contr. Apion. lib. i. 8.

Mark x. 3—5.

"And he answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. And Jesus answered and said unto them, For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept."

Mark xii. 19, 26.

"Master, Moses wrote unto us, If a man's brother die, &c. . . . And, as touching the dead that they rise, have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?"[1]

Luke xvi. 29, 31.

"Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets: let them hear them. . . . And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

Luke xxiv. 27, 44.

"And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself . . . all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me."

John i. 45.

"We have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write."

John v. 46, 47.

"For, had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me. But, if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?"

John vii. 19.

"Did not Moses give you the law," &c.?

John viii. 5.

"Now Moses in the law commanded us that such should be stoned."

Acts iii. 22.

"For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me: him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you."[2]

Acts xv. 21.

"For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath-day."

Acts xxvi. 22.

"Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come."

Acts xxviii. 23.

"He expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses and out of the prophets."

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[1] Compare Luke xx. 28, 37.; Matt. xxii. 24.

[2] Compare vii. 37.

Rom. x. 5.

"For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, that the man which doeth these things shall live by them."

2 Cor. iii. 15.

"But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart."

Hebr. vii. 14.

"For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Juda; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood."

More passages of similar import might be collected; but these are sufficient. There can be no mistake about them; nor is it possible to suppose stronger or more distinct language. It is evident that our Lord, his apostles, and the Jews of his time generally, spoke in the same way, ascribing the law to Moses. And there can be no limitation put upon the expression "the law." For it is used to signify one great division of the whole scripture; as "the prophets" and "the psalms" denote the other two divisions. It was the ordinary familiar mode of speech; and no Jew could ever have imagined, when the law of Moses was spoken of, that merely some collection of precepts in the Pentateuch, or the book of Deuteronomy alone, was meant. Besides, citations are made (*e. g.* Mark xii. 26; Rom. x. 5) from Exodus and Leviticus, proving beyond question that "the book of Moses" was the entire volume of the law in its largest sense. Now by all this the question is untouched, whether Moses might or might not make use of prior documents, moulding them into continuous history. If he compiled as well as narrated, and left the Pentateuch at his death substantially the same as it was in our Lord's days, and as it is in our own, it would still, in strict truth, be "the book of Moses," "Moses's law." But, if Moses left merely a nucleus, some comparatively few documents, which were afterwards used in the composition of the whole book, as much more being drawn from other sources, and differently arranged by a later editor or editors, so that the Pentateuch could not properly be said to exist till some generations after Moses's death, then we have a great inaccuracy, a grave mistake, in its being called "the book of Moses." It is true that Christ's mission was not to set limits to critical investigation; and some modes of speaking we might fairly suppose him to leave as he found them. It becomes us, also, to use the greatest reverence in asserting what Christ would or would not do: his ways are higher than our ways, his thoughts than our thoughts; so that we must not presume to measure the doings of the Holy One by our fallible judgment. But surely here is a matter of no light moment. Suppose it true that the Jews popularly attributed to Moses that which never flowed from Moses's pen, if others can believe that our Lord would have left them in such an error, nay, that he would have used language himself confirmatory of it, the present writer never can: he cannot, after weighing with serious care all the arguments for a different conclusion — he cannot but regard our Lord's

words as decisive that the Pentateuch as a whole was the work of Moses.[1]

Such evidence as has been adduced for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was for long considered quite satisfactory; and it was the all-but universal belief that the five books were composed before the entrance of Israel into Canaan, and were (with perhaps two or three small additions and glosses) from the pen of the great lawgiver himself. Now, however, these must not be taken as generally-admitted facts; and it is asserted that there is sufficient internal evidence to prove that the conclusion arrived at above is untenable. This evidence must be carefully examined; and it must be enquired whether, in the face of the objections to be stated, it is possible to maintain the authorship of Moses, or indeed whether the Pentateuch is such a continuous whole that it can be conceived to be the product of a single writer.

These are grave questions, and, it must be allowed, of no easy solution. Internal evidence must be scrutinized with severity. It is more difficult to grasp than external proof. It is more matter of opinion than matter of fact. It appeals to the finer principles of taste and literary acumen, and is more likely to be warped or mistaken by the natural feelings, the religious or philosophic temperament, the social position or habits of study of the investigator. Thus an inference, clear to one, will be entirely invisible to another equally sincere. And the glaring mistakes that have been made by the most acute critics may teach us both distrust of ourselves, and tolerance towards those from whom we differ. A theory will not gain strength in the eyes of the right-minded by bold assumption on the part of its supporters, still less by sneering imputations of ignorance and prejudice against those who are unwilling to accept it.

That these observations are not uncalled for, the history of biblical criticism within the last few years will manifestly prove. Thus Prof. Stuart exemplifies the widely-diverse opinions which have been propounded by eminent scholars respecting the Pentateuch, and remarks, "Each of these writers is confident in his critical power of discrimination . . . . not doubting in the least that the internal *indicia* exhibited by the style and matter are plain and decisive in regard to their respective theories. . . . . The question comes up, How can these writers, each being sure that he sees everything so clearly, differ so widely from each other? . . . . Each judges from *internal* evidence and *subjective* feeling. Each is sure that he can appreciate all the niceties and slight diversities of style and diction, and therefore cannot be mistaken." And then the professor tells the stories of Dr. Reinhold's "Amber Witch," and of the Maltese inscription, by which critics of the first name, Gesenius, Hamaker, &c., were *ridiculously* deceived, and committed themselves so far as to maintain publicly that modern productions (put forward with the purpose

[1] Enim vero non fuere Christus et apostoli critices doctores, quales se haberi postulant, qui hodie sibi regnum litterarum in quavis vindicant scientia; fuerunt tamen doctores veritatis, neque passi sunt sibi per communem ignorantiam aut procerum astum imponi. Non certe in mundum venere, ut vulgares errores foverent suaque auctoritate munirent, nec per Judaos solum sed et populos unice a se pendentes longe lateque spargerent.—Herm. Witsius, Miscell. 1692—1700. lib. i. cap. xiv. 24. tom. i. pp. 125, 126.

of testing their sagacity) were genuine remains of antiquity.[1] No man, therefore, ought to be blamed for receiving with distrust the theories which from time to time are broached, and hesitating at the discoveries which are said to be made. It would surely be dangerous to trust such a guide, for instance, as Lengerke, who makes out that Psal. xlv. is an epithalamium on the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel!

The history of the questions respecting the authorship of the Pentateuch cannot be given here. Suffice it to say, passing over some doubts which are stated to have been propounded in early ages, that Isaac ben Jasos, a Spanish Jew, at the beginning of the eleventh century, and Abenezra imagined that certain portions were not the work of Moses. Carolstadt, in 1520, denied the Mosaic authorship: Masius (1574) followed in the same strain, Spinoza also, and a variety of later writers.[2] The grounds of objection are, besides the use of different divine names, the "unhistoric" character of the Pentateuch, the alleged traces of a later period, with various other reasons taken from the style, and the assumed non-establishment of the Mosaic law till the reigns of David and Solomon.

It was at an early period that the difference of names applied to the Deity began to attract attention. Tertullian appears to have been the first to notice the fact, and to attempt an explanation. Nor did it escape the observation of Augustine and Chrysostom.[3] Some of the Jewish writers, too, of the middle ages have left disquisitions upon it. But for a long time no one ventured to hint that this difference indicated a plurality of authors. Vitringa, however, cautiously suggested, *schedas et scrinia patrum, apud Israelitas conservata, Mosem collegisse, digessisse, ornâsse, et, ubi deficiebant, complesse.*[4] He relied in proof of this upon the various superscriptions, אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת, זֶה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדֹת, Gen. ii. 4., v. 1., x. 1, xi. 27., &c. &c. as indicating the commencement of separate documents. Other writers adopted the hypothesis. But Astruc, a Belgian physician, was the first to mark the various documents which he supposed to have been employed. In his work, *Conjectures sur les Memoires originaux, dont il parait que Moyse s'est servi, pour composer le livre de la Genèse*, Bruxell. 1753, he endeavoured to show that Moses had compiled Genesis from two principal documents, in which the names Elohim and Jehovah were respectively used, with additions from ten others of inferior moment. Eichhorn modified this view, and limited the number of primitive documents to two, one using the word Elohim, the other Jehovah. The portions not comprised in these documents he considered to be the original work of the compiler. Other modifications were introduced by succeeding writers. The theory of documents gave way to that of fragments. The parts were said to want connection, repetitions to occur, different accounts of the same facts

[1] Stuart, Crit. Hist. and Defence of the O. T. Canon (edit. Davidson), § 3. pp. 47, 48, 52—54.

[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 35.; De Wette, Einleitung, § 164.

[3] Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Adv. Hermog. 3. p. 229; August. Op. (edit. Ben.) De Gen. ad lit. lib. viii. 24. tom. iii. pars i. col. 234; Chrysost. Op. (edit. Ben.) In Gen. hom. xiv. tom. iv. p. 108.

[4] Observ. Sacr. Franc. 1712, lib. i. cap. iv. § 2. p. 36.

to be dressed out with different details, &c.; so that the final compiler did little more than collect, without much care to make them agree, the heterogeneous materials which came to his hand. Without attempting to trace the different shades of opinions which rose and fell, it may be said that the "supplementary hypothesis" seemed at length to meet with large acceptance in Germany. One document was conceived to form the basis, into which many insertions were made, and supplementary matter added. The authors of the two chief documents are designated by names which, though a reverential mind shrinks from them, must be used in order to render remarks upon the subject intelligible, the "Elohist" and the "Jehovist." The work of the former is thought to be complete in itself; while that of the latter supplies additional details. An editor has combined the two, it is alleged, with consummate skill, and yet with such carelessness as to leave glaring contradictions[1], and by this means has elaborated the Pentateuch as we have it. But there are signs which indicate that this theory is not destined to stand. The supplementary hypothesis is losing credit. It is now maintained by some, that the Jehovist wrote independently, and made his work complete. It is also discovered that there are two Elohists, an older and a younger; so that the final editor had certainly three documents before him.[2]

The Elohist and Jehovist are, according to their names, distinguished from each other by their use of different words for the Deity. This, however, is not always a criterion. And there are other marks by which it is said that the one may be known from the other. The Elohist is more simple and circumstantial in his style, with less polish. He abounds with repetitions, and frequently introduces genealogical and ethnological registers. He uses many words and phrases foreign to the Jehovist; who has also words and phrases peculiar to himself. The style of the latter is more compact and shorter, at the same time smoother and clearer. He is fond of introducing proverbs and snatches of poetry, of describing appearances of angels and of the Deity, and seems bent on the magnifying of his own nation.[3]

In spite, however, of these characteristic marks, critics have not succeeded in appropriating to their general satisfaction the different portions to each writer.[4] It may be desirable to show how some of the most eminent have made the division.[5] The following table comprises the arrangements of De Wette, Stähelin, and Tuch, for the assigning to separate writers of the book of Genesis.

[1] See Kurtz, Beiträge zur Verth. u. Begr. der Einheit des Pent. p. 44.

[2] For details the reader is referred to Hävernick, Einleitung, §§ 111—113. I. ii. pp. 58. &c., Introduction, §§ 7, 8, 9.; Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. ii. vol. i. pp. 213, &c.; Holden, Dissertation on the Fall of Man, chap. ii. pp. 32, 33.; Turner, Companion to the Book of Genesis, Introduction, pp. 17—34.

[3] These alleged differences will be referred to again. Compare Kurtz, Einheit des Pent. p. 105.

[4] Kalisch expresses himself strongly on the difficulty of this, Comm. on the Old Test. with a new Translation, Genesis, p. 520, *note*.

[5] Kurtz well shows the uncertainty of any such division. In the same passage there are often some marks which would incline a critic to ascribe it to the Elohist; but there are some also which go to show it is a Jehovist section. What, then, is to be the decision? Kurtz, Einheit des Pent. p. 75.

De Wette.[1]		Tuch.[2]		Stähelin.[2]	
Groundwork, or Elohist.	*Supplement, or Jehovist.*	*Groundwork.*	*Supplement.*	*First Legislation.*	*Second Legislation.*
Gen. i.—ii. 3	ii. 4.—iv. 26.	i—ii. 3.	ii. 3.—iv. 26.	i.—ii. 3.	ii. 3.—iv. 26.
v. (29 interpolated).		v. 1—29 (first half) 30—32.	v. 29 (second half).	v. 1—28, 30—32.	v. 29.
vi. 9—22.	vi. 1—8.			vi. 9—22.	vi. 1—8.
vii. 11—16 (16 interpolated), 18—22, 24.	vii. 1—10, 17, 23.	vi. 9—22.	vi. 1—8.	vii. 11—22, 24.—viii. 5, 13, 15—19.	vii. 1—10, 23.
		vii. 11—16 (first half) 17.—viii. 19.	vii. 1—10, 16 (sec. half).		viii. 14, 20—22.
viii. 1—19.	viii. 20—22.		viii. 20—22.	ix. 1—17, 28, 29.	ix. 18—27.
ix. 1—17, 28, 29.	ix. 20—27.	ix. 1—17, 28, 29.	ix. 18—27.	x. 1—7, 20, 22, 23, 30, 31.	x. 8—19, 21, 24—29, 32.
xi. 10—32.	x—xi. 9.		x.—xi. 9.	xi. 10—26.	xi. 1—9.
xii. 5, 6.?	xii. 1—4, 7—20.	xi. 10—32.		xvii.	xii.—xvi. 16.
	xiii.— xvi. 16.	xii. 5, 6, 8.	xii. 1—4, 7, 9—20.	xx.—xxi. 34.	xviii.—xix. 38.
xiv. (a fragment).		xiii. 18.	xiii. 1—17.	xxiii.	xxii.
xvii.	xviii.—xix. 28, 30—38.	xvii.	xiv.—xvi. 16.	xxv. 1—20.	xxiv.
xix. 29.		xix. 29.	xviii. 1.—xix. 28, 30—38.	xxvi. 34, 35.	xxv. 21.—xxvi. 33.
xx. (18 interpolated).				xxvii. 46.	xxvii. 1—45.
xxi. (1, 17, ? 33, 34. intd.)—xxii. 13 (11 intd.), 19.	xxii. 14—18.	xx. 1—17.	xx. 18.	xxviii. 1—19.	xxviii. 20.—xxxi. 16.
		xxi. 2—32.	xxi. 1, 33, 34.	xxxi. 17—44 (worked over).	xxxi. 45.—xxxiii. 16.
xxiii.	xxiv.	xxii. 1—13, 19—24.	xxii. 14—18.		
xxv. 1—21, 24—34 (2—4, 21, 25, 26.? intd.).	xxv. 22, 23.	xxiii.	xxiv.	xxxiii. 17.—xxxvi. 43.	
		xxv. 1—11, 19, 20, 24—34.	xxv. 12—18, 21—23.	xxxvii. (worked over)	xxxviii.—xxxix. 5.
xxvi. 34, 35.	xxvi. 1—33.			xliii. (worked over).	xxxix. 21.—xlii. 38.
xxvii. 46.—xxviii. 12, 17, 20—22. (21 intd.).	xxvii. 1—45.	xxvi. 34, 35.	xxvi. 1—33.	xliv.—xlvi. 30.	
	xxviii. 13—16, 18, 19.	xxvii. 46.—xxviii. 12, 17—21 (first half), 22.	xxvii. 1—45.	xlvii. 7—12, 27—31.	xlvii. 13—26.
xxix. (31—35 intd.)—xxx. 13, 17—24 (first half).	xxx. 14—16, 24 (second half)—42.		xxviii. 13—16, 21 (sec. half).	xlviii.—l. 26.	
		xxix.—xxx. 13, 17—24 (first half).	xxx 14—16, 24 (sec. half)—43.		
xxxi. 4. (49 intd.)—xxxii. 3.	xxxii. 4—21.? 22—32.			viii. 6—12.; xi. 27—32.; xxxix. 6—20.; xlvi. 31.—xlvii. 6., uncertain.	
		xxxi. 4—48, 50—54.	xxxi. 1—3, 49.		
xxxiii.—xxxvi. 43.		xxxii. 1—12, 14, 33.	xxxii. 13, 15—32.		
xxxvii. (23—30 worked over).	xxxviii.	xxxiii.—xxxvi. 43.			
		xxxvii. 2—36.	xxxvii. 1.		
xxxix. 6—20.	xxxix. 1—5, 21—23.	xxxix. 6—20.	xxxviii.		
xl.—xlvii. 12, 27—l. 26. (xlix. 18. intd.).	xlvii. 13—26.	xl. 1—l. 26.	xxxix. 1—5, 21—23.		

[1] Einleitung, § 150. It is not easy to construct this table with perfect accuracy.

[2] Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, pp. lxvi., lxvii. Comp. Keil, Einleitung, § 24.

It may be worth while to append the following statement from Hävernick, Einleitung (by Keil), of the way in which a greater number of writers treat Gen. vii., viii., ix.: —

According to Tuch, Stähelin, De Wette, vii. 1—10, 16 (last part), viii. 20—22., ix. 18—27., belong to the Jehovist.

According to Delitzsch, vii. 1—9, 16 (last part), viii. 20—22, ix. 18—27.

According to Von Lengerke, vii. 1—10, 16 (last part), 23., viii. 6—12, 14, 15., ix. 18—27.

According to Knobel, vii. 1—3, 5, 8 (first part), 16 (last part), viii. 20—22, ix. 18—27.

According to Hupfeld, vii. 1—5, 7 and 8 (in part), 10, 12, 16 (last part), 17, 23., viii. 1 (last part), 2 (last part), 3 (first part), 4 (beginning and end), 6—12, 20—22., ix. 18—27.[1]

Of course it cannot be supposed that the theory founded on the use of the words Elohim and Jehovah has failed to find opponents. Various writers hold that a division, grounded on the different appellations given to the Deity, is entirely unauthorized, for that it may be shown, by careful investigation, that Elohim and Jehovah are not arbitrarily employed, but that each is suitable to the peculiar meaning or purpose of the place in which it is found.

In order to obtain a distinct idea of the two words respectively, we must enquire into their derivation. The root of אֱלֹהִים, אלה, lost in Hebrew, is found in Arabic, where أَلَهَ signifies *coluit, adoravit*, and أَلِهَ *obstupuit, attonitus fuit.* Hence, إِلٰهٌ, and with the article أَللّٰهُ, God, the supreme God; a kindred form being أَللّٰهُمَّ, used, however, only in addressing the Deity in prayer.[2] From אֱלוֹהַּ, the singular, is formed אֱלֹהִים, the *pluralis majestatis.* The idea conveyed by the word, then, must be wide and general, the Being to be regarded with reverential fear, full of glory as the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the universe, the absolute Sovereign before whom all creatures must bow.

The term יְהוֹה is from הָוָה, equivalent to הָיָה, *fuit, extitit.* The vowels now used for it are borrowed, it is well known, from אֲדֹנָי; and what they were which really belonged to it has been matter of much discussion. No certainty can be arrived at; but the form יַהְוֶה is as probable as any.[3] The idea conveyed would seem to be the Being, the self-existent, the immutable One (comp. Exod. iii. 14; Rev. i. 8.), developing himself in his dealings, and forming a covenant-relationship with his people.[4]

The ideas thus exhibited will, it is thought, sufficiently explain why one writer would use, according to circumstances, the two

[1] Einleitung, § 114. I. ii. p. 115. note.
[2] See Golius *in voc.*
[3] See Lee, Heb. Gram. 167. p. 128 (1st edit.).
[4] See Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. ii. vol. i. pp. 231—307.; Keil, Einleitung, § 25.

names. "If it is clear that the Pentateuch contains a revelation of God, progressively advancing, until it terminates in a development of the complete theocracy, then, from the intimate connection of name and thing, we may reasonably expect that the author, by the use of designed and carefully-varied divine names, intended to note a real difference characteristic of the earlier and later periods. If Elohim be the more general, and Jehovah the more definite and profound, name of the Deity, we might consequently expect to find that the use of these terms varies, before the full establishment of the theocracy, in a different manner from what it does after. According as the subject is connected with the earlier or later period, in other words, as the analogy with the world in general or with the theocracy predominates, the name Jehovah or Elohim must be employed."[1] Doubtless this hypothesis will not be free from difficulty, nor will it perhaps satisfactorily account in all cases for the use of the particular name which is employed. A reader may be compelled to conclude that the usage is not invariable, and find, after allowing all due weight to the distinction made, that there are passages in which either term might be introduced without any approach to a confusion of meaning. The question is, If nothing seemed to guide the choice, must we then necessarily resort to the theory that two different pens were at work, each ordinarily employing its favourite word? The writer just quoted, while shrinking from the rigid application of Hengstenberg's rule, replies in the negative, and judiciously remarks: "There is, doubtless, a large proportion of places in Genesis where the author has been led to the choice of these terms respectively, because of some peculiar adaptation of the one or the other to the subject in connection with which it occurs. There are other portions in which he seems to have employed both, in order to prevent the possibility of his reader's supposing a different being to be intended. And probably there are still others in which the usage differs for the sake of variety, and because no particular motive existed to determine his mind to the choice of one rather than the other. If some cases do exist, in which it is difficult and perhaps impossible to settle the ground of the choice of these appellations of the Supreme Being, the variety of the usage is no proof of different original documents. One writer may have varied the terms for the best of reasons, although in some instances not now discoverable."[2]

Something similar may be observed in the New Testament. It is evident that "Jesus" and "Christ" have very different significations; and great care is often taken to use the appropriate word, *e.g.* in Luke xxiv. 26, 46.; Acts xvii. 3.; Phil. ii. 10.; Heb. ii. 9. The sense would manifestly suffer in all these (and a vast multitude of other) places, if the one name were substituted for the other. And yet it cannot be denied that in some cases the two names are conjoined, or one used where with equal propriety the other might have been introduced. Phil. ii. 19, 21.; 1 Thess. ii. 15., iv. 1, 2, 14, 16., are examples.

[1] Turner, Companion to the Book of Genesis, pp. 37, 38.
[2] Ibid., pp. 66, 67.

If, however, a single writer be supposed to have used the two names, it is clear that he believed the early patriarchs acquainted with the term Jehovah. The use of the word cannot be explained by prolepsis, because we meet with it not only in the author's narrative, but also in the speeches of persons whose history he relates, *e.g.* Gen. iv. 1., ix. 26., xxiv. 3, 7, 27, 31, 35., xxvii. 20, 27., xxxi. 49., xlix. 18., &c. &c. That is to say, the writer narrates it as a fact that the early patriarchs knew and used the name Jehovah. But is this consistent with what we read in Exod. vi. 2, 3.: "And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the Lord; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty; but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them?" We must consider whether this necessarily implies that all who lived before the day in which God made this revelation to Moses were entirely ignorant of the appellation.

Now it is certainly extraordinary that, if the supplementer or editor understood the declaration in this way, he should not have seen that passages relating to earlier times exhibited phraseology altogether contradictory to it, or that seeing this he should not have removed the contradiction. It is admitted on all hands that it was his purpose to make the work a complete whole, and that he has taken pains, on the supposition of his interpolating and adding, to join fresh portions with such nicety, as that the sharpest eye has failed to detect in all cases the junction. It is hard to imagine a writer evincing so much care and so much carelessness, exhibiting so much art and so much want of it, clear-sighted in the minutest matters, and blind to one of the greatest.[1]

It is urged that the so-called groundwork always uses Elohim till the historical point is reached, recorded in Exod. vi. 2, 3. But it is to be observed that there are considerable portions of later books in which the same term is exclusively employed. Judg. ix. is an example. Jehovah was known when that section was written, and yet never occurs in it. The non-occurrence of the name, then, is not a sufficient proof of its non-existence. Now "name" may evidently signify character. Unless we are to discredit the fact recorded in the passages above referred to, the name "Jehovah" *was* previously known, *e.g.* Gen. iv. 26. But the development of power intended

[1] Kurtz's words are worth transcribing: "Wenn man dazu nun berücksichtigt, wie eng sonst immer der 'Ergänzer' sich an die Grundschrift anschliesst, wie geschickt und umsichtig er seine Ergänzungen nicht nur einschiebt und anschliesst, sondern auch meist so enge verwebt, dass es wie ein Ganzes aussieht, wie er sie in Sprache und Ausdruck zu diesem Zweck copirt, hier mit bewundrungswürdiger Umsicht und Vorsicht ihre gelegentlich kurzen Notizen weit im Voraus vorbereitet und unterbaut, wie er durch seine künstlichen Unterbauten, durch seine sinnreichen Wendungen im Voraus die Notizen und Berichte der 'Grundschrift' oft in ein ganz andres Licht zu stellen weiss, wie er in allen seinen 'Ergänzungen' die genaueste Rücksicht auf die Grundschrift—rückwärts und vorwärts—nimmt, sie ergänzt, weiter ausführt, u. s. w.,—wenn man diese und mehrere andre Erscheinungen, welche die Ergänzungshypothese zugestehen und behaupten muss, erwägt, so wird man es für undenkbar, für unmöglich halten müssen, dass ein Ergänzer von so feiner und durchdringender Auffassungsgabe, von so raffinirter Gewandtheit zugleich so blödsinnig und gedankenlos gewesen sein sollte, die so sonnenklar ausgesprochne, so consequent durchgeführte, durch nichts getrübte und verdeckte Absicht und Ansicht der 'Grundschrift' gar nicht gemerkt zu haben."—Die Einheit der Genesis, p. xxiv. Comp. the same author, Einheit des Pentateuch, p. 44.

thereby was by no means known. So that it was not merely an appellation, but the character to which that appellation was appropriate, that was the object of the revelation. To the earlier patriarchs the term Jehovah, in the fulness of its working power and covenant-meaning, was never unravelled: the events which should so unfold it had not occurred in their day. There had been but the preparation for that exercise of effectual might, which was now to be exerted when the Lord with strong hand rescued his people from bondage, entered into close relation with them, constructed their polity, placed them in the land he had promised to their fathers, and established that wonderful theocracy, of which all the blessings to be bestowed upon his ransomed church for ever would be only the perfect expansion. Besides, the word here used, נוֹדַעְתִּי, is of pregnant meaning. It is rendered in our version "was I known." But it conveys more than the idea of bare knowledge: it intends the perception, the experience, the grasping, as it were, of the unfolding fulness of the essential work of Jehovah.[1]

From considerations of this kind, it is concluded that the passage Exod. vi. 2, 3. offers no insuperable obstacle to the belief that the name Jehovah was known and used from the earliest times, and that therefore one writer might employ it interchangeably with Elohim, according as the one or the other was most appropriate to the subject-matter of the history.[2]

It is now necessary to illustrate the statement that the names are used appropriately, that a clearly-marked difference of meaning in the terms is met by as clearly-marked a difference in the object of the history. If this can be shown to be a fact, considerable advance will be made in the solution of the question.

In the first section, Gen. i.—ii. 3., Elohim is exclusively found; and Hengstenberg maintains its propriety, because it was the object of the author to indicate "how God gradually made himself known as the Being who was from eternity, as Jehovah; how by degrees from being Elohim he became, to human apprehension, Jehovah." "From this position," he goes on, "whence it is seen, not what God is in himself, but what he is in relation to men, the creation belongs to the Elohim."

In the next section, ii. 4—iv. 26., we find, at least to the end of chap. iii., almost exclusively Jehovah-Elohim, a conjunction of names which is very rare in historical narrative. Hengstenberg, in explanation, first refers to several other passages where the same conjunction occurs, such as Exod. ix. 30.; Jonah iv. 6., &c., and shows that the two terms, being both nominatives, are in apposition; so that they form a *nomen compositum*. "If now," he proceeds, "we

[1] See Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. ii. vol. i pp. 293—296.; Turner, Comp. to the Book of Genesis, pp. 34—39.; Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, pp. xxii.—xxxii.; Keil, Einleitung, § 25. That *knowing, knowing by name*, and *calling by name*, must imply something more than bare acquaintance is evident from such passages as the following: Exod. ii. 25., xxxiii. 12, 17., xxxv. 30.; Psal. i. 6.; Isai. xliii. 1., xlv. 4.; Jer. i. 5.; Nah. i. 7.; John x. 3.; 1 Thess. v. 12. See before, p. 455.

[2] There is a valuable paper on this subject in the American Bibl. Repos. Oct. 1833, pp. 730, &c.

reflect on these parallel passages, and observe that in the preceding section Elohim is exclusively used, that the combination of Jehovah with Elohim does not go farther than the section now before us, but that afterwards Jehovah and Elohim are placed alone when the subject requires it, no doubt can any longer exist respecting the object and meaning of the combination. Jehovah is that divine name which is suited to the contents of one section. We here take the first step in the transition from Elohim to Jehovah. We are here met by the living, personal, self-revealing, holy God. He appears as the loving preserver of mankind, as the director of moral life, commanding and forbidding, as the author of punishment, as the opener of the prospect that reaches to the final consummation. Had the author had in view merely those who had attained to a firm and clear knowledge of the relation of Elohim to Jehovah, he would have been satisfied with using the name Jehovah alone. But, since it was rather his design to lead into the depths of the relation of Jehovah and Elohim, the transition from Elohim to Jehovah simply appeared to him as too precipitate. He feared a misunderstanding, feared that man might regard that God, who held converse so humanly with man, as personally different from the Creator of heaven and earth, as a mere subordinate God and mediator. In this section, therefore, he uses Jehovah-Elohim in combination; in order that, in the sequel where Jehovah occurs, the Elohim manifested in him may be acknowledged, and, where Elohim occurs, that the Jehovah concealed in him might also be acknowledged."[1]

These remarks are indisputably of great weight. The combination of the two names is a most formidable difficulty, as it occurs here, in the way of those who maintain the documentary or the supplemental hypothesis. They do not appear to have furnished any satisfactory explanation of it. And Hengstenberg's view is confirmed by the fact that the use of the terms in combination is confined to the author. In chap. iii. there is the conversation of the woman with the serpent. Both employ the word Elohim; and with reason. The tempter would naturally avoid the use of Jehovah, and prefer the more general name. Hengstenberg notes it as the first step in Eve's fall, that she catches as it were the tone from him, and echoes his language. She should have had before her eyes the special relation in which, as Jehovah, God stood to her, the child of his covenant. But this she forgot. "First, there was a depression and obscuration of the religious sentiment; then the tree appeared good to eat, and pleasant to the eye: God died in the soul; and sin became alive."[2]

Kalisch, also, well maintains the same view: "The compound term Jehovah-Elohim is far from indicating a spirit antagonistic to that of the first chapter; on the contrary, it confirms and strengthens it: it removes the possible misconception that not Jehovah, as the God of Israel (Exod. vi. 3.), but the universal Lord, Elohim, has produced the world. By the use of the name Jehovah the narrative advances a very important step towards the peculiar theocratical character of

[1] Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. ii. vol. i. pp. 314, 315.
[2] Ibid., p. 317.

the Pentateuch; but, by combining it with Elohim, it reminds also of the omnipotent Creator. The God of the universe is the God of Israel; but the God of Israel is at the same time Governor of the whole world. In the first chapter the mere external act of the creation of man was narrated: it was, therefore, sufficient to designate God as the all-powerful Being, as the God of gods, or Elohim; but the following section describes an internal change in the heart of man: it delineates how sin took the place of innocence, and how misery succeeded happiness: it was therefore desirable to introduce God by a name which implies holiness, which by its mysterious signification awes the heart, but which yet shows this Being as the Creator; and therefore Jehovah-Elohim was employed. That this was really the idea of the Hebrew writer is evident from the striking fact that in the whole conversation with the serpent not Jehovah-Elohim, but simply Elohim, is used (iii. 1—5.): it would have been a profanation to put the holy name of God in the tempter's mouth, or to pronounce it before his ears. Thus, the identity of Elohim and Jehovah having once been impressed, it was not necessary to repeat this composition later, except on peculiar occasions." [1]

The propriety of the use of Jehovah in the section generally is hence evident. It is not, however, so easy to see why, in chap. iv. 1, 25., Eve should, on the births of two sons, adopt a difference of terms. Hengstenberg's explanation is hardly satisfactory. "At the birth of her first child, her piety was very animated. God had shown by the punishment he inflicted that he was Jehovah, and now he also was known to be Jehovah by the benefit he conferred. In her first-born Eve saw a blessed pledge of his grace. At Seth's birth her pious feelings were less lively; they went no further than an acknowledgment of God's general providence; and the view of the event as one in the ordinary course of nature was not, so entirely as before, kept in the background." [2] Drechsler's notion is still less plausible. He thinks that the word was chosen to indicate the opposition between God and man: "God re-places, in the person of Seth, what Cain had attempted to destroy in that of Abel." [3]

But the perplexity which this interchange causes to the defenders of the documentary hypothesis is still greater. Some have asserted that v. 25. is interpolated, or proposed to alter the reading.[4]

It is easy to account, on Hengstenberg's principle, for the use of the term Elohim in chap. v. In v. 29. we find Jehovah; and the occurrence of the word is explained by the clear reference to iii. 17. The resource of critics of a different school—and it must be admitted to be a violent measure—is to say that the verse is interpolated.

The history of the flood, occupying chaps. vi.—ix. inclusive, requires more extended remark. An attempt shall be made to present Hengstenberg's explanation in a compendious form. He considers vi. 1—8. a kind of introduction, stating the cause of the

[1] Kalisch, Commentary on the Old Testament, with a new Translation, note on Gen. ii. 4—6., pp. 103, 104.
[2] Dissertations, diss. ii. vol. i. p. 319.
[3] Die Einheit und Aechtheit der Genesis, p. 86.
[4] See Hävernick, Introduction to the Pentateuch, § 10. p. 67.

divine judgments. With the exception of the phrase "sons of Elohim"—which he says is appropriate, both from the contrast with "daughters of men," and because the dignity, "sons of Jehovah" (comp. Deut. xiv. 1.), could be attributed to those only among whom the character of Jehovah had been fully unfolded—Jehovah is invariably used. The subsequent narrative employs Elohim very frequently; though Jehovah is several times introduced, as in vii. 1, 5, and 16., immediately after Elohim, also in viii. 20, 21., and ix. 26., immediately followed by that term. "The author intended," he goes on to say, "to show how Elohim by degrees became Jehovah. The first step was already gained; and he had the second in his eye. The history of Abraham almost immediately succeeds that of the flood; for, in the intervening portion, the divine names occur only a few times, scattered here and there; and the contents are of a kind that the name Elohim is quite inadmissible. If the author therefore intended, before entering on the new large section, to draw attention to the fact, by the use of the divine names, that he who had already become Jehovah was relatively Elohim, that therefore still more glorious developments and relations of God were at hand, this must necessarily take place in our section, where, owing to the oft-repeated use of the divine names, his design could not be concealed. Had the author from the beginning used Elohim, one side of the truth—to wit, that God was already relatively Jehovah, and showed himself as such in the whole of this great event—would have remained concealed. Hence he uses in the introduction the name Jehovah with an intentionally-greater frequency. Now, the repeated Elohim in the following representation, in part respecting acts in reference to which Jehovah had immediately before appeared, could no longer be misunderstood. After comparing the introduction, Elohim could not be understood as simply such, but Elohim in the transition state to Jehovah, even that Jehovah who, in relation to what follows, is still Elohim."

Hengstenberg thus justifies the use of the term Jehovah in the part where Elohim generally occurs. He thinks the beginning of chap. vii. a proper place to indicate that he who was relatively "called Elohim is, in another very important respect, Jehovah;" and thus the usage in vi. 1—8. is recalled to mind. A great catastrophe is just at hand. Here is the place to prescribe the numerical superiority of clean beasts to be preserved over unclean. And this must be in Jehovah's name. For the clean only would be used for sacrifices; and sacrifices were presented not to Elohim but to Jehovah. The first command (vi. 19, 20.) respecting the beasts proceeds from the general care of the Creator for their preservation; while the special supplementary direction (vii. 2, 3.) belongs to a personal revealed God. Both as Elohim (vii. 8, 9.) and as Jehovah, God made a distinction between the clean and the unclean animals; but the provision for the greater number is properly attributed to Jehovah. In vii. 16. the respective agencies of Elohim and Jehovah are intentionally contrasted. "Elohim cares for the whole creation . . . Jehovah, the righteous, the merciful, cares for him whom he

had seen righteous in that generation, and who had found grace in his eyes. When Jehovah closed the door upon him, it was certain that not all the waters of heaven and earth could force it open." In viii. 20, 21. the term Jehovah is appropriate; for the offering of a sacrifice is described. And there is no difficulty in explaining (ix. 26, 27.) the variation of the names as regards Shem and Japheth. "Jehovah is the God of the Shemitic race: Elohim only is related to Japheth." Hitherto the family have been on an equality: Noah has walked with Elohim; but in the race of Shem a distinction was to be made. In union with them would God manifest himself as Jehovah. In the whole of this history, then, it is Hengstenberg's conclusion, "no passage can be pointed out in which, on the supposition that our theory is correct, Jehovah must necessarily stand instead of Elohim, or would be more suitable than in the passages where it really occurs." [1]

With this explanation Hävernick agrees.[2] The reasoning of it, however, does not appear thoroughly satisfactory to some even of those who approve the principle. Dr. Turner, "admitting its general truth," thinks "it may be carried unreasonably far. Circumstances merely incidental may induce the writer to use the one term or the other, where no very important cause existed to lead to a preference." [3] Kurtz, also, is dissatisfied. He pays a high and deserved tribute to Hengstenberg's acute disquisition on the varied use of the two names, but maintains that it does not reach every case. He thinks that Gen. xvii. sufficiently exemplifies this.[4] He believes that the distinction of Elohim and Jehovah has a deeper significancy than Hengstenberg has pointed out. "When we have found," he says, "in Elohim the ground-notion of power, and in Jehovah that of manifestation (des Werdens), then we get a clear insight into the essence and conceivable difference of the two names. They stand in mutual relation as might and evolution, as the beginning, which contains in itself the development potentially, is related to the middle, which brings eventually into full manifestation, by a gradual unfolding, the potency of the beginning. Elohim is the God of the beginning, who carries in himself the power of all life, of all development, which by creative energy he puts forth from himself, and lays out with power and ability for development the beginnings of all history. Jehovah, on the other hand, is the God of the development, who takes up the work of Elohim, in order to carry out the potency to its unfolding, the beginning to its end. Elohim is the Creator, whose character is absolute fulness of life, transcendent independence, and exaltation above all earthly limits. Jehovah is the interposer between the beginning and the end, the God of development and of history, who, in the manifestation, enters into time and space, and even subjects himself to them. The name Elohim is a pledge, since it expresses vital fulness and power, that every product of his energy

[1] Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. ii. vol. i. pp. 322—331.
[2] Hävernick, Introduction to the Pentateuch, § 10. pp. 68—71. Comp. Einleitung, § 113. I. i. pp.72, &c.
[3] Companion to the Book of Genesis. p. 50.
[4] Die Einheit der Genesis, p. xlviii.

has power and ability for development; that it *can* reach the end, the full development, but not that it certainly *will* attain it. The name Jehovah, on the other hand, guarantees the development itself, and gives security thereto, that the power will ultimately be most fully unfolded, that the beginning will certainly reach the end; for, since God as Jehovah even subjects himself to the development, becomes its carrier-out, its fellow-worker, as he evolves himself in and with the earthly evolution, it must, in spite of all vicissitudes and disturbances which result from the operation of men's free-agency, of necessity reach the end. To this security for the development, to this guarantee for the reaching of the end, which is contained in the name יְהוָֹה, Exod. iii. 14., in the declaration אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, expressly refers. When we have acknowledged Elohim as the God of the beginning, Jehovah, on the other hand, as the God of the middle taking up the beginning, as the God of the development, who carries the beginning to its end, the question presents itself, to which of the two names must we assign the end, the result of the development? Evidently to אֱלֹהִים. As God of the beginning Elohim is *eo ipso* the God of the end. For the end is the return to the beginning: in the end eventually is that opened out, which potentially was contained in the beginning. As Jehovah takes up the beginning made by Elohim, in order to bring it through the development to the end, so Elohim, again, takes up the end, after that Jehovah has performed his work, has carried the development fully out. This taking up of the end, on the part of Elohim, is, however, the judgment; for the eventual end is precisely according to the power of the beginning. Elohim is the God of the beginning *and* of the end, the Creator and the Judge: Jehovah is the God of the middle, of the development lying in the midst between the beginning and the end."[1]

On this principle, Kurtz conceives that the difficulties which Hengstenberg's theory leaves may be solved; when it is understood not only that Elohim becomes manifested as Jehovah, but that Jehovah returns, as it were, into Elohim. This, he thinks, must be the case, when in the progress of development a new creative beginning is made, when a new potency only to be attained by infinite creative might must come in for its accomplishment, or when the development has passed on to a result; whether such a perverted one as to require Elohim's interference as a judge, or so conformable to original purpose as that Elohim, who in the beginning came forward as the fulness of life, now comes forward as the fulness of bliss, *ἵνα ᾖ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.*

Kurtz understands, therefore, that Gen. vi. 1—8. is the closing of a section of the history. Now Jehovah is the God of the development, of that which lies between the beginning and the end. Against him was sin committed, and his dispositions were disturbed by the corruption of men. It is his name, therefore, that is properly intro duced here: he is said to repent: he decrees the destruction that sin had provoked. And repentance is the return to the beginning

[1] Die Einheit der Genesis, pp. l. li.

So that with the new section, vi. 9. &c., the term Elohim must be resumed. There is a fresh beginning. And to destroy the world is the work of that God who had created it.[1] Kurtz is satisfied with the reasons given by Hengstenberg and Drechsler for the introduction of the name Jehovah in chaps. vii. and viii. The command to take clean beasts and fowls by sevens must be in the name of Jehovah, as to him sacrifice must be offered; and, seeing that Elohim is the abstract Deity, far exalted above all human forms and modes of acting, of Jehovah only with propriety could it be said: "The LORD shut him in." In chap. ix. Elohim is used, as he must first set out the conditions of the development on which Jehovah will enter; while, vv. 26, 27., there is the special relation to Shem expressed, but only a general prediction made to Japheth.[2] Thus the varied use of the divine names is sufficiently accounted for.[3]

It is not possible within the allotted limits to pursue this investigation farther. The principles, on which the ablest writers who oppose the documentary and supplementary hypotheses argue, have, it is hoped, been sufficiently set forth; the more extended application of them must be sought in their own works. But, in order to enable the reader to come to a right judgment, it must be observed that, in all fairness, the arguments of critics of the one school must be laid over against those of critics of the other. If the supplementary hypothesis seems unnatural and improbable, it must be considered whether its improbability is greater than that of the subtle theory, which would assign a reason for the employment of each respective name. And if, on the other hand, Hengstenberg and those who think with him appear to be refining to an extent which the plain mind is inclined to shrink from, it must be remembered that there is a choice of difficulties, and that it is, perhaps, as hard to conceive of an author taking two discrepant (so they are pronounced) documents, carving them into portions, fitting in a little here and a great deal there, and producing at last such a whole, as may be said to defy the sharpest eyes of the most sagacious scholars with all their labour exactly to divaricate. There are wise and moderate writers who have not deemed it necessary to adopt fully the views of either class. Dr. Turner, as we have seen, agreeing with Hengstenberg in the main[4], dissents from some applications of his principle, and yet does not embrace the system of his opponents. Mr. Paul, on the other hand, acknowledges that the arguments of Hengstenberg and Hävernick, able and ingenious as they are, have failed to carry conviction to his mind. That there were separate writers he thinks proved. But then he is equally convinced that we have now the Pentateuch as, or nearly as, Moses left it. He believes that "the passages (he is speaking of Genesis) in which the name of Jehovah is not found at all

[1] Kurtz cites the remarkable expression of Schröder, Auslegung des ersten Buches Mose, Berl. 1846: Der Weltschöpfer ist der Weltvertilger . . . . und der Weltvertilger wird (viii. 1.) Welterhalter. Einheit der Genesis, p. 43.

[2] Comp. Hengstenberg, Christology of the O. T. (Arnold), pp. 24, 25.; or vol. i. pp. 26—31 (Edin. 1854.).

[3] Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, pp. 41—46, 66—69.

[4] See before, pp. 553, 559. Comp. Macdonald, Creation and the Fall, 1856, part i. sect. iii. pp. 28—38.

are original documents, which came into Moses' hands in such a state of perfection as to require no addition; that those passages in which it is incidentally found mark the revision by Moses of original documents; and that those in which it is as often used as in the subsequent writings of Moses are his own compositions."[1]

But there are other parts of the subject which must also be considered. It is alleged that there are contradictions and discrepancies between different portions of the Pentateuch, and of the various books in it, which render it impossible to believe that the whole proceeded from one pen. If this can be established, the question is decided. And something more is decided than the mere apportionment of various sections to various writers. For it is to be observed that it is not just a difference in style between one section and another that is maintained; truth may be conveyed in various modes of writing. But the credit of the history is affected. If there are contradictions in the relation of facts, the history becomes untrustworthy; if out of mingled traditions we are to educe the event which lies at the bottom of them, and can only say that there is a basis of fact, which has been distorted and embellished and added to, there is an end of the authoritative testimony which the church has been accustomed to receive—there is no implicit confidence to be put in the record. It is well to have this clearly understood, and to see that, if the conclusions of De Wette and others of his class can be established, the sacred book sinks to the level of other ancient histories. It is then no more than an ordinary production, embodying, indeed, the religion, and guarded by the superstition of the Jews, but whose claims cannot bear the test of an enlightened criticism. This is no mere question of authors, but of things: it is the question of religion and rationalism, of faith and unbelief. It is not, indeed, the province of man dogmatically to judge his fellows, or to pronounce sentence on them in God's stead if their views differ from his. There are, doubtless, truth-loving men, who, though they cannot satisfy themselves of the authority of the Pentateuch, yet hold, and hold strongly, the Christian hope. But the theory must be looked at, not in its exceptional influence on individuals, but as to its general tendency. Destroy the authority of the Pentateuch, and you undermine the pillars of Christianity. Truth, indeed, is the most precious jewel. If the truth can be shown to be on De Wette's side, far be from us the presumption to fight against it. But this is the very question, *Is* truth with them? Let us carefully examine. Only let us feel — which the preceding observations are intended to impress upon the mind—that the matter is of the vastest moment.

Some of the principal alleged discrepancies shall now be examined.

1. Gen. i.—ii. 3. with ii. 4., &c.

It is urged that these are two different narratives of the creation, and that they vary, in that the order of time is not the same in both; thus, that in chap. i. the animals are said to be made before man, and in chap. ii. after him. The question is simply this: granting that the narrative in

[1] Analysis and Critical Interpretation of the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis. 1852, p. xxxviii.

chap. i. is exactly chronological, is it intended that the narrative in chap. ii. should also be chronological? Kurtz has shown, in an able argument, that the order of particulars in the latter chapter is by no means necessarily the order of time. If this be established, the objection at once falls to the ground: there is no contradiction between the two sections.[1] The object of the writer is to group certain facts; as in the description of the garden planted in Eden, ii. 8—17. Particulars are named in the order which may best convey all the information he desired to communicate. To maintain that these particulars were disposed in rigorous chronological order would make the same thing to be done twice. For, after the statement, v. 8., that the Lord God "put the man whom he had formed" into the garden, the growth of the trees is mentioned, and then the course of the rivers, and after that it is again said, v. 15., "the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden." Then further, vv. 18., &c., "the writer's end," as Kalisch well observes, here "is the history of man's fall: the serpent occasions, the wife shares it: it is therefore necessary to introduce the creation of the animals, and of woman."[2] When we couple these considerations with the conjunct name Jehovah-Elohim, which, as observed above, appropriately marks a great truth, and is very difficult of explanation on the hypothesis of two writers, we may conclude that, so far from there being any contradiction, the two chapters fully harmonize, the second being the natural connection between the first and the subsequent history; so that there is from the whole a real argument in favour of the unity of the composition.

2. Gen. xv. 18. with Exod. xxiii. 31. Numb. xxxiv. 1—12. and Deut. xi. 24.

It is said that there is a geographical discrepancy. The passage in Numbers describes a much smaller territory than is promised in the three other places. Hengstenberg imagines that these last, containing prophetic promises, are to be interpreted in an oratorical manner; and Keil, Bush, and other writers agree.[3] But this explanation, on the whole of considerable weight, does not fully satisfy. Whether or no the "river of Egypt" be the Nile, or the Wady-el-Arish, is not material; neither need we carefully examine whether the dominions of David and Solomon (comp. 1 Kings iv. 21.; 2 Chron. ix. 26.) extended exactly to the widest boundaries here mentioned. There is in no case a contradiction. In Numbers Palestine is described, and only cis-Jordanic Palestine, the inheritance of the nine tribes and half. If a larger extent of country were subdued, *e. g.* to Euphrates, it was never intended that this should become part of the specially-apportioned territory. The fixing of certain limits to Palestine by no means opposes the fact that the inhabitants of that land might extend their conquests over neighbouring countries. So that in the one case we have Canaan itself described, in the other the extent of country over which the dwellers therein might acquire authority. And, according to Deut. xix. 8, 9., the enlargement of territorial possession was dependent upon the obedience of the Israelites.

3. Gen. xxv. 29—34. with xxvii. 1—40.

It is said that these passages are contradictory. In the first, Esau is

[1] See Keil, Einleitung, § 26. pp. 85, 86.; Kurtz, Einheit des Pent. §§ 29—53. pp. 42—68.; Id. Einheit der Genesis, pp. 1, &c.

[2] Kalisch, Comm. on Old Test., note on Gen. ii. 18—20., p. 113.

[3] Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 216—221.; Keil, Einleitung, § 26. p. 86.; Bush, Notes Critical and Practical on the Book of Genesis, note on chap. xv. 18., p. 162.

represented as selling his birthright; in the latter, Jacob through deceit obtains the blessing which by right belonged to Esau as first-born. Keil's reply is that, "if Jacob (chap. xxvii.) saw himself in danger, by Isaac's weak partiality for Esau, of losing what by divine right and (since the transaction, xxv. 33.) by human right was his, and by falsehood obtained what really belonged to him, this sets up no contradiction to the fact that Esau had on a previous occasion sold him his birthright."[1] This is satisfactory; but it may be further observed that, whatever privileges attached to the birthright, Esau does not seem to have imagined that by parting with *that* he had forfeited the blessing. He distinctly separates the two (xxvii. 36.) בְּכֹרָתִי, and בִּרְכָתִי; so that, so far from there being a discrepancy, the latter transaction pre-supposes and refers to the former

4. Gen. xxvii. 41—45. with xxvii. 46.—xxviii. 5.

Two different reasons are given, it is said, for Jacob's being sent into Mesopotamia; the one that he might escape the results of his brother's anger, the other that he might marry with his own kindred. Keil's reply is that "the one motive does not exclude the other. Esau's threatening against his brother Jacob may very well consist with Rebekah's wish that Jacob should take a wife from among his own relations."[2] Here, too, there is a further observation to be made. The two parts of the history fit in with nicest accuracy. For it is not said that Esau's angry threats reached his father's ear. They were told only to Rebekah. And she of course does not convey them to Isaac. With characteristic tact she mentions to *him* only her fear that Jacob also might intermarry with the Hittite women, sure that that would induce Isaac to consent to Jacob's departure.[3] Matters fall out as she had anticipated; and Jacob obeys both his father and his mother (xxviii. 7.), the one in going to seek a wife of his kindred, the other in consulting for his safety in flight. To sever one part from the other would destroy the beauty and natural completeness of the narrative.[4]

5. Gen. xxvi. 34. with xxviii. 9., and xxxvi. 2—4.

That there are remarkable differences respecting the names and families of Esau's wives is evident: the solution is, however, of little importance to the present question; as generally the passages containing these discrepancies are all ascribed to the so-called Elohist. It will be sufficient to cite Keil's observations. "The difference of the three names in these places may be explained by the fact that, according to old oriental custom, names were under particular circumstances dropped and new ones assumed. In this way Anah, the son of Zibeon the Hivite, obtained from his discovery of the warm springs in the wilderness (for this is the true translation of xxxvi. 24.) the name of Beeri, *i. e.* 'the well-man.' The other discrepancy, that this Anah or Beeri is (xxvi. 34.) called a Hittite, and (in xxxvi. 2.) a Hivite, is cleared by the fact that Hittite stands here, as not unfrequently elsewhere (Josh. i. 4.; 1 Kings x. 29.; 2 Kings vii. 6.: comp. also Gen. xxvii. 46. with xxviii. 1.), in a more general sense for Canaanite.[5]

[1] Einleitung, § 26. p. 86. [2] Ibid.

[3] Compare Bush, Notes on Genesis, note on chap. xxvii. 46.

[4] Kurtz well observes that the predominant motive with Rebekah was to secure Jacob from Esau's vengeance, and that, with a mother's tenderness, she sought to alloy the bitterness of parting with him with the reason that his welfare would be thereby promoted in his marriage. Einheit der Genesis, p. 151

[5] Keil, Einleitung, § 26. p. 87. See also Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 223—226. Kalisch objects, but apparently on insufficient grounds, to Hengstenberg's solution. Comm. on Old Test., note on Gen. xxxvi. 1—3.

6. Gen. xxx. 23. with 24.

It is said that there are two different etymologies of the name Joseph, and that they must have therefore proceeded from different hands. But there are not two different etymologies: in the one case there is merely an allusion. And he knows little of oriental literature and oriental taste who does not know that it is customary to heap together allusions and plays upon words.[1] Besides, if there really be a difference, and two varying documents were used, the compiler must be convicted of almost inconceivable ignorance and want of judgment; as no clear-sighted person would have culled and placed close together two inconsistent reasons for the same thing.

7. Gen. xxx. 25—43. with xxxi. 4—16, 42.

Different modes, it is said, are narrated in these two chapters, of Jacob's acquiring his wealth. But, as Keil satisfactorily observes, in the one place the means which Jacob himself used are told, in the other, silent upon these, he attributes the result to God's blessing[2]; so that there can be no contradiction.

8. Gen. xxxii. 3. with xxxvi. 6—8.

According to the first place, Esau was already dwelling in Seir when Jacob returned from Mesopotamia; while the latter seems to assume that Esau did not remove from Canaan till Jacob had acquired such wealth as to make it impossible for the two brothers to live in neighbourhood. But Kalisch well remarks that there is no contradiction: "Our portion (xxxvi. 4—8.) records the history of Esau as far as it relates to political power: it, therefore, goes back to the fortieth year of his life, when he first married (xxvi. 34.). He had then long sold his birthright (xxv. 29 - 34.); he had, no doubt, heard the prophecy given to his mother, that to his younger brother Jacob the inheritance of the blessings of Abraham was reserved (xxv. 23.); when, then, his father Isaac advanced in years and became afflicted with infirmity, Jacob was regarded as the future head of the house, and as such obtained the superintendence over his father's property: the cattle of Isaac was, therefore, considered as that of Jacob; and it was within the thirty-eight years between his marriage and Jacob's flight, that Esau, at that time not inimical to his brother, left Canaan, thus willingly acknowledging the superior rights of Jacob, and spontaneously resigning his own claims upon the land. When Isaac, at the age of nearly 140 years, wished to bless his first-born and favourite son, he sent for him to his new abodes; and Esau answered to the call, just as he came later to Canaan, at his father's death, to assist at the funeral duties."[3]

9. Gen. xxxii. 24—32. with xxxv. 10.

It is urged that these passages must have come from different pens; for that different accounts are given in them of the change of Jacob's name. But it will be observed that in the latter place no reason is assigned for the change: it relates, therefore, only a solemn confirmation of what had been already done.

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[1] Diese doppelte Etymologie kann auch sehr wohl von ein und demselben Verfasser abgeleitet werden. Das etymologische Spiel des Orients gefällt sich gerade darin, da wo es angeht, dem Namen mehrfache Beziehungen abzugewinnen. Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, p. 164.

[2] Einleitung, § 26. p. 86.

[3] Comm. on the Old Test., note on Gen. xxxvi. 4—8.

10. Gen. xxxvii. 23—36. with xxxix. 1.

The narrative is said not to hang well together, because Ishmaelites and Midianites are mentioned, vv. 25, 27, 28, 36., xxxix. 1. It is asserted, therefore, that the original history of the so-called Elohist has been worked over or elaborated by the so-called Jehovist. Had this latter person so done, it is to be presumed that he would have done his work well, and not left it in so confused a state as such writers imagine. But the truth is, the sacred penman understood fully what he was saying; and there is no confusion save in the perceptions of such interpreters. "The men who conducted it [the caravan]," says Kalisch, "were Midianites (vv. 28, 36.), a tribe partly nomadic, but partly actively engaged in commerce. But, as the Ishmaelites commanded by far the greatest part of the caravan trade, all those who carried on the same pursuits were designated by their name; and, as they were the chief and most powerful inhabitants of Arabia, the other tribes occupying the same regions were sometimes comprised under the same appellation. In a similar manner 'Canaanite' became a usual name for all inland merchants (Prov. xxxi. 24.; Ezek. xvii. 4.; Job xl. 30. [xli. 6.]); and the term Canaanites is occasionally employed to denote all the tribes of the land, including those of a very different descent (l. 11.; Judges i. 10., &c.). It can, therefore, not surprise us that the Midianites, though not properly Ishmaelites, are yet repeatedly introduced as such (vv. 25, 27, 28.; comp. xxv. 2.)."[1]

11. Gen. xxxix. 20. with 21—23. and xl. 4.

Here, again, it is said that there is so much discrepancy as to show that xxxix. 21—23. must have proceeded from another writer than the one who penned the other passages. But no show of reason for such an hypothesis can be maintained except upon the arbitrary assumption that שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים, "the captain of the guard," and שַׂר בֵּית־הַסֹּהַר, "the keeper of the prison," were one and the same person. Kurtz's observations prove the whole history to be natural and consistent. "Potiphar was at the same time captain of the guard and chief superintendent of the state-prison. But it is wholly inconceivable that a man so distinguished, and so much employed at court, would personally undertake the oversight and care of the prisoners: this would much more likely devolve upon a שַׂר בֵּית־הַסֹּהַר, acting under him. But, as Potiphar himself previously, so very soon this subordinate functionary became aware of Joseph's aptitude and capability, and was glad to make use thereof. After some time, longer or shorter, the two distinguished court-officers were at the monarch's command committed to prison. That now Potiphar himself in his own person should be busied and careful for the decent treatment of such prisoners is quite in the ordinary course of things. Very likely, on the occasion, the under-keeper made some report of Joseph's proved usefulness; or, since Potiphar, from his own experience, must have long been acquainted with Joseph's ability, he believed that he should do best for his distinguished prisoners, to whom he certainly must have wished to show much attention, if he confided them to Joseph's special charge."[2]

Other alleged discrepancies have been assumed, as of Gen. xlii. 27, 28., and xliii. 21. with xlii. 35.; of xliii. 3—13., and xliv. 19—23. with xlii. 9—20, 30—34.; of xlvi. 31.—xlvii. 6. with xlv. 17—20. Ingenious men would in the same way find discrepancies in any pro-

[1] Comm. on the Old Test., note on Gen. xxxix. 25.
[2] Einheit der Genesis, p. 192.

duction whatsoever. It is hardly worth while to examine those just noted; and the careful examination would require more space than can be allowed within the specified limits of this volume: students may consult Keil, and the authors referred to by him.[1] Suffice it to quote the well-weighed opinion of Dr. Kalisch, that the history of Joseph "is carried out with such admirable unity and precision, that all attempts of the fragmentists to dismember it have utterly failed."[2]

In the succeeding books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, discrepancies are also alleged.

1. Exod. ii. 18. with iii. 1. iv. 18. xviii. 1. &c. and Numb. x. 29.

In these passages the father-in-law of Moses appears to have three names. But Keil's solution of the difficulty is easy and natural. He supposes Hobab to have been the personal appellation, and Jethro the name of office of the individual in question, who was Raguel or Reuel's son. Hence, Exod. ii. 18, 21., אָב must be understood as grand-father, and בִּתּוֹ his grand-daughter.[3]

2. Exod. iv. 20. &c. with xviii. 2—4.

There is no discrepancy here; for, though in the earlier part of the history we find no mention of Zipporah's return to her father, yet in xviii. 2. it is distinctly said that Moses had sent her back. Had any notice of this appeared before, the last very probably would have been censured as a suspicious repetition.

3. Exod. iv. 31. with vi. 9.

These passages are said to disagree. No doubt. The events recorded in chap. v. had intervened. At first the Israelites believed; but when the first application to Pharaoh only increased their burdens they lost heart and would not listen to what Moses said.

4. Exod. xiii. 13. with xxxiv. 20. Lev. xxvii. 27. and Numb. xviii. 15.

Here a discrepancy is alleged: the firstlings of unclean beasts, it is said, might, according to the two latter passages, be redeemed with money, whereas, according to the two former, if not redeemed with a lamb, they were to be killed. Doubtless there would be a contradiction if the places said what they are thus represented to say; and the only solution would be to imagine (as we find occasionally the case) that the original law was afterwards modified. But surely the more easy interpretation is that the rule in Exodus applies to one particular case, that of an ass, that in Leviticus and Numbers to other unclean animals, the exception still holding good.

5. Exod. xiii. 20—22. with Numb. x. 11—28.

In the former place the pillar of cloud is said to lead Israel from Succoth: from the latter, it is assumed that it did not guide them till they left the wilderness of Sinai. It is hard to excuse De Wette, who makes this objection, from the charge of disingenuousness.[4] Where in the latter passage is it intimated that *not till then* had the host this supernatural

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[1] Einleitung, § 26.

[2] Commentary on the Old Test., note on Gen. xxxvii. 36.

[3] Einleitung, *ubi supra*.

[4] Hier erst leitet (Numb. x. 11—28.) die Wolke des Heer, s. dagegen 2 Mos. xiii. 21, 22. De Wette, Einleitung, § 153. p. 186.

guide? The word "first" in vv. 13, 14. cannot be strained to apply to the cloud in v. 11., where the article is used, הֶעָנָן, the well-known cloud that had rested on the tabernacle before, Numb. ix. 15.; Exod. xl. 34—38., and had guided them through the Red Sea, Exod. xiv. 19.; whereas in Exod. xiii. 21. it is mentioned without the article, as for the first time.

6. Exod. xvii. 9. with xxiv. 13. Numb. xi. 28. and xiii. 16.

In the former three places there is the name Joshua, yet it is not till the sending of the spies that, as related in the last passage, Oshea's name was changed into Joshua. Hengstenberg proposes three modes of solving the difficulty, 1. by admission of a *prolepsis;* 2. by supposing that Moses now renewed the name Joshua; 3. by the hypothesis that the last text is merely a statement of what had taken place a considerable time before. He hesitates between the three, but prefers the last.[1] Keil, however, and apparently with reason, for there are several examples (comp. Gen. x. 10. with xi. 9.), would rather consider the earlier use of the appellation a prolepsis.[2]

7. Exod. xxi. 1—6. with Levit. xxv. 39—41. and Deut. xv. 12—18.

In the first and third passages it seems as if the period of servitude was to expire in the seventh year, in Leviticus not till the year of jubilee. But Hengstenberg shows very satisfactorily, after Michaelis, that the ordinary period of servitude was seven years, reckoning from the time of becoming bond; but, if the jubilee year occurred first, the bondman then was free without waiting for the expiration of the seven years.[3] There is, therefore, no contradiction.

8. Exod. xxiii. 14—17. with xxxiv. 18—24. Levit. xxiii. Numb. xxviii. xxix. and Deut. xvi. 1—17.

In some of these passages only three great feasts are mentioned, in others five. Yet there is no discrepancy. It does not follow that, when but three are named in one place, it must be implied that there were *only* three observed. Besides, the three were accompanied with the special command that at their celebration the people should appear before the Lord, that is, resort to the place where God's tabernacle (or temple) was: such a command does not seem to apply in other cases. For the מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ, holy convocation, is not to be identified, as Keil very properly argues, with a pilgrimage to the sanctuary.[4]

9. Exod. xxv. 14, 15. with Numb. iv. 6.

There can be no difficulty in reconciling these two places; the first evidently refers to the ordinary position of the staves: the other is a regulation for a journey. Just as well might the prohibition against entering the sanctuary more than once a year be supposed at variance with the directions for the conveyance of the ark when the people were to march.

10. Exod. xxxviii. 25. with Numb. i. 1.

There is said to be here a chronological difficulty. The number of the people has, according to the first text, been already taken; while the

[1] Dissertations, diss. vii. vol. ii. pp. 323, 324.
[2] Einleitung, § 26. pp. 91, 92.
[3] Dissertations, diss. vii. vol. ii. pp. 360—362.
[4] Einleitung, § 26. p. 89.

account of the census in Numbers refers to a later period. But there were two different objects in view, one to ascertain the numbers in order to the payment of a poll-tax, the other a regular mustering of the people according to their tribes, that their position in camp and on march might be properly assigned.

11. Levit. xxiii. 18., &c. with Numb. xxviii. 27., &c.

There is certainly some difficulty here. A burnt-offering is prescribed in each case; but in Leviticus it is to consist of seven lambs, one bullock, and two rams; whereas in Numbers it is to be seven lambs, two bullocks, and one ram. In each place there is also to be a kid for a sin-offering; but in Leviticus peace-offerings are added, two lambs, of which Numbers makes no mention. There is sufficient difference in the modes of expression to indicate that the directions may be consistent. The Jewish rabbins, it seems, have a tradition that the sacrifices prescribed in Leviticus were only those belonging to the bread of the first-fruits, and were in addition to the special feast-offerings given in Numbers.[1] This explanation, however, cannot be deemed very satisfactory. The matter is one on which we want more information. A full knowledge of all that was to be done would most probably remove all difficulty.

12. Numb. iv. 3, 23, 30, 35, 47. with viii. 24.

There appears some discrepancy here. In chap. iv. the Levites' period of service is stated to be from thirty to fifty; while in chap. viii. it commences at twenty-five. It is of little consequence to the question in hand to reconcile these statements, since both chapters are attributed to the Elohist.[2] It may be observed that the difficulty has long been felt, and that the LXX effect a reconciliation by reading "twenty-five" in chap. iv. Some writers have supposed a five years' training prior to the actual commencement of the service (see before, p. 457.); while others have imagined that the direction given in chap. iv. refers to the time when the tabernacle was in motion, while that in chap. viii. prescribes for it when settled in a fixed place.[3] This notion derives some countenance from the known fact that the age of the Levites' service was afterwards regulated according to circumstances. Thus David (1 Chron. xxiii. 24.) fixed the beginning at twenty years; which rule Ezra seems to have followed, Ezra iii. 8. But may not Numb. iv. especially point out the age at which the Levites were entered on the census roll, Numb. viii. mark that at which they began their service? A similar difference is observable in the history of David's regulations. He numbered the Levites "from the age of thirty years and upwards" (1 Chron. xxiii. 3.), and yet introduced them into "the work for the service of the house of the Lord from the age of twenty years and upward" (v. 24.). It is true that he afterwards had the census taken "from twenty years old" (v. 27.); but this seems to have been one of his latest regulations ("by the last words of David"), not adopted till experience had shown that there would be some practical advantage in it.

13. Numb. x. 12. with xii. 16.

There is no contradiction. In the first passage the ultimate place to which the Israelites were then marching is pointed out, without intending to deny that there were intermediate stations.

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[1] See Keil, Einleitung, § 26. p. 90.
[2] De Wette, Einleitung, § 153. p. 185.
[3] Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. vii. vol. ii. pp. 321—323. See also Keil, *ubi supra*.

14. Numb. xi. 16, 24—26. with xii. 4.

These passages, it is said, imply that the tabernacle was outside the camp, whereas, according to the regulations for encampment, chapp. ii., iii., it is usually supposed that the tabernacle was pitched in the centre of the camp. But Keil has shown by a comparison of passages, Numb. xii. 14, 15., and especially Exod. xxx. 7., where a tent previously used is referred to, that the tabernacle stood in an open space, apart from, but still within the encampment. Every man who went to it would then have to go out of the special camp-circle where the tents of his tribe stood.[1]

15. Numb. xiv. 45. with xxi. 3.

If we admit Hormah in the first passage to be a proper name, there is still no difficulty. The events narrated occurred one in the second, the other in the fortieth year after the Exodus. There can be no objection to suppose an intentional and significant prolepsis.[2]

16. Numb. xxiv. 25. with xxxi. 8, 16.

Great objection has been taken here; and it is said that irreconcilable discrepancy exists between the two passages. In the former, Balaam is described as returning to his place, in the latter, he is found still among the Midianites plotting against Israel, and ultimately perishing in the slaughter of Midian by the Israelites. Attempts have been made to evade the difficulty by interpreting the former text to mean merely that Balaam set out with the apparent purpose of going home—that he went *towards* his place. Thus Keil, after Hengstenberg, says that וַיָּשָׁב לִמְקֹמוֹ (xxiv. 25.) must not be translated as if it were וַיָּשָׁב אֶל־מְקֹמוֹ (comp. xxiv. 11.); that Balaam departed just as Balak is said to have gone his way, but that there is no mention of his actually reaching home.[3] There is, perhaps, a groundwork of fact here, though the distinction attempted to be set up between the two Hebrew expressions may seem far-fetched. If, however, we examine the narrative, we shall find that it affords one of those striking minute coincidences which tend so forcibly to establish the credit of a history. Balaam (xxii. 7.) had been summoned by the elders of Midian as well as by the elders of Moab. When he accepted the invitation he went to the king of Moab; and we hear nothing of any interference of the Midianites. But, when dismissed by Balak, and starting for his eastern home, he would naturally come in contact with the Midianites; for their country lay, it seems, to the east and south-east of the Moabites. They sought his counsel against Israel; and he, as the narrative of his dealings in Moab proves, was but too ready to give it; but, before he resumed his journey, the Israelitish attack on Midian was made; and Balaam perished in the slaughter. No violence then is done to the text by interpreting it, he departed homewards; and a natural reason is discovered why he did not reach home. This is one of the undesigned coincidences pointed out by Prof. Blunt, from which he derives a powerful argument for the veracity of the scripture.[4] Surely, then, from this and the cases previously considered, we cannot conclude that the work must be ascribed to more than a single writer.

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[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 26, p. 91.

[2] See Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 179—182.; Keil, *ubi supra*.

[3] Einleitung, *ubi supra*. Dathe translates, "Balakus quoque discessit." Pent. Halæ, 1791. Or, Balaam might have gone to his own home, and have afterwards returned to Midian.

[4] Blunt, Undesigned Coincidences in the writings both of the O. and N. T. an Argument of their Veracity (5th edit.), part i. 24. pp. 90—93.

It is alleged as a further proof of the plurality of hands in the formation of the Pentateuch, that various events are related twice over, that is to say, that two different traditions of the same occurence have been introduced as if they described perfectly different things. Now, it is manifest that in ordinary history we continually find events variously related by different authors; so that it requires much research, and much judgment, and much impartiality to sift out from the different sources what may be supposed to be the true relation. And we find that historians not unfrequently state the difficulties they have been under in balancing one account against another; and sometimes they introduce the various versions into their narrative, and profess their inability to fix upon the true one, or to construct from their materials a consistent account. But we do not find historians of honesty and truthfulness combining contradictory narratives without seeming aware of the contradiction, treating each separate version of an event as if it were made a different thing by the assignment of a different date, and then gravely demanding implicit credence for what they have thus manufactured. In avowedly-different books, I repeat, differing stories are told. But, if a single writer should light upon the annals of old times, and should resolve to concoct a history out of them, not by weighing the probability and evidence of each statement made, and selecting what he deemed to be the truth, but by stringing together first a piece from one, and then one from another, without caring whether he related the same fact again and again, he must be convicted, if not of a settled design to mislead, yet most certainly of the utmost negligence and most slender judgment. This is just, therefore, the thing which a historian who desired credit for his work, and was possessed of common sense, would *not* do. But, granting, for a moment that the Pentateuch is composed of varying documents, worked up together and made one by some compiler at a comparatively-late period, in the days of David or of the subsequent kings, is it probable that this compiler could have made men in those times believe that their most noted ancestors did twice what they did only once, and that his book, so inartificially compiled from sources which contemporaries could not help knowing were contradictory, assumed at once a sacred authority, which it ever after kept, and was acted on as the law of the land? It must be especially remembered that the Pentateuch is not a work merely of literature but of religion; that it was not set forth as that kind of composition on which tastes might legitimately vary, but that it demanded implicit credit. Certainly the probability is very strong against such a book's being merely the collection of various traditions; and we may justly demand the most convincing proofs before we yield belief to such an hypothesis. The question is, Are there these convincing proofs? Let us examine some of those which are chiefly dwelt on.

1. Gen. xv. with xvii. and xviii.

It is said that here are two accounts (by the Elohist and the Jehovist) of one covenant; and De Wette sets them over-against each other,

remarking "God's covenant with Abraham, xvii. . . xv. also a covenant, but without the appointment of circumcision, and the promise of Isaac, which is narrated xviii."[1] But this is mere assumption; and it would be sufficient to meet it with a simple negation. If, however, we look at the history, we see it developed in the most orderly manner. First, in chap. xv., there is the formation of the covenant; then, in chap. xvii., there is the incipient fulfilment of it, with a more explicit definition of the promise before given, including Sarah in it, in whose hearing, chap. xviii., this promise is reiterated in a still more special manner. To take out any portion of this narrative would seriously mutilate it, as Kurtz has well shown.[2]

2. Gen. xii. 10—20. with xx. and xxvi. 1—11.

It is assumed that but one fact lies at the basis of these three accounts. But why might not similar events have recurred? It is seen in ordinary life that a man makes repeatedly the same mistake; while those who are conversant with Eastern manners assure us that there peculiarly the same type presents itself again and again. Objectors have merely the improbability to urge of such conduct being repeated in the same family: they are opposed by the greater improbability that the writer would have violated all truth in the most unlikely way, to the accumulated discredit of the most honoured ancestors of the nation. And the narratives are marked by variations of times, of places, of persons, of circumstances. The matter is not a trifling one: if these three descriptions belong to the same event, the history—and this indeed is the conclusion to which some of the objectors come—is entirely destitute of credit.[3]

3. Gen. xvi. 4—16. with xxi. 9—21.

Here, again, there is no improbability in the belief that Hagar twice left Abraham's roof. Amid the simple relations of nomad life, as Keil observes, such a recurrence is not at all surprising.[4] And in all the particular circumstances narrated there is so much diversity, as to render it impossible, if the history be at all truthful, to fit the two stories to one event.

4. Gen. xxi. 22—34. with xxvi. 26—33.

The observations just made will apply to the narratives in these two passages. And it is remarkable that even at the present time there are said to be two copious springs still existing at Beersheba.[5]

5. Gen. xxviii. 18, 19. with xxxv. 14, 15.

It is alleged that there is a twofold account of the consecration and naming of Bethel. But there was a renewed divine manifestation; and the naming of the place in the latter passage is simply the renewing of the name previously given. There might as well be said to be twofold accounts of the naming of Jacob, one at his birth, Gen. xxv. 26., another when Esau bursts out before his father, xxvii. 36., and says that Jacob, *the supplanter*, is an appellation that rightly befits him.

6. Exod. xii. 1—28, 43.—xiii. 2. with xiii. 3—16.

In the former passages, it is said, there is the institution of the passover, together with the sanctification of the first-born. And then, in the latter

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[1] Einleitung, § 150.
[2] Einheit der Genesis, pp. 96—98. See also Keil, Einleitung, § 26. p. 92.
[3] Keil, ibid.; Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, pp. 104—106.
[4] Keil, ibid. p. 93.; Kurtz, pp. 106—109.
[5] Keil, ibid.

place, is a fresh appointment with regard to each.[1] It is marvellous that any weight can be attached to this. At first there are the commands given by God to Moses and Aaron: in chap. xiii. there is the communication of these to the people.

7. Exod. xvi. with Numb. xi.

There is nothing improbable in the supposition that the Israelites twice murmured for flesh-meat; nor is it surprising that twice God sent them quails, which were abundant in that locality. The circumstances narrated differ very strikingly in the two places. In one, the gift of manna is the principal fact, after which the quails come: in the other, it was because they were satiated with manna that they murmured, and, when the quails had come in vast abundance, God punished the people for their sin with a destructive plague.[2] What ground, beyond mere assumption, is there for imagining that two writers have variously described the same thing?

8. Exod. xvii. 1—7. with Numb. xx. 1—13.

The two histories given in these places are manifestly distinct. The events narrated in Exodus occurred not long after the departure from Egypt; those recorded in Numbers were near the close of the sojourn in the wilderness. Other circumstances also vary; especially the result to Moses and Aaron, who, for their sin on the last occasion, were forbidden to enter the promised land.[3]

9. Numb. xvi.

A great difficulty is made of this chapter, as being composed of independent stories fitted (rather unskilfully) into each other. De Wette divides v. 2. between the Elohist and the Jehovist. To the former he assigns vv. 4—11, 16—23, 35., and to the latter 12—15, 24—34., and observes that "the Elohim document narrates simply the rebellion of Korah and his company; while the Jehovist mixes therewith that of Dathan and Abiram. The fragmentary composition from this commixture is evident."[4] Stähelin goes farther. According to his theory, vv. 2, 4—11, 16—23, 35. belong to the groundwork, while the supplementer has added vv. 12—15, 25—34., and vv. 12, 14, 27, 32. are interpolated. Keil's reply is as follows: "This hypothesis, which resorts to so many interpolations, is contradicted by v. 3., which Stähelin has passed over in silence. For this verse, which cannot be spared from the groundwork, because it forms the transition from v. 2. to v. 4., pre-supposes that eminent men of the other tribes must have taken part in Korah's mutiny; since they say to Moses and Aaron, 'The whole congregation is holy.' But, if we were to set aside this verse by the favourite expedient of interpolation, yet xvii. 16—28. (E.V. 1—13.), and xviii. 4, 5, 22. (parts of the so-called groundwork) pre-suppose the participation by other tribes in the mutiny, and confirm the statement, xvi. 1, 2., that, besides the Levite Korah, the Reubenites Dathan, Abiram and On were at the head of the rebellion; which, moreover, is again declared by xxvi. 9, 10. Hence the reasons for violently tearing asunder what is evidently a connected whole are worthless. It is no proof to say that chap. xvi. exhibits peculiarities of both writers (of the groundwork and of the supplement), because these pecu-

[1] De Wette, Einleitung, § 151. p. 181.
[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 26. p. 93.
[3] See Keil, ibid.; Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. vii. vol. ii. pp. 310—314.
[4] De Wette, Einleitung, § 153.

liarities are a baseless assumption of the critics. And the so-called contradictions are mere fancies. For that (v. 19.) Korah is said to be with his incense-offering at the sacred tabernacle is not opposed to v. 27., where he appears at his own habitation, provided only one does not, with Stähelin, smuggle in the little word 'contemporaneously'; and that he was swallowed up by the earth as Dathan and Abiram, v. 32. does not contradict vv. 35, 39, 40.; since, according to vv. 35, 39., only the 250 men who were the rebel's partizans were consumed by fire, while in v. 40. the mode of destruction is not specified. And just as little is any opposition found between xvi. 35. and xxvi. 11.; since in chap. xvi. not one syllable is said of Korah's sons having taken part in their father's rebellion."[1] This answer, satisfactory upon the whole, might perhaps be amended in a few points. It seems more probable that Korah was not swallowed up, but perished in the fire; for, v. 32., it is only the men who had joined with Korah, not he himself, that are expressly said to have been swallowed up. And in v. 27. only Dathan and Abiram are mentioned as standing at the door of their tents. There is little ground, then, for imagining that the narrative is made up of varying stories. And in truth it furnishes several remarkable minute coincidences, which go to show how well the whole hangs together. These have been ably elucidated by Prof. Blunt.[2] It may be sufficient to glance at one. The tribe of Reuben, to which Dathan and Abiram belonged, pitched to the southward of the tabernacle. The Levites were apart from other tribes. But "the families of the sons of Kohath" were to "pitch on the side of the tabernacle southward" (Numb. iii. 29.). And Korah was of the Kohathites. Hence these conspirators "were neighbours, and were therefore conveniently situated for taking secret counsel together."

It is to be observed that generally, in the cases in which a single event is said to appear twice or more times after various forms of tradition, some supernatural interference or miracle is recorded. Hengstenberg notices this as a great reason why the theory is maintained. There is nothing, abstractedly, improbable in the recurrence of Israel's murmurings, &c. &c. If a thing happened once, it was not unlikely to happen again; "the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be," Eccles. i. 9.; and, if there had been no wonder wrought, it is possible we should not have heard of the objection. "Our opponents," says Hengstenberg, "direct their attack no longer against the twofold event, but twice against the miraculous character of the event."[3] This, indeed, is the basis — the "unhistorical" character (as it is called) of the Pentateuch — of the most formidable objections which are made to its unity and to its early date; but of this elsewhere (see before, pp. 517, 518.).

The examples produced will hardly be thought to furnish ground sufficient for dismembering the Pentateuch: their weight cannot be considerable when we remember that they are urged against both the truthfulness and the tact of the historian; and, when it is added that the same double character is ascribed to almost the whole body of Israelitish history, the improbability of the hypothesis becomes still more apparent. Compilers are imagined, through a long suc-

[1] Einleitung, § 26. p. 94.
[2] Undesigned Coincidences, part i. 20. pp. 79—84.
[3] Dissertations, diss. vii. vol. ii. p. 311.

cession of ages, to have had always at hand a priestly and a prophetical narrative, and from the two to have constructed, usually in a very inartificial way, a single history, such as we now have it, not only in the record of the earlier events, but all along through the various fortunes of the commonwealth and of the royalty of Israel. It is hard to believe that this happened not to a single writer only, but in the case of a series of writers.

Other grounds are, however, alleged, which must now be noticed. A peculiar mode of thought is said to distinguish the Elohist from the Jehovist. In the one you find statements of one kind, which are nowhere to be detected in the other. But Kurtz shrewdly observes that, if there is so perceptible a difference between the two names of God as that the use of them is not arbitrary, then it indisputably must follow that the ideas in the places where they respectively occur will be of a different cast; so that in a so-called Elohistic section there will be, by the very circumstances of the case, an Elohistic tone, and a Jehovistic tone in a Jehovistic section.[1]

The whole matter requires the most cautious and delicate handling. For, in order to separate the Elohim and the Jehovah documents, divisions are very artificially made, small portions are picked out of a narrative, and verses are frequently said to be interpolated or elaborated, the supposed difference of ideas being one great principle of the distribution. If, then, sections are assigned to the Elohist or to the Jehovist because they present this or that particular aspect of ideas, and portions are transplanted from the place they now occupy in the narrative, because else a Jehovistic idea would appear in an Elohistic section, and *vice versâ*, there is danger of that mere arguing in a circle, from which the only legitimate result would be, that the critic had chosen to distinguish particular sections by particular names, without much advance to a proof that the various pieces could not have proceeded from one pen. In order to establish such a proof for the supplementary hypothesis, it will be necessary, as Keil observes, to show "either that in general the groundwork exhibits a historical picture of the early time and patriarchal life diverse from the delineation of the same time and relations in the sections of the supplement, or that in particular the special ideas of the supposed different writers are actually in contradiction."[2]

Now, it is said that the Elohist gives a more simple and artless view of the earliest times, which he represents as a kind of golden age, that he is unconscious of the Levitical observances, so many of which the Jehovist attributes to the patriarchs, that he narrates no appearances of the Deity in a visible shape, and introduces nothing of the prophetic element. The Jehovist, on the other hand, is fond of historical circumstances[3], he attributes a more artificial mode of life to the primitive times[4], and exalts the character of the patriarchs.

[1] Einheit der Genesis, p. liii.

[2] Einleitung, § 27. p. 96.

[3] In the three middle books of the Pentateuch the legal portions are almost exclusively assigned to the Elohist, the narrative parts to the Jehovist.

[4] Dr. Hupfeld, in language which merits the gravest censure, speaks of the Jehovist as "thoughtlessly" introducing ideas adopted from later relations, and thus applying terms to circumstances to which they are wholly inapposite. Die Quellen der Genesis, p. 120.

The question is deserving of the most careful investigation. For it involves the truthfulness of the Pentateuch. If the supposed two writers describe things not as they really were, but according to the bent of their own minds, if the observances and habits attributed by one to ancient times did not then exist, if character was heightened and narrative embellished, if the relations of the one really clash with those of the other, in such case, as before observed in regard to alleged contradictions, the Pentateuch becomes, what some writers desire to make it, a mere poem, and we can only grope in it after that modicum of truth, which fancy has coloured or prejudice concealed.

As for the alleged Levitism of the Jehovist, we may find in the Elohist various indications of the same character, *e.g.* the sanctification of the sabbath as a day of rest, Gen. ii. 3., compared with Exod. xx. 11.; the prohibition against eating blood, Gen. ix. 4., compared with Levit. xvii. 10—14.; circumcision the sign of the covenant, Gen. xvii.; cleansing, Gen. xxxv. 2., just as in Exod. xix. 10.; the erection of altars, Gen. xxxiii. 20., xxxv. 1, 7.; burnt-offerings and drink-offerings, Gen. xxii. 13., xxxv. 14., xlvi. 1.; vows and tithes, Gen. xxviii. 20, 22.; the appearance of angels, Gen. xxi. 17, 18., xxviii. 12.; prophetical annunciations and glances into futurity, Gen. ix. 11., xvii. 3—8, 16, 19—21., xxi. 18. It is true that there are other things mentioned or alluded to by the Jehovist which do not appear in the Elohist; *e.g.* the law of the Levirate marriage, which is only in Gen. xxxviii. But then it must be considered whether opportunity was offered in what is called the other document for allusion to such an usage; else we may run into that extravagant criticism, which would urge it as convincing proof of the diversity of writers that mention is made of *Egyptian magicians* in the one document, while really there is nothing about them in the other.[1]

Then, again, as to habits and arts of life. It is noticed as a peculiarity of the Jehovist, that he attributes (Gen. iv.) a variety of handicraft inventions to the antediluvians; of all which it is assumed that the Elohist is profoundly ignorant, since he introduces God as giving Noah directions and measurements (Gen. vi.) for the building of the ark. The critic who made this notable discovery forgot, in his zeal for his theory, that, even in the present advanced state of mechanical art, if he desired to have a house or other structure raised, it would be necessary for him to show his architect what he wanted, and that the directions given to Noah actually pre-suppose the patriarch to have been acquainted with the ordinary operations of carpentering and building.[2] Arguments of this kind can only tell against those who employ them. We further find the precious metals in use, Gen. xvii. 23, 27., xx. 16., xxiii. 9—20., and articles of luxury, as ear-rings, Gen. xxxv. 4.; so that the picture drawn of the early ages by the Elohist does not present features different from that of the Jehovist.

And, as to the alleged exaltation by this last of the patriarchs and

[1] See Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, p. lvii. [2] Ibid. p. lvi.

the early ancestors of the Israelitish nation, it is surely sufficient to point out a few passages in which the most unfavourable traits of their characters are delineated in the most open manner, *e. g.* Gen. iii. 6, 16—24., ix. 21., &c., xii. 10—20., xxvi. 6—11., xxvii. 1—36., xxx. 25—42., xxxviii.; Exod. xvii. 2, 3.; Numb. xi. xii. xiv. 1—4. It is not without reason that Kurtz, after referring to some of these passages, which are attributed to the supplementer, sarcastically observes: "So we are to suppose that the supplementer has related these things, not because they were true history and actual facts, but simply in order thereby to exalt his nation, and to invest the early fathers and patriarchs with more glory than the historically-faithful groundwork has done." [1]

Other differences are alleged, such as that in the Jehovist alone we find animals speaking—the serpent in Eden and Balaam's ass are alluded to; and that he is fond of representing acquaintances as being formed at wells, &c. &c. It would be a waste of time to argue against such allegations. The caution before recommended is most imperatively necessary in order to arrive at a true conclusion. If there really be a colouring in the work of the so-called Jehovist differing from that of the Elohist, critics must beware lest they, and not the supposed writer, have given it. If subject-matter of one complexion be generally taken out and assigned to the Jehovist, it is of course improbable that it will be found in the Elohist, because the critics will not let it remain there. But matter of various complexion will be met with in every continuous history; so that, unless the principle be restricted within due and definite limits, there are few books which might not be subjected to this dividing process. In ordinary cases, even clear contradictions do not always furnish a sufficient reason for supposing that more than one pen has been employed. It is admitted, however, that with the Pentateuch the discovery of clearly contradictory ideas would seriously damage the argument for its unity. It is, then, for the biblical student carefully to consider whether the allegation of such discovery has really been made good.

There is another branch of the argument, which, though it can be touched on very slightly, must not be altogether overlooked. It has been asserted that there is a perceptible difference between the language of the one supposed document and that of the other. This, too, must be dealt with deliberately and judiciously. From a comparison of a few varying phrases, a conclusion might be hastily adopted, but it would be an unsound one, or little better than a guess. The paucity of the remains of the Hebrew language must be borne in mind: it must be remembered that variety of expression is employed not only when the shade of meaning varies, but by every writer often to avoid a monotonous diction. Above all, it will not do to lay two sections side by side, and be content with pointing out variations of expression, while the perhaps far more numerous coincidences are left unnoticed. And the greatest tact and delicacy of

[1] Einheit der Genesis, p. lvii.

ear and understanding must not be wanting; else scholars of high reputation (innumerable examples might be adduced) will, after all their researches, come, and with honesty of purpose too, to the most opposite conclusions. If the style of one author, moreover, differs evidently from that of another in prose, the difference may not be so clear in poetry. This remark is important as affecting the authorship of the Pentateuch. For, out of thirteen poetical sections, not fewer than twelve are ascribed to the supplementer.[1] A poetical word or phrase is, therefore, likely wherever met with to be attributed to him. But such a conclusion, from the want of materials on which to form a comprehensive judgment, may be worthless.

Among the phrases which are said to mark a difference of writers may be specified זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה in the Elohim document; and אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ used by the Jehovist. But the former phrase is to be found, Gen. vii. 3, 9.; Deut. iv. 16., in sections attributed to the Jehovist; while the other phrase, alleged to be peculiar to this last writer, appears in Numb. xxx. 17.; and אִישׁ וְאִשָּׁה, or אִישׁ אוֹ־אִשָּׁה, in Exod. xxxvi. 6.; Lev. xiii. 29, 38.; Numb. v. 6., vi. 2., and elsewhere; all passages assigned to the Elohist. Besides, according to Kurtz, the idea conveyed by the two phrases varies; זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה distinguishing the sexes, whether of mankind or the inferior animals, simply according to their physical constitution; and אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ denoting man and wife in their moral personality; hence this expression, with the single exception of Gen. vii. 2., is used only of human beings.[2]

Again, the Elohist uses בָּרָא, Gen. i. 1, 27., ii. 3., and elsewhere; while the Jehovist has יָצַר, Gen. ii. 7, 8, 19. But the different significations of the words must be considered: יָצַר is to fashion, *de conformatione et elaboratione materiæ;* while בָּרָא is to create, *de nova rei productione usurp.* (Gesenius). This last is found in the Jehovist, Gen. vi. 7.; Deut. iv. 32., also, Exod. xxxiv. 10., and Numb. xvi. 30., of performing miracles; while יָצַר, apart from Gen. ii., where its use in the sense above given is most appropriate, does not occur again in the whole Pentateuch.[3]

Further, כָּרַת בְּרִית is said to be the favourite Jehovistic phrase; for which the Elohist uses הֵקִים בְּרִית or נָתַן בְּרִית. To this it is replied that the phrases have different shades of meaning, and that the one or the other is used according to the precise idea which the writer wished to convey. The meaning of הֵקִים בְּרִית (Gen. vi. 18.), is *to establish a covenant, to give effect to the promises included in it;* of נָתַן בְּרִית (Gen. ix. 12., xvii. 2.; Numb. xxv. 12.), *to grant the fulfilment of what is stipulated;* whereas that of כָּרַת בְּרִית is *to make a covenant, by a solemn act to give a pledge of mutual performance.* Hence it is argued, that the last phrase could not be used with any propriety in Gen. vi. 18., ix. 9, 11, 17., xvii. 2., &c.; Exod. vi. 4.; because in chaps. vi. and ix. the narrative is of the establishing or confirming of the promises given to Noah, and in the other places of the realizing or executing the covenant which (Gen. xv.) had been made with Abra-

[1] See Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, p. lxii.
[2] Kurtz, Einheit des Pent. §§ 63—78. pp. 79, &c.; Keil, Einleitung, § 27
[3] Kurtz, Einheit des Pent. §§ 79, 80.; Keil, *ubi supra.*

ham. Where the sense requires, we meet with כָּרַת בְּרִית in the so-called Elohim document, Gen. xxi. 27, 32., xxxi. 44., in all which places we have the making of a covenant; just as the Jehovist uses הֵקִים בְּרִית, Levit. xxvi. 9., and Deut. viii. 18., of fulfilling the covenant that had been made.[1]

Then, again, פַּדַּן אֲרָם is said to be peculiar to the Elohist, אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם to the Jehovist. But here the names are not identical. Padan-aram denotes a district of Mesopotamia, viz. that lying round the city Haran, which is seated in a wide plain bounded by mountains; while the other name comprises all Mesopotamia, or the whole country between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, and occurs only twice in the Pentateuch, Gen. xxiv. 10., and Deut. xxiii. 5.; in both which passages there is also added the name of a particular place, in both cases with much propriety. For in Gen. xxiv. 10. there is first the country named, from which a wife for Isaac was to be brought, and then the particular place in that country designated "the city of Nahor"; whereas, later, when the reader was become acquainted with the country and place, the special name, Padan-aram, would naturally be employed (Gen. xxv. 20., &c.). And in Deut. xxiii. Padan-aram could not be used, because Balaam was indeed of Mesopotamia, but not from Haran.[2]

Similar examples might be accumulated to almost any extent. The reader must judge how far the mode of reply adopted by Keil and others to the assertion that the phraseology of the Elohim and Jehovah documents varies is satisfactory. There is, of course, a difference when circumstances or events are mentioned in one place, of which no mention is made elsewhere. But the conclusion hence of a diversity of authorship seems to be somewhat rash. The phrases considered to be peculiar to the one supposed document do certainly often occur in the other; and, when they do not, there is frequently a particular shade of meaning which seems to have determined the use of this or that expression. The student who desires more fully to investigate the question will find materials on both sides in De Wette[3], Keil[4], Kurtz[5], and the authors referred to by them.

It is not, however, by the mere use of peculiar words and phrases that such a matter ought to be determined. The *usus loquendi* may be in two writers nearly identical; and yet one may vary from the other in tone and spirit, in the nameless something which convinces a critic, who, by patient study, has drank deep into the spirit of each, that, though the same truths are testified, it is by the mouth of more than one witness. This critical decision is, however, of all things most likely to be abused. Men will try to force writers into their own mould; and, because *they* would express themselves in one particular way, or would gather up facts into one especial order, if they find in a work before them that order departed from, or a different

[1] Keil, *ubi supra*. Comp. Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, pp. 57, 58.
[2] Keil, *ubi supra*. For a somewhat different view see Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, pp. 149, 150.
[3] Einleitung, §§ 150—154.
[4] Einleitung, § 27.
[5] Beiträge zur Vertheidigung der Einheit des Pentateuches, and Einheit der Genesis.

way pursued, they immediately exclaim that another hand is visible, that there is dislocation, disorder, interpolation, intolerable repetition. Dr. Hermann Hupfeld has laid himself open to this censure. He measures the Pentateuch by modern usage, and would cramp its free narrative by mechanical line and rule. A notable example of this is to be found in his treatment of Gen. xlviii.; where, besides other objections to the plain touching history, he especially stumbles at v. 7. Jacob, whatever were his faults, and the sacred writer does not disguise them, was a man of affectionate temper. His thoughts were bound up with his beloved Rachel, and with the sons she bore him. Her image when he had lost her was ever before his eyes; and her children, as they grew up in his house, while they solaced, yet saddened his heart, making more pungent the remembrance of her he had so much loved. And, when he saw those sons' sons, when he was restored to Joseph, whose face he never thought to see again, and beheld his children, when, too, as he looked though with failing eyes upon them, his last sickness was warning him that he also must go whither Rachel had gone before, and when he was lifting up his hands to bless the lads—what wonder if thick-coming thoughts of the sad scene of Rachel's death, and the place of her burial, rose vividly before him, and there dropped from his lips once again the story of his bereavement, ere, mastering his emotion, he uttered the prophetic blessing? There is not a passage in the Pentateuch more true to nature, or which touches more thrillingly the chords of human feeling. But Dr. Hupfeld is insensible to all this. And he thinks that Jacob ought to have spoken at such a moment as if he were writing a political despatch—in set phrases, and regular order, and with cold precision. Dr. Hupfeld seems to have no notion of what the bursting heart may prompt and the ready lips express. And so, because this verse is not where he would have put it himself, it does not suit, he says, the mouth of Jacob, "because nothing follows of it." And he calls it "a gloss."[1] If scripture is to be treated in this way, anything may be made of it; nay, there is scarcely a book in existence which a critic, working after this fashion, may not dismember by rule, and sort out and ticket into innumerable fragments which he thinks he can reconstruct far better than the writer. More symmetrical, perhaps, it might be; but the life and the reality would be gone. The very first qualification for a successful critic upon scripture is a deeply reverential spirit. And no man has a right to call himself a critic at all, if he cannot, in some degree at least, throw his mind into the mind of the writer he sets to work on, if he cannot sympathize with those whose life lay in stirring scenes, and if he cannot feel somewhat of the warm glow which pervaded those whose tenderest affections were roused by the things that befell them. Again and again have events occurred on the stage of the world which a cold calculator would denounce as highly improbable.

Besides the variations which are supposed to run through the Pentateuch, there is one book which stands apart from the rest—that

[1] Die Quellen der Genesis, p. 36.

called Deuteronomy. It has in itself a character of completeness; insomuch that De Wette allows that, with trifling exceptions (iv. 41—49.; x. 6—9.; xxxii. xxxiii.), it must have proceeded from one hand.[1] He argues, however, against the supposition that this was the so-called Jehovist of the former books. It is urged by him and by other writers that, both as respects its legislation and its historical statements, there are differences, compared with the preceding books, additions, and indeed contradictions, sufficient to show that they could not all have proceeded from the same source. It is not difficult to reconcile the alleged contradictions; some of which have been already noticed.

1. Deut. i. 9—18. with Exod. xviii. 13—26.

It is said that the appointment of judges is placed at different times in these two passages. But, as Hengstenberg observes, "this objection is founded on taking בָּעֵת הַהִוא in too definite a sense in Deut. i. 9. The expression 'about this time' is not intended to fix a point of time during the sojourn at Mount Horeb, but presents the time in its whole extent by way of contrast to a later period."[2]

2. Deut. ii. 4—8. with Numb. xx. 14—21.

It is alleged that in one of these places the Edomites refused the Israelites a passage, and thus forced them to a circuitous march, and that in the other they sold necessaries to them and allowed them to traverse their country. Hengstenberg, in reply, cites Leake, who says, "The aforesaid people, who opposed with success the advance of the Israelites through their strongly-fortified western boundary, were now alarmed when they saw that they took a circuit and had reached the unprotected boundary of the land." He proceeds: "They now, therefore, made a virtue of necessity, and tried to turn it to their advantage by the sale of the necessaries of life."[3]

3. Deut. ii. 24. with Numb. xxi. 21, 22.

It is really astonishing that any thoughtful critic should revive the old objection that in Deuteronomy God promises to give Sihon's land to the Israelites and encourages them to attack it, while in Numbers they are said to have sent him a peaceful embassy; so that, therefore, the passages are contradictory. De Wette, when he urged this, must have felt himself sorely in want of feasible arguments. The fact is simply that Sihon had a warning as Pharaoh had. If he had granted the boon asked of him, his authority would not have been disturbed; for his dominions did not lie in the land of Canaan, properly so called. But God foresaw that he would reject the application, and would therefore be justly destroyed.[4] And in confirmation of this fact we find in Deuteronomy, a little farther on (ii. 26—30.), exactly the same statement as in Numbers. The Israelites did not attack Sihon till they had sent their unavailing embassy.

4. It is further said that the writer of Deuteronomy uses the word Horeb exclusively; while in the preceding books, with but two or three exceptions, the place where the law was given is called Sinai. But Hengstenberg retorts that by the variation of name the exact accuracy of the writer is

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[1] Einleitung, § 154. pp. 188, 189.

[2] Dissertations, diss. vii. vol. ii. pp. 340, &c.; Keil, Einleitung, § 29.; and for the solution of another contradiction said to exist between these passages see before, pp. 455, 456.

[3] Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 231, 232.; Keil, *ubi supra.*

[4] Hengstenberg, diss. vii. vol. ii. pp. 347—349.

evinced. "Never does Horeb appear as a single mountain, in contrast to Sinai. Sinai, on the other hand, is always a single mountain. Before the children of Israel reached the district, and after they left it, the general name of the mountain Horeb always stands in contrast to Egypt, the plains of Moab, &c. During their stay there, the particular is made a distinct object from the general: the mountain of Sinai and its wilderness are distinguished as the theatre of events that took place in the district of Horeb. But in Exod. xviii. 5. the general term is used; the whole of Horeb is still the mountain of God; which designation, nevertheless, is only applicable to the whole on account of what occurred on part of it, Sinai."[1] It may be added that, after all, Sinai is used in Deuteronomy (xxxiii. 2.); just as in Exodus we occasionally find the term Horeb.

It is impossible here to dwell longer on this part of the question: it has been treated at large by various writers.[2] And it may fairly be assumed that they have shown satisfactorily that the objections tending to prove Deuteronomy not in harmony with the preceding books can receive a sufficient answer. It is not intended to deny that the style of Deuteronomy is peculiar; a rhetorical and more verbose mode of speaking being evident. But for this its hortatory character will account. And we must observe that it, more especially, claims by its own assertions Mosaic authorship. If (with trifling exceptions) it is to be assigned to another hand, it follows that the writer must be convicted of untruthfulness. He certainly desired that his work should be believed to be that of the great Hebrew lawgiver. Now, then, observe the deliberate judgment of Prof. Moses Stuart, whose honesty of purpose cannot be questioned. "Deuteronomy, which is set so low by some of the critics, and attributed to a foreign hand by most of the neologists, appears to my mind, as it did to that of Eichhorn and Herder, as the earnest out-pourings and admonitions of a heart which felt the deepest interest in the welfare of the Jewish nation, and which realized that it must soon bid farewell to them. The repetition of laws is to mould them more into a popular shape, so as to be more easily comprehended and remembered. Instead of bearing upon its face, as is alleged by some, evidences of another authorship than that of Moses, I must regard this book as being so deeply fraught with holy and patriotic feeling, as to convince any unprejudiced reader, who is competent to judge of its style, that it cannot, with any tolerable degree of probability, be attributed to any *pretender* to legislation, or to any mere *imitator* of the great legislator. Such a glow as runs through all this book it is in vain to seek for in any artificial or supposititious composition."[3]

Keil admits that there are expressions peculiar to the book of Deuteronomy, but holds strongly that the *usus loquendi* is in general consonant with that of the earlier books. It is almost entirely an address to the people, which must necessarily, by its very purpose, require a fulness of expression, and be so far, in words and phrases,

[1] Hengstenberg, diss. vii. vol. ii. pp. 325—327.; Keil, *ubi supra*.
[2] Hengstenberg and Keil, as above cited; also Hävernick, Einleitung, § 133. I. ii. pp. 460. &c. Comp. Introduction to the Pentateuch, § 29.
[3] Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon (edit. Davidson). sect. iii. pp. 49, 50.

distinguished from the simple narratives and the precise legislation of the rest of the Pentateuch. All this is reasonable enough; but to suppose that we have herein indications of another writer is surely to evince little appreciation of mental power. "Why should Moses, with a mind of peculiar grandeur, who, independent of all history, exercises a native power, who reveals divine things, and more or less produces that which is imparted to him, a prophet in whom we must recognize the most marvellous originality of spirit, not be able at the close of his earthly pilgrimage to strike another chord, in order once again to urge on the heart of his people the observance of the laws already given, as well as of those to be added for their residence in Canaan? All the peculiar words and modes of speech which occur in Deuteronomy—most of them due to the poetic element of oratorical diction, and many without reason said to be peculiar—may be accounted for by the rhetorical and hortatory tone of the book."[1]

Keil has produced a variety of examples to show, on the one hand, that the language of Deuteronomy is substantially the same with that of both the so-called Elohistic and Jehovistic documents of the earlier books, and, on the other, that it remarkably differs from that of the prophet Jeremiah, whose style it has been said by some to resemble.[2]

The book of Deuteronomy has been examined by the writer of a sensible paper inserted in the Journal of Sacred Literature.[3] After insisting on the close connection which subsists between the different portions (excluding of course the final chapter), he produces some direct quotations (Jer. xxxiv. 14.; 2 Kings xiv. 6.; 1 Kings viii. 29.) tending to show that certainly about 400 years after Moses this book was in existence and was recognized as law. He produces also several verbal allusions in other early books of scripture, and points out the traces in history which go to connect Deuteronomy with the times in which it professes to be written. As collateral arguments, he urges, among others, the evident high antiquity of chap. xxxiii., the silence of the book as to post-Mosaic events, the peculiar geographical notices, the relation of Moab, Ammon, and Edom to Israel, varying from that which subsisted in later ages, the familiar acquaintance displayed with Egypt, the indefiniteness of the predictions which the book contains, the presence of laws relating to the conquest of Canaan, the sanction which our Lord gives to Deuteronomy, together with the glaring difficulties in the way of any contrary hypothesis, which could be maintained only on the supposition that the book is an elaborate forgery.

So far, then, as we have gone, there seems no sufficient reason to tear away the fifth book from those that precede it in the Pentateuch.

Notice has been already in some measure taken of the theory of Dr. Hupfeld, who, having critically examined the book of Genesis, imagines that he has detected two Elohistic writers, and maintains that the Jehovah document, instead of being the work of a supple-

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 30. [2] Ibid. [3] Jan. 1858. pp. 313—325.

menter, is complete and independent, produced by one unacquainted with the earlier groundwork.

It is well to see Dr. Hupfeld's mode of proceeding. He takes Gen. vii., and, confessing that there is so close an union between the parts that it is very difficult to divide them, he nevertheless adventures after this fashion. Verses 1—10., he says, have generally been ascribed to the Jehovist; but he is sure he sees in vv. 6—9. traces of the Elohist: v. 6. has quite an Elohistic colouring; and besides, if you compare it with the latter part of v. 10., you will find an "intolerable tautology;" so that the two clauses cannot proceed from the same pen. In v. 7. there is an Elohistic phrase; while the latter part of v. 8. and the beginning of v. 9. exhibit expressions quite strange to the Jehovist. Still you must not be in a hurry, you must not assign the verses altogether to the Elohist, because the former part of v. 8. includes a Jehovistic phrase; and, besides, you have the account repeated in vv. 13—16., which belong to the Elohist. So you had better conclude that you have in the verses what is essentially Jehovist, with Elohistic expressions interpolated. It is very likely that the final editor *intended* to amalgamate the Elohistic narrative in a compendious form with the Jehovistic, and to supplement one from the other. However, he directly changed his mind and his plan, and inserted it entire. But the two narratives do not agree; for, according to one, the out-burst is (v. 10.) seven days after the entry into the ark, according to the other (v. 13.) it is the same day. Verse 10. is Jehovistic, relating the fulfilment of what was announced v. 4.; v. 11. is Elohistic, and v. 12. Jehovistic, for it refers to v. 4., and interrupts the connection between vv. 11, 13. Thus Dr. Hupfeld goes on, till he has parcelled out the chapter in this way:

Elohistic.	*Jehovistic.*
vv. 6, 11, 13—16 (first part), 17—22, 24.	vv. 1—5, 7—9 (managed in the way above mentioned), 10, 12, 16 (latter part), 23.;

and so he treats the sacred record. The latter part of v. 10. compared with v. 6. he calls, as has been observed, "intolerable tautology." But how would he like that the same measure should be dealt out to himself, and, because within ten lines he twice describes a Jehovistic formula as occurring in the first part of v. 8., that he should be set down as not the sole author of his book? And then, as to the contradiction between vv. 4, 10. and v. 13., to make this out, Dr. Hupfeld must show himself credulous enough to believe that the lading of the ark and the embarkation could all be completed in one day! The two narratives are in perfect harmony. God gave Noah seven days' notice of the coming storm, and commanded him to take the prescribed animals and go into the ark. Seven days were little enough for the work to be done in them; but at their conclusion all was finished; and Noah's family, as was natural, did not go on board till then; and, in the self-same day that they embarked, and were safely shut in by the Lord's superintending care, the desolation came.

Dr. Hupfeld puzzles himself, again, because the rain is said to have lasted forty days and forty nights, and yet the waters to have prevailed one hundred and fifty days, vv. 17, 24.[1] But the effects of an inundation would last longer than the cause was in action. The simple statement of the historian is that, the fountains of the great deep (whatever they were) having been broken up, and the rain having descended continuously forty days, such a flood resulted that, for one hundred and fifty days, one hundred and ten days after the cessation of the rain, the waters "prevailed," there was to Noah no perceptible subsidence. The waters *were* during the latter part of the time subsiding; but Noah had no evidence of this till the ark grounded; for nothing was visible above the waves. They might, therefore, most truly be said to prevail, to be strong, through the whole period, וַיִּגְבְּרוּ הַמַּיִם (v. 24.). The word is used just as in Job xxi. 7., גַּם־גָּבְרוּ חָיִל, "they are mighty in power" It is, consequently, a groundless assumption of Dr. Hupfeld that there are two varying accounts, that one limits the rise of the waters to forty days, the other extends that rise to one hundred and fifty, and allows of no abatement till the one hundred and fifty days were ended. A different word is used, וַיִּרְבּוּ הַמַּיִם (vii. 17, 18.), to express the *rise* or increase of the waters; and (viii. 3.) the subsidence is distinctly mentioned ("the waters returned from off the earth"), though not till the close of the period named was abatement perceptible. Other objections taken by Dr. Hupfeld to the harmony of the narrative are just as easily removed. Yet it is on futile reasons such as these that he not only assigns the history to different writers, but presumes to charge these different authors with being in direct contradiction.[2]

But to proceed: De Wette, says Hupfeld, had some time ago asserted that there were two Elohists; but it was not till he examined the history of Jacob that he himself became so fully convinced of the fact as to feel amazed that it was not universally recognized by the critics. In Gen. xxxv. 9—15., a section certainly Elohistic and evincing much similarity to chap. xvii., the names of Israel and Bethel are said to have been given. But, at a previous period of Jacob's life (see chap. xxviii. 10—22., which is also Elohistic, save the Jehovistic interpolations, vv. 13—16., and probably v. 19.), he had acknowledged the place where he had a vision, "God's house," *i. e.* Bethel, and had set up a memorial pillar, and made a vow; to all which there is reference, chap. xxxi. 13. And when he returned from Padan-aram he visited the place, xxxv. 1—7., erected the altar, and fulfilled his vow, giving solemnly the name Bethel to it. Consequently the name was given long before the appearance narrated in xxxv. 7., &c. Then, again, the appellation Israel had been previously (chap. xxxii. 28.) bestowed on Jacob. And so, as Dr. Hupfeld says, the general laws of logic not allowing a name already given to be given afresh, these two relations must have proceeded from two different sources, and there is a distinction to be made in the ground-

[1] Die Quellen der Genesis, pp. 6—16. See before, p. 452.

[2] For proofs of the unity of the narrative of the flood, see Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, pp. 46—69. That repetitions do not argue a diversity of authorship, see Numb. v. 24, 26, 27.: Judg. xviii. 17, 18.; Ezek. iii. 1—3.

work, like that between the Elohist and the Jehovist; that is to say, there is an elder and a younger Elohist.[1] But this is mere assumption. It is common to find things reiterated in scripture. Covenants are solemnly made, and with yet greater solemnity confirmed. Blessings are invoked, and afterwards repeated and enlarged. Prophecies are delivered, and in the course of time are confirmed and amplified. Rulers are anointed once and again, and the solemn recognitions of their sovereignty are repeated. Both David and Saul are well-known examples. Why should the laws of logic so imperatively forbid a similar reiteration in respect of names? The remark of Kalisch on the matter in question seems fair and reasonable enough. "When Jacob had consecrated the altar in Bethel, God not only repeated the material promises before made to himself and to his ancestors, but chiefly confirmed the spiritual dominion which his seed should exercise; therefore the significant change of Jacob's name into Israel is repeated; and this constitutes the principal 'blessing.' To commemorate this new vision Jacob erected a monument of stone, sanctified it by a libation of wine and an ointment of oil (comp. xxviii. 18.; Exod. xxiv. 4.; Josh. xxiv. 27.), and called the place Bethel, just as he had before, on a similar occasion, given the same appellation to a spot equally remarkable."[2]

Hupfeld supposes that a more accurate apportionment of passages to their respective authors will hereafter be made. He assigns now portions of the history of Abraham, as well as of that of Jacob, &c. to the younger Elohist, and points out peculiarities and formulas which are strange to the older groundwork, but which occur in sections that cannot be ascribed to the Jehovist. The work of the latter, as already observed, he endeavours to prove complete in itself and independent. His proofs, however, will hardly be deemed satisfactory by the careful student. Thus, there is no mention of Abraham's death in the Jehovist, nor yet of Sarah's. Still the case is not desperate; and means must be found to maintain the Jehovist's completeness. The mode in which this is effected is really worth remembering. In Gen. xxiv. 67., it is said that Isaac "was comforted after his mother." Simple-minded men would imagine that this verse referred back to xxiii. 1, 2., and proved that these verses, or some like them, must have formed part of the preceding narrative. But no such thing: Dr. Hupfeld knows better: it is the Jehovist's mode of apprising his readers that Sarah had died. And as to Abraham the matter is still more curiously managed. He died, Dr. Hupfeld tells us, while his servant was gone to Mesopotamia to negotiate Isaac's marriage. For, let the reader mark, the servant (xxiv. 6.) calls Isaac on his return his "master," and v. 66. gives *Isaac* the account of his embassy. Therefore Abraham was dead!![3] In what terms would Dr. Hupfeld have denounced such reasoning, if he had found it in the writings of those he denominates the "anti-critical party"? Is he really so ignorant of the world's ways as not to guess

[1] Die Quellen der Genesis, pp. 38—40. See Kalisch's censure of Hupfeld's theory, Comm. on the Old Test., Phil. Rem. on Gen. xxxvii.
[2] Ibid., note on Gen. xxxv. 9—15. See also before, p. 572.
[3] Die Quellen der Genesis, pp. 146, 147.

that the heir, probably already administering his father's property (xxiv. 36.), would naturally be termed "master" by a servant of the household, or that, still more naturally, the bridegroom (especially if met before entering the encampment) would be of all others the person to whom the full detail of the mission which procured him a wife would be given?

A full examination of Hupfeld's book it is impossible to make here; but the author's reputation, and the fact of his being one of the latest in the field, rendered it necessary to take some notice of his lucubrations. After the specimens produced, it will not appear presumptuous to say that his arguments are vague, his conclusions unsupported. And to the devout mind it will be a matter of mournful regret that a theological professor should deal with the Bible as he has done.

To a fair and reverent examination of such questions as are here debated there can be no objection: let truth be sought by every possible means. But let us remember that we are dealing with holy things: let no fanciful surmise, therefore, usurp the place of argument; let no theory be forced upon the world without the most jealous care to discover whether it has truth for its basis, and is not the mere vagary of an unquiet brain.

It is very possible that a student, after diligent research, may be persuaded that he sees traces of more than one hand in the Pentateuch. The question is confessedly intricate. And, if the varied use of the divine name, and any perceptible difference of diction incline the mind to the conclusion that the most reasonable mode of accounting for the phenomena is to believe that previous documents were worked up into the composition as we have it, the present writer is far from censuring such a conclusion. This is nothing but what we have a thousand examples of. Daniel introduced a decree of Nebuchadnezzar into his book. The genealogies of the New Testament were doubtless copies of the public registers. Luke had made himself acquainted with the works of those who before him undertook to describe our Saviour's life and actions, and introduces into his apostolic history the copy of a letter written by a Roman tribune. Secular writers, too, have largely availed themselves of the labours of those who preceded them, and historians especially have often literally transcribed into their narrative events related by older annalists. It is no charge against the author of the Pentateuch to suppose that he has done the same. It does not interfere with the belief of his inspiration. For inspired writers were to employ all diligence in acquiring information. The divine superintendence guided their faculties, but did not supersede the exercise of them. It preserved them from erroneously using the knowledge they any how acquired; so that what they have left on record is the very word of God.

To the belief, then, in the existence of (so-called) Elohim and Jehovah documents there is no theological objection. *This* question is not of vital interest. But it becomes of vital importance when men not only distinguish, but set one against the other, when they ima-

gine contradictions[1], and argue that each author respectively described events, not as they occurred, but according to his own fancy and the prevalent opinions of his times, and thus degrade the sacred book into a national epic poem. It is a miserable blunder to maintain that every writer relates all he knows. And yet this blunder is daily made by men who should know better. Because a circumstance noticed by A is passed over in silence by B, they argue as if B must be of necessity in ignorance of it. It is well that some critic has not as yet denied that St. John knew of our Saviour's birth, seeing that in his gospel he omits all mention of it.

It is here, then, that a stand must be made. The documents used —if separate documents there were — in the composition of the Pentateuch (and it is in Genesis chiefly that they would be used) were in perfect harmony. If information was found only in one, it was not denied, though not recorded, by the other. And the facts obtained from both were disposed with unerring faithfulness in the fittest place to make a text-book of holy truth for God's church for ever.

Grave doubts may be entertained of the soundness of either of the theories, documentary, or supplementary; yet thus far one or other *may* be received with no damage to the faith. As materials for a well-digested whole, it is possible that earlier annals may have been employed; but it is not true that they were the heterogeneous elements of an ill-fitting agglomerate. Different writers have shown that there is a substantial unity in the Pentateuch. There is a regular plan and a definite object. And it is hard to conceive that this could be attained by the mere forcing of rugged materials into connection by an ultimate compiler, instead of being the development of one leading purpose, for which the materials were used only as best adapted thereto.

Kurtz dwells on the fact that, besides an introduction (Gen. i.—ii. 3.), the book of Genesis comprises ten distinct sections. Ten, he remarks, is the number of completeness, of entirety, of perfection. And he deems it not unreasonable to believe that the author of the book might have intended by such an arrangement to exhibit its completeness — at all events that it was constructed upon plan, and was, therefore, one man's work. These ten sections, moreover, have distinct and similar superscriptions. They are each headed אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת: "These are the generations," or זֶה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת: "This is the book of the generations." The following is a list of them:—

The generations of the heaven and the earth (ii. 4.—iv. 26.).
The generations of Adam (v. 1.—vi. 8.).
The generations of Noah (vi. 9.—ix. 29.).
The generations of the sons of Noah (x. 1.—xi. 9.).
The generations of Shem (xi. 10—26.).
The generations of Terah (xi. 27.—xxv. 11.).
The generations of Ishmael (xxv. 12—18.).
The generations of Isaac (xxv. 19.—xxxv. 29.).
The generations of Esau (xxxvi.).
The generations of Jacob (xxxvii. 1.—l. 26.).[2]

[1] See before, p. 562.

[2] Die Einheit der Genesis, pp. lxvii. lxviii.

It further appears that there are certain similarities of arrangement frequently observable in these sections; and this is so far a presumption that they proceeded from one hand.

But not only in Genesis are indications of this kind seen; there are arguments to be deduced from the whole Pentateuch. Keil notices the chronological thread, according to which events are placed in orderly succession; any minor departure from it being only for the better arrangement and completing of the histories to be given. He notices, also, the careful elaboration of the subject, and the close and consistent linking of the whole together; so that the earlier sections tend forward, and, as it were, prepare for what is yet to come, and the later sections are continually referring back to those which have preceded, in the most natural manner, developing and carrying out what they have recorded. The references, too, are not of one peculiar class: they are not merely of one part of the so-called groundwork or the supplement to another part of the same; there are references from the supplement to the groundwork, and, what is of peculiar importance, from the groundwork to the supplement.

The Elohim document has generally been assumed to be complete. But, if this be so, there are strange gaps in it; and many portions would be hard to understand for want of more particular previous information. Thus the fall of man is narrated only by the so-called Jehovist. And, seeing that (Gen. i. 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31.) everything is pronounced after the creation very good, the universal depravity (vi. 11—13) would be, as Keil calls it, a perfect enigma, if we were not made aware that sin had entered the world in the fall of our first parents. Again, there would be a gap between v. 32. and vi. 9.; for how, but for the history, vi. 1—8., should we learn that the righteous line of Seth shared in the common degeneracy? The narrative, moreover, commencing vii. 11., does not by any means fit well on to the close of chap. vi. It is true that the supporters of the supplement hypothesis consider the injunctions given, vii. 1—4., by the Jehovist to be only the counterpart of those of the Elohist in chap. vi. But this notion is clearly untenable. The first command was for the building of the ark, with a declaration that not Noah's family only, but the inferior animals should be saved in it. Long time was necessarily consumed in this preparation — according to some a century or upwards. And, when it was completed, how was Noah to know when he should embark? Another divine communication was naturally required; and if there had been no record of such communication the history would be incomplete.[1] Once more, the composition would be imperfect, if chap. xvii. followed immediately upon xiii. For Ishmael appears in xvii., the story of whose birth is related in xvi. Without chap. xvi. the later relation would be unintelligible.[2] Many more examples of the kind may be found in Keil.[3]

Then we have references back from passages in the Elohist to

[1] Kurtz, Einheit der Genesis, pp. 50—52.
[2] Ibid., pp. 88—92.
[3] Einleitung, § 24.

those in the Jehovist. Thus v. 29. evidently points to iii. 17. It is true that v. 29. is said to be an interpolation, and, though in an Elohistic section, to have been adopted from the Jehovist; but this is rather an evasion than a fair mode of meeting the difficulty. Chap. xix. 29. refers to xiii. 10—13.; xxi. 9. to xvi. 15.; xxii. 19. to xxi. 33.; xxviii. 20, 21. to xxviii. 15.; xlvi. 12. to xxxviii. 7—10. Further, there are similar references in the other books, as Numb. xvi. 3. to Exod. xix. 6.; Numb. xxxiii. 9. to Exod. xv. 27. But these are merely specimens of a multitude which Keil and Kurtz have exhibited.[1] And, if we grant that these writers have sometimes imagined references when none were intended, still it must be remembered that proofs of this kind are of their very nature faint and uncertain. Arguments taken from the resemblance of trains of thought, or grounded upon allusions which can be rather felt than explained, are necessarily subtle, and will weigh lightly with many minds. But then it is to be marked that they are brought against others of equal tenuity. The reasons which have decided many critics to portion out this or that passage of the Pentateuch to one or other documentist are very evanescent. They are taken from a word, a feeling, a fancy, the supposed fitness of an idea here, or an expression there, a breath, a tone which is thought perceptible by one, while to others it is as nothing. If then the references urged by Kurtz and Keil are not strong proofs, they still ought not to be thrown away in such a delicate investigation.

More convincing, because more comprehensive, and tending to a higher point, are the evidences of general orderliness which the Pentateuch exhibits. The narratives flow regularly along. Persons and things are introduced as in preparation for some future detail. And those details, when they come, are the suitable development of the previous announcements. Thus the whole is braced together, and a compacted body formed from the various members. Keil has collected a multitude of examples of this kind[2], which, making due allowance for failure in individual cases, could hardly, when taken together, be likely to occur in a heterogeneous production. They testify to the existence of a plan.

It may be added, that the diction throughout the Pentateuch is substantially the same. There are peculiar forms, there are modes of construction, there are words which, appearing in different parts of these books, are rarely, if at all, found elsewhere.[3]

That those who have alleged contradictions have failed in proving them may be fully assumed. Many of these have been examined, and their futility distinctly shown. If here and there a knot remains unloosed, it may well be attributed to our imperfect knowledge. Events are continually occurring in ordinary life which puzzle those who are but partially informed; while he who has looked at them on every side finds nothing to surprise him. In every history there are of necessity some difficulties left: the marvel is that

[1] Keil, *ubi supra*.
[2] Einleitung, § 32.
[3] Keil, ibid. See below, p. 605.

they are in the Pentateuch so few, that there is so little which research has not amply explained.

It is well that this should be deeply imprinted on the student's mind and memory. The Pentateuch has been subjected to cross-examination by such writers as Prof. Blunt[1]; and the result has been that unexpected testimony has been found, to the perfect agreement of one part with another; which, while it furnishes proof of the veracity of the record, goes, in a measure, to prove also that it proceeded from one mind, was fashioned by one hand. The eye must not dwell too much upon the alleged discrepancies, lest it lose sight of the fact that these, multiplied as they have been by various critics, are after all only the exception, and that the rule is harmonious accordance. To perceive the difficulties requires, in many instances, microscopic examination; while the grand features of agreement are plain and palpable to every devout reader.

There is another part of the question to which it is now necessary to advert. Looking at the probable date of the Pentateuch, it is confidently asserted that there is internal evidence that it was composed, or at least brought into its present shape, long after the time of Moses. It has been replied—but perhaps with more zeal than discretion — that the expressions, allusions, explanations which seem to betray a post-Mosaic date, were but small additions, made in after ages by some inspired man, probably by Ezra, who is supposed to have collected and revised the scriptures down to his own time. Admitting that some additions must have been made, *e. g.*, the account of Moses's death (Deut. xxxiv.), which of course the great legislator could not have penned himself, it seems hardly fair to account thus for the alleged passages generally: it is an evasion rather than a solution of the difficulty: it too much resembles the practice of the thorough-going advocates of the supplementary hypothesis, who, when they light upon a clause of Jehovistic phraseology in the middle of a Elohistic section (and *vice versâ*), eliminate it without scruple, call it an interpolation, a gloss, or say it is imitated, it is elaborated, it is anything but what common sense would take it to be. No such mode of reasoning will have much weight with judicious men. We must, therefore, take the Pentateuch as we find it, and see if in its expressions or its notices it presents phenomena which, fairly looked at, indicate a later origin than the time of Moses.

It is said that the frequently-recurring phrase, "unto this day," implies that a considerable period must have elapsed between the occurrence of the event and the recording of it. Let us examine the facts of the case. The phrase is found in Genesis in the following passages, xix. 37, 38., xxii. 14., xxvi. 33., xxxii. 32., xxxv. 20., xlvii. 26. Now everything here severally mentioned happened long before Moses's birth: there is no question, therefore, but that the words might be properly employed by him. In the three middle books of Exodus, Leviticus, and

[1] Undesigned Coincidences in the Writings both of the Old and New Testament, an Argument of their Veracity. By the Rev. J. J. Blunt, B.D., late Margaret Professor of Divinity, part i.

Numbers, we do not find them. In Deuteronomy we have them in ii. 22., iii. 14., x. 8., xxix. 4., xxxiv. 6. It may be at once remarked that this usage is agreeable to what we might look for in Moses or a contemporary: the phrase occurs frequently in the early history of events long passed, rarely in the history of the Mosaic time, and only in addresses made by Moses to the people. Further, the place last mentioned, Deut. xxxiv. 6., is by the circumstances of it excluded from the question; for it relates to Moses' death and burial, which it is allowed, on all hands, he did not record himself. And, once again, the passages, ii. 22., x. 8., xxix. 4., present no difficulty: a bare inspection of them is sufficient to show that the phrase might be unobjectionably employed. The sole difficulty, therefore, is with iii. 14.: "Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob, unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi, and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair, unto this day." In the solution of it Hengstenberg urges several considerations. The book of Deuteronomy, narrating Moses' last addresses, seems to stand apart from the preceding occurrences; so that we repeatedly find the phrase "at that time" used in this very chapter in reference to events which happened but a few months before. Further, in various parts of both the Old and New Testaments, the same words, "unto this day," are employed, when the interval (*e. g.* Josh. xxii. 3.; Matt. xxviii. 15.) was very short.[1] It must be confessed that this reply is not altogether conclusive. But Hengstenberg's further remark, that, if the author of the Pentateuch had lived after Moses' time, instead of one passage of the kind, we should have met with many plainly testifying of a later age, seems worthy of consideration. Perhaps, after all, the phrase had become, in ordinary use, nearly equivalent to our own word "still," which is employed indifferently for a very long or a very short period of time.

There are, also, it is said, historical and archæological explanations (*e. g.* Gen. xii. 6., xiii. 7., xiv. 2, 7, 8, 17., xxiii. 2., xxxv. 19.; Exod. xvi. 36.; Deut. iii. 5, 9, 11.), which would not have been given by a writer contemporary with Moses. A critic who chose to imitate Dr. Hupfeld would have no difficulty here. He would boldly say these were glosses, which were introduced into the text by a final editor. But this would be mere evasion: let us look at some of the cases as they stand. Hengstenberg's answer to the first does not seem unreasonable. "The remark in chap. xii. 6. stands in close relation to v. 7., 'And the Lord appeared unto Abram and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land.' The words 'The Canaanite was then in the land,' were introduced for the purpose of marking the contrast between the present and the future, the reality and the idea. Strictly speaking, the words contained nothing new (for, in chap. x. 15., it had already been noticed that the Canaanites were then in the land); but a reiteration of what was already known answered the purpose of giving a more vivid representation of the relations into which Abraham had entered, that he *πίστει παρῴκησεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν*, Heb. xi. 9."[2] And, with

[1] Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 264—270.

[2] Ibid., p. 151.

respect to Gen. xiii. 7., it had just been said that the land could not bear Abram and Lot together; so great were their possessions. Had they been the only inhabitants, doubtless they would have found room enough; but the sacred writer adds, in explanation, that this was not the case: "the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelt then in the land."[1]

Much stress need not be laid upon the passages which next succeed. The name of Zoar was given to Bela in consequence of Lot's calling it a "little" city (Gen. xix. 20, 22.); so that it had acquired the appellative before Moses's time. But xxiii. 2. seems of greater importance, because (Josh. xiv. 15.; Judg. i. 10.) we are told that not till the Israelites had conquered Canaan was the name of Hebron applied to the city in question. There is, no doubt, a difficulty. But Hengstenberg expresses his belief that the Israelites merely *restored* the name Hebron which it had originally borne, but which was for a while superseded by Kirjath-Arba, in consequence of its being under the authority or the residence of Arba, Anak's father.[2] Now this is not so gratuitous a supposition as some critics are inclined to represent it. An almost-precisely similar circumstance occurs with respect to Zion. That Zion was the original name is evident. But when David took that strong-hold it was called after him "the city of David" (2 Sam. v. 7.). And this we find in frequent use, עִיר דָּוִד. Zion, however, did not altogether sink, and eventually it was again the sole appellation; so much so, that in New Testament times by the term "city of David" Bethlehem was understood. Modern examples of the resumption of an ancient name are not unfrequent. It will be in the recollection of many that Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, was for generations known only as Bene't, and that within the last thirty years the ancient name has been again taken up; and other examples might be alleged. So that there is nothing improbable in the case of Hebron. Critics, therefore, should be cautious in pronouncing the use of this name an anachronism, especially when the writer of the book of Numbers shows his intimate knowledge of the original history of this city (Numb. xiii. 22.).

With respect to Exod. xvi. 36., it is said that, if the omer had not gone out of use at the time when Exodus was written, there would have been no occasion to define its capacity. But this is a baseless argument. Modern laws, it is presumed, may be found, stating the proportion which one measure bears to another, without its being implied from this that the proportion has gone out of knowledge. At all events, among ancient regulations a notable example of the kind may be produced. In Ezek. xlv. 10—12., various measures are defined, measures which had been long in use, which were then in use, and which continued to be in use. And it does not invalidate the argument to say that Ezekiel was recording a vision. Hengstenberg, indeed, has another mode of meeting the objection. He denies, after Michaelis, that the omer was a measure at all. It is mentioned only in this chapter. It was some house-

[1] Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. p. 151. [2] Ibid., pp. 152, &c.

hold utensil, he thinks, in ordinary use, the capacity of which it was, therefore, necessary to define.[1] The other cases may be as readily explained.

Old documents, it is further said, are quoted, of which the existence in the time of Moses is highly problematical. The passages referred to are Numb. xxi. 14, 15, 16—18, 27—30. There can be little difficulty as to the song and the proverb in the last verses; they surely might very well exist in the age of Moses. The question narrows itself then to "the book of the wars of the Lord"—what was it? Vater, who is followed by others, says that it is hard to imagine a book in which the wars of the Lord are described, in the time of Moses, when the wars of God's people, some early victories over the Amalekites excepted, had begun only a few months before; and that it is absolutely inconceivable that a book composed at that period could be quoted as a voucher for the geographical notices which are contained in the preceding verses. It is almost inconceivable how critics can choose to commit themselves by such reckless assertions. The Israelites had at this time left Egypt nearly forty years. At the beginning of their march there was war with Amalek (Exod. viii. 8—16.). Does any thinking person believe, because the notice of this war is short, that the war itself was so short as to be uneventful? We know not how long it lasted, days or weeks. But suppose it was only a few days. The campaign of 1815 in the Netherlands was only for a few days, yet how eventful, how prominent a place it occupies in history. It is, therefore, quite beside the mark to speak so scornfully of "some early victories over the Amalekites." But, further, the history of this war was by God's especial order to be written and preserved in a book. Whether this book was the Pentateuch or no is a matter of question; the opposers of the Mosaic authorship say no. Then, on their own ground, here is a book in which the narrative of one "war of the Lord" was inserted; and additions might soon be made. To say nothing of the disastrous incursion which Israel adventured on the south of Canaan soon after the return of the spies, it is very possible that, during the thirty-seven years of which we have scarcely any account, some military events might occur. And then at last there was the war with Arad, and not long after wars with Sihon, and with Og, and with the Midianites. But to confine ourselves to these is yielding a great point. Hengstenberg properly observes that "the idea of the wars of the Lord is of much wider extent according to the phraseology of the Pentateuch." And he refers to such passages as Exod. xiv. 14., "The Lord shall *fight* for you." If the authorized version of Numb. xxi. 14. be accurate, there is a special allusion to the passage of the Red Sea; as, however, בְּסוּפָה may admit another interpretation, no stress shall be laid on this. But Hengstenberg does not go far enough. There were "wars of the Lord" before the Exodus; and there is no valid reason why, if a book of them were formed, that in which Abraham recovered and revenged Lot (Gen. xiv.) should not be inscribed there. It seems, according to some, to be alluded to as a famous exploit in Isai. xli. 2, 3. Then,

[1] Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 172—174.

again, the objections that a book lately composed could not be quoted as a voucher for geographical notices is nugatory. Hengstenberg takes pains to show that it is *not* so quoted, but with quite a different purpose.[1] But, even if it were, where is the wonder? We see every day books and documents very lately put forth cited and referred to as of decisive authority. And why should this be inconceivable in the time of Moses?

It is further objected that there are expressions in the Pentateuch which show, by the local position implied, that the book was composed in Palestine. Thus Gen. xii. 8., מִיָּם; Exod. xxvi. 22., יָמָּה are used for the west; and so elsewhere. Now it is said that the term could be properly employed only by a writer who, living in Judea, had the Mediterranean to the westward. The absurdity of this argument is well exposed by Dr. Davidson, who rightly views it as a proof simply that the Hebrew language was originally developed in Canaan, and that Abraham found it there.[2] The phrases מֵעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן and בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן are more puzzling, because they seem to be used indefinitely. Thus, Numb. xxxii. 19., the same expression is repeated, meaning at first on the west, and afterwards on the east side of the Jordan. It is clear, then, that no argument can hence be derived against the Mosaic authorship; for the theory broached by some, that the writer intended to appear as one out of Palestine but occasionally forgot himself, cannot require a serious confutation. Hengstenberg has taken great pains in the discussion of this matter: he observes that phrases of the kind, originating in a particular locality and appropriate to it, yet soon come to be indifferently used, as *Tras-os-Montes* in Portugal, the *cis-alpine* republic, *ultramontane* opinions, &c. So also Nehemiah (chap. ii. 7, 9.) uses עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר once properly, a second time improperly: comp. Ezra iv. 10, 11. But the student who desires full satisfaction is referred to Hengstenberg's own explanation.[3]

It is alleged that expressions are used which imply that Israel was already at the time of writing in possession of Canaan, *e. g.* Lev. xviii. 24—28.; Deut. ii. 12. With regard to the first passage, Keil remarks that it by no means proves that the Canaanites had already been ejected, as a consideration of v. 24 will show, where the word used is מְשַׁלֵּחַ, *I cast out*, not *I have cast out*. More satisfactory is his reply to the objection taken from the second passage; viz. that Israel was at the time in possession of a considerable extent of country, that including Gilead and Bashan on the east of the Jordan.[4]

Places, it is further urged, are called by names which were not given them till after the time of Moses: Hebron, Bethel, and Dan are examples of this alleged anachronism. Of the first something has been already said.[5] The name Bethel was most likely not generally adopted till the Israelites had occupied Canaan; but, as

[1] See Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 182—185.
[2] Bibl. Crit. chap. ii. p. 13. Comp. Keil, Einleitung, § 38.
[3] Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 256—264. Comp. Keil, *ubi supra.* Perhaps בְּעֵבֶר means simply *at* the passage, *i.e.* on this side or that, as the case might be.
[4] Einleitung, § 38. p. 154.
[5] See before, p. 593.

solemnly given by Jacob, it with equal likelihood was from his time known and used by his descendants. With regard to Dan (Gen. xiv. 14.; Deut. xxxiv. 1.), if the town described Judges xviii. 29. be intended, it is very clear that Moses could have known nothing of it. But there is much uncertainty in topographical conclusions. Hengstenberg supposes that there were two places called Dan, and refers to 2 Sam. xxiv. 6., where Dan-jaan is mentioned, as probably not identical with the Dan which had been originally Laish.[1] Dan-jaan and the Dan of Deut. xxxiv. 1. certainly seem to be in or on the border of Gilead; and Dan-Laish can hardly be placed there. But we have no certain information, and can but conjecture here.

The mode in which Moses is spoken of, both personally and in reference to what he did, is alleged as evidence that the Pentateuch was composed at a later period. Among the passages intended are the following: Exod. vi. 26, 27., xi. 3.; Numb. xii. 3., xv. 22., &c., xxviii. 6. Hengstenberg's explanation with regard to the first passage is that it must be taken in connection with the preceding genealogy. If there was a reason for inserting that genealogy, there could be no reason why Moses and Aaron, whose ancestry and family were recorded in it, should not be named as the peculiarly-commissioned messengers of the Lord, who was about by them to perform the mighty work of delivering his people: "These are that Aaron and Moses," &c.[2] There is little force in the objection taken from the next passage. Israel was on the eve of departure. If Pharaoh was not moved, his subjects were, at the judgments that had befallen them. And so, when the Israelites asked jewels of them, "the Lord," it is said, "gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians." And it is added, as an additional reason why the demand was complied with, that Moses, the instrument of inflicting the desolating judgments, the man who seemed to wield the power of Israel's avenging God, "was very great in the land of Egypt," &c. To be sure he would be; and why should he not record such a reasonable fact in his faithful history—a fact which after all redounded more to God's honour than to his own? There is more difficulty in the next passage: "the man Moses was very meek," &c.; and perhaps it cannot fully be accounted for, unless we admit into our theory the element of the sacred writer's inspiration. The artless manner in which the scripture generally narrates its histories, the faults as well as the commendable conduct of the various personages of whom it tells, with no flourish when introducing some act of faith or labour of love, with no sentimental reflection when chronicling some evil deed, has been often the subject of remark. You observe the same temper evinced through the entire Bible. And an argument has been deduced from it, that the authors wrote with other views and in a different spirit from those which characterize secular historians. There is no hesitation in speaking of themselves. Thus David styles himself "the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1.): St. John denominates himself "the

[1] Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 157, 158.
[2] See Dissertations, ibid., pp. 167, 168.

disciple whom Jesus loved" (John xiii. 23., xx. 2.); and St. Paul claims to be "in nothing behind the very chiefest apostles," in the same breath in which he acknowledges that he was "nothing" (2 Cor. xii. 11.). The text in question is in the same strain. And it is not easily seen why it should be more inappropriate in Moses' mouth than the record immediately succeeding, of the high and peculiar regard for him expressed in the words of Jehovah (Numb. xi. 7, 8.). But, after all, what does the word עָנָו, rendered *meek*, mean in its connection here but *unambitious*. Aaron and Miriam were jealous of Moses, they wanted to be as great as he. His marriage was the pretext rather than the real cause of their attack upon him. And the words in question are added to show the groundlessness of their opposition. Moses had not ambitiously sought the pre-eminence he had: indeed he declined the Lord's commission (Exod. iii. iv.) as long as he could. It was the divine choice that made him the legislator of Israel. Surely there is no reason why he should not state this. Of Numb. xv. 22., &c., little need be said. The precept was given not merely for that present time, but for the future generations also of Israel; and, as to Numb. xxviii. 6., where the giving of the command at Sinai is spoken of as a long-past event, it must be remembered that years had passed, full thirty-eight years. No argument, then, can be derived hence against the Mosaic authorship.

There are other similar objections taken to the early date of the Pentateuch: it is impossible, within the limited space here allowed, to advert to all of them. One more only can be noticed. It is urged that there are passages distinctly recognizing the existence of kings in Israel, *e.g.* Gen. xxxvi. 31.; Deut. xvii. 14—20. Of the first passage Hengstenberg offers a very natural explanation. The promise, recorded a little before (Gen. xxxv. 11.), had been given to Jacob, that kings should come out of his loins. What more likely than an allusion to this, when the historian numbers the kings descended from Esau? Not yet was the promise fulfilled to Jacob: no kings as yet were conspicuous in his line. But faith did not fail; and the historian and Israel at large believed that the day would come when the sceptre should be grasped by the hand of a child of Jacob.[1]

As to the law of the king, Deut. xvii., a variety of objections are urged against its early date, such as that had it been in existence at the time when the people demanded a king of Samuel they would have referred to it, and then that Samuel, seeing the case provided for, would not have treated their conduct as so unjustifiable; further, that Solomon would not, in defiance of the prohibition, have so multiplied wives and horses. Now, it is observable that, when the Israelites desired a king, they urged just the reason which was mentioned in Deuteronomy (comp. Deut. xvii. 14.; 1 Sam. viii. 5, 20.). The fault of their conduct was not their desire for monarchical government abstractedly—this was not inconsistent with their polity, or the Mosaic law; nay, the promise went, as just noted, that kings

[1] See Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 165—167.

should descend from Jacob—but their rejecting of Samuel, whom the Lord had commissioned to be their judge. And thus Samuel took it; and in conformity with this view Samuel vindicates his administration, and asks the people to point out any mal-practice for which he had deserved to be cashiered (1 Sam. xii. 2, 3.). Then, as to Solomon's contravention of the law, there are reasons why he might imagine it less binding in his day; the multiplication of horses being forbidden, it would seem, lest too close a connection should thereby be formed with Egypt, which, centuries after the Exodus, Solomon would deem less dangerous. But, be this as it may, it is most unsatisfactory to reason against the existence of a law, from the fact that the terms of such a law do not seem to have been observed. In all countries, and in all ages, have laws been disobeyed. But for a full discussion of this matter, the reader is referred to Hengstenberg.[1]

The critics are greatly perplexed in fixing the date of the so-called Elohim and Jehovah documents; insomuch that scarcely any two of them agree. Thus, Stähelin places the Elohist early in the time of the Judges, Tuch in that of Saul; Killisch carries it to the days of David, and Ewald and Von Lengerke to those of Solomon. De Wette, who exhibits this variation, seems himself inclined to fix upon the time of the earlier kings. Then, for the Jehovist, Stähelin supposes him contemporary with Saul, Tuch with Solomon, Ewald places him about Shalmaneser's time, Von Lengerke in that of Hezekiah, De Wette after the rebellion of Edom against Jehoram, though perhaps before the captivity. Deuteronomy he fixes about the time of Josiah; while portions of the different documents may have been composed at other times.[2] With regard to these theories, Prof. Stuart's impressive words may be here cited: "That a book of such claims as it (the Pentateuch) puts forth, viz. as being a work of Moses the great lawgiver, should be composed at six different periods, as Ewald supposes, or at three or four, as Lengerke maintains, and yet admitted each time, by the whole Jewish nation, by prophets, priests, and kings, *as a genuine work of Moses*, requires much more credulity than the commonly-received scheme of belief. Scepticism and credulity are, after all, more nearly allied than most persons are ready to suppose."[3]

For the existence and authority of the Pentateuch at a very early date, the succeeding Hebrew writers may properly be appealed to. Some express testimonies have been before produced. But these by no means fully represent the state of the case. The whole literature of Israel is pervaded with allusions to what we find in the Pentateuch. Subsequent history, prophecy, devotional composition, all give the same witness, tending to prove that, from the very time of their existence as a nation, the Israelites were in possession of some great standard which narrated their early fortunes, regulated their polity, prescribed their customs religious and political. Their

[1] Dissertations, diss. vi. vol. ii. pp. 201—213.
[2] De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 158—160.
[3] History of the Old Test. Canon, sect. iii. p. 51.

subsistence without it would be an anomaly. Take away the Pentateuch from the position it has ever been supposed by the church to occupy, and you will find yourself involved in difficulties of the most formidable character.

It is not necessary to examine the book of Joshua. It is generally allowed to pre-suppose the existence of the Mosaic legislation.[1]

In the book of Judges, i. 20. alludes to Numb. xiv. 30. The address of the angel ii. 1—3. is almost compiled from passages in the Pentateuch; comp. v. 2. with Exod. xxiii. 21, 32., xxxiv. 12, 13.; Deut. vii. 2, 5., xii. 3.; v. 3. with Exod. x. 7., xxiii. 33.; Numb. xxxiii. 55.; Deut. vii. 16.: comp. also v. 10. with Exod. i. 8.; v. 15. with Lev. xxvi. 15—17.; Deut. xxviii. 25.; v. 17. with Exod. xxxii. 8., xxxiv. 15. Then iv. 15. resembles Exod. xiv. 24.; in both the uncommon word וַיָּהָם occurring. Comp., further, v. 4. with Deut. xxxii. 2., xxxiii. 2., vv. 14—18. with Gen. xlix. 13., &c. The speech of the prophet, vi. 8., begins with the words of Exod. xx. 2., and in v. 16. repeats the promise given to Moses, Exod. iii. 12.: comp. also v. 23. with Gen. xxxii. 30.; and v. 39. with Gen. xviii. 32. The negotiation of Jephthah with the king of Ammon, xi. 12—28., is founded upon Numb. xx. xxi. Some, indeed, have tried to evade the conclusion, by supposing that Jephthah cited an independent historical work and not the Pentateuch; but the assumption is groundless. In xiii. 7. the angel of the Lord promises Manoah's wife a son in the exact phrase addressed by the angel to Hagar, Gen. xvi. 11., the unusual word וְיֹלַדְתְּ appearing in each place. The same words occur in xix. 22., &c., as in Gen. xix. 4., &c. Compare also xx. 6. with Gen. xxxiv. 7.; Deut. xxii. 21.; and v. 48. with Deut. ii. 34., iii. 6., and observe how the elders, xxi. 17., act towards a tribe in the spirit of the law for families, Deut. xxv. 6.

The religious observances of the Pentateuch appear in full force. Thus vows are regarded as inviolable: comp. xi. 35. with Numb. xxx. 2.: fasting is used as the expression of repentant sorrow, xx. 26. with Lev. xvi. 29. Circumcision is considered the prerogative of the Israelites, xiv. 3.: the Nazareate occurs, xiii. 3—5., in accordance with Numb. vi. 2. &c.; the blowing of trumpets, iii. 27. vii. 18, as Numb. x. 9.; and the observance of the distinction between clean and unclean meats, xiii. 4, 14. We have also the solemnization of yearly festivals at Shiloh, xxi. 19., after the prescription of Exod. xxiii. 15., xxxiv. 23.; Deut. xvi. 16.; and the curse denounced, see Deut. xiii. 12., &c., executed, xxi. 10, 11. The social habits are regulated by the same customs. There is the Levirate marriage, Ruth iii. 11—13., iv. 1—13. (Ruth describing events in the time of the judges), compared with Lev. xxv. 25, 48.; Deut. xxv. 5—9.; the dislike to marriage with uncircumcised families, xiv. 3.; the law of inheritance, xi. 2., compared with Gen. xxi. 10. As regards public affairs, there is the congregation and council of elders, xx. 1., xxi. 16, 22., just as in the Pentateuch: Judah has the pre-eminence, i. 2.; xx. 18., as Numb. ii. 3., x. 14., Gen. xlix. 8—12.; Gideon

[1] See Hävernick, Einleitung, § 136. I. ii. pp. 495, 496, Introduction to the Pentateuch, § 32. pp. 369—371.

declines the royal dignity on the ground of God's being the King of Israel, viii. 22, 23., in accordance with Exod. xix. 5, 6.; Deut. xxxiii. 5. And finally ideas from the Pentateuch, Gen. xlix.; Exod. xv. 9., xxi. 16., &c.; and Deut. xxxiii. 2. are re-produced in the song of Deborah, v.

In the books of Samuel there is the same perpetual allusion to the Pentateuch. Worship is conducted at the tabernacle in Shiloh, under Eli and Samuel, 1 Sam. i—iii., and in Nob under Ahimelech the son of Ahitub, 1 Sam. xxi. 1—9., according to the prescription of the law; and Eli's ungodly sons are punished for their transgressions, 1 Sam. ii. 12—17., 22—36., iv. 15—22.: the ark is regarded as the peculiar centre-point of God's sovereignty, 1 Sam. iv. 18—22., and is carried at the head of the tribes, 1 Sam. iv. 3—5., xiv. 18.; 2 Sam. xi. 11., xv. 24., in accordance with Numb. x. 35.; the touching of which was avenged with death, 1 Sam. vi. 19.; 2 Sam. vi. 6, 9. compared with Numb. iv. 20. Also God was consulted through the Urim and Thummim attached to the ephod of the high priest, 1 Sam. xiv. 3, 37., xxiii. 9., &c., xxviii. 6., xxx. 7, 8., compared with Numb. xxvii. 21. Crimes against the law were repressed and punished, 1 Sam. vii. 3, 4.; wizards cut off, 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 9., according to the statute, Deut. xviii. 10, 11.: the eating of blood is deemed unlawful, 1 Sam. xiv. 33., compared with Gen. ix. 4.; Lev. iii. 17.; and the authority, which according to the law was given to prophets, Deut. xviii. 18—22., was willingly submitted to, 1 Sam. ii. 27., iii. 20., vii. 5 6., x. 17—25., xv.; 2 Sam. vii. 1—17., xii. 1—14.[1]

There are also instances of verbal agreement, as 1 Sam. ii. 13. compared with Deut. xviii. 3. The expression of Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 29., is almost identical with Numb. xxiii. 19. The proceedings on the appointment of a king, 1 Sam. viii.—x. refer evidently to the law. Thus, comp. 1 Sam. viii. 5. with Deut. xvii. 14.; and 1 Sam. x. 24. with Deut. xvii. 15.; also 1 Sam. x. 25. with Numb. xvii. 22. (E.V. 7), where the words וַיַּנַּח לִפְנֵי יְהוָה are literally the same, and the "laying up" a strong presumption that the book of the law was so deposited. Samuel's testimony as to his administration, 1 Sam. xii. 3., has a close resemblance to Numb. xvi. 15.; Lev. vi. 4.; Deut. xvi. 19.: comp. also 1 Sam. xii. 14. with Deut. i. 26, 43., ix. 7, 23., xxxi. 27. The destruction of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv., is grounded upon Exod. xvii. 8—16., and Deut. xxv. 17—19. There are, moreover, many references to the Pentateuch in 2 Sam. vii.: comp. particularly vv. 22—24. with Deut. iv. 7., x. 21.; Exod. xix. 5., Lev. xxvi. 12, 13. In fact, even De Wette is obliged to acknowledge these evident allusions; though he endeavours to evade the conclusion by saying that "the final editors of Judges and Samuel were acquainted with the Pentateuch, and caught the spirit of the book of Deuteronomy."[2]

Allusions to the Pentateuch are very numerous in the books of Kings. David's charge to Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 3., expressly

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 34.; Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. iv. vol. ii. pp. 16., &c.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 136. I. ii. pp. 496—502., Introduction. § 32. pp. 371—376.

[2] Einleitung, § 162. b. p. 201. See Keil, Einleitung, § 34.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 137. I. ii. pp. 502—516., Introduction. § 33. pp. 376—390.

mentions the law, and adopts the words of Deut. xxix. 9. Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple is really a comment on the law, especially on the blessings and curses pronounced, Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. In this chapter, v. 23. alludes to Deut. vii. 9.; v. 31. to Exod. xxii. 11.; v. 33. to Lev. xxvi. 17.; Deut. xxviii. 25.; v. 35. to Deut. xi. 17.; vv. 37—40. to Lev. xxvi. 16—28.; Deut. xxviii. 22, 38, 59—61.; v. 51. to Deut. iv. 20.; v. 53. to Exod. xix. 5.; Lev. xx. 24, 26.; v. 56. to Lev. xxvi. 3—13.; Deut. xii. 9—11., xxviii. 1—14.; v. 57. to Deut. xxxi. 6—8. Also 1 Kings ix. 25. shows that the precept of Exod. xxiii. 14. respecting the three great feasts was duly observed. The declining of the Levites, too, as a body, to sanction Jeroboam's proceedings, 1 Kings xii. 31., testifies to the recognized authority of the law. That the Mosaic law was known and had in regard, even in the kingdom of the ten tribes, is manifest from the history of Elijah and Elisha. The address to Ahab, 1 Kings xvii. 1., contains a threat in accordance with Lev. xxvi. 19.; Deut. xi. 16, 17., xxviii. 23. Elijah's sacrifice on Carmel, 1 Kings xviii. 23, 33., agrees with the order described Lev. i. 6—8.; and the decision is of the same kind, vv. 22—24, 38., as that Lev. ix. 23, 24. Naboth's refusal to sell his inheritance, 1 Kings xxi. 3., depends on Lev. xxv. 23.; Numb. xxxvi. 7.; the mode of proceeding against him, v. 10., on Numb. xxxv. 30.; Deut. xvii. 6., xix. 15.; the accusation and execution, v. 13., on Exod. xxii. 28.; Deut. xiii. 10., xvii. 5. Micaiah's expression, 1 Kings xxii. 17., alludes to Numb. xxvii. 16, 17. The words פִּי שְׁנַיִם, 2 Kings ii. 9., are taken from Deut. xxi. 17.: comp. also 2 Kings iii. 19. with Deut. xx. 19, 20.; v. 20. with Exod. xxix. 38, 39.; 2 Kings iv. 1. with Lev. xxv. 39, 40.; v. 16. with Gen. xviii. 10, 14.; v. 42. with Lev. ii. 14.; Deut. xviii. 4. (the priests and Levites having attached themselves to the kingdom of Judah, the offerings in the kingdom of Israel would naturally fall to the prophets): 2 Kings v. 7. refers to Gen. xxx. 2.; Deut. xxxii. 39.: 2 Kings vi. 28., &c., is the fulfilment of Lev. xxvi. 29.; Deut. xxviii. 53, 57. In 2 Kings vii. 2, 19. the expression used seems to allude to Gen. vii. 11., viii. 2. The treatment of the lepers, vv. 3., &c., is in exact accordance with the Mosaic law, Lev. xiii. 46.; Numb. v. 3. See the law mentioned 2 Kings x. 31.; the "testimony" given to Joash at his coronation, 2 Kings xi. 12.; also xiv. 6., where Deut. xxiv. 16. is expressly quoted as the reason of Amaziah's conduct in regard to the families of those who had slain his father Joash; and at last the original copy of the law found in the temple, 2 Kings xxii. 8., &c.[1]

So far as regards the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, there is no question: the Pentateuch, it is allowed on all hands, is referred to in them.

Among the prophets, there is the same perpetual reference to the law: its language is adopted, its predictions continued and amplified. And this is true of those both of Judah and Israel. Thus, Obadiah, by some thought the most ancient of the minor prophets, uses an

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 34.; Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. i. vol. i. pp. 169—212.; Hävernick, Einleitung, §§ 138, 139. I. ii. pp. 516—540.. Introduction, §§ 34, 35. pp. 390—413.

expression שִׂים קִנֶּךָ, v. 4., which alludes to Numb. xxiv. 21., and exhibits a new realization, vv. 17—19., of the prophecy contained in Numb. xxiv. 18, 19. Joel evidently pre-supposes the existence of the Levitical rites, and has several references to the Pentateuch. See a verbal agreement between ii. 2. and Exod. x. 14.; comp. also ii. 3. with Gen. xiii. 10.; ii. 13. with Exod. xxxii. 13., xxxiv. 6.; ii. 23. with Deut. xi. 13, 14.; ii. 30. with Deut. vi. 22. In Isaiah there are many references to the Pentateuch. Thus, the beginning, i. 2—4., seems based on Deut. xxxii.: in vv. 5—9. there are allusions to the threatenings of Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii.: vv. 10—17. refer to the sacrifices and feasts prescribed in the law, and the justice therein commanded especially towards widows and orphans. Comp. also iii. 9. with Gen. xix. 5.; xi. 15, 16. with Exod. xiv.: and the song of praise in xii. with Exod. xv. In xxiv. 18. there is a verbal agreement with Gen. vii. 11. The words in which the people are charged, xxx. 9., closely resemble those in Deut. xxxii. 6, 20.: and xxx. 17. is parallel, as Gesenius remarks, to Lev. xxvi. 8. and Deut. xxxii. 30. In the book of Micah there are plain allusions to the Pentateuch: i. 7. refers to Deut. xxiii. 18.: v. 6. "the land of Nimrod," is from Gen. x. 10.: v. 7. resembles Deut. xxxii. 2.; vi. 1, 2. Deut. xxxii. 1.; v. 4., Exod. xiii. 3., xx. 2.: v. 5. is based on Numb. xxii.—xxiv.: v. 8 seems an absolute quotation of Deut. x. 12.; and vv. 13—16 are a compendious repetition of the threatenings of Lev. xxvi.; Deut. xxviii. In Nahum, i. 2. describes God like Exod. xx. 5.; Deut. iv. 24., v. 9.: v. 3 exactly resembles Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.; Numb. xiv. 17, 18. In Habakkuk, besides other allusions, we have iii. 3. nearly similar to Deut. xxxiii. 2. In Zephaniah, comp. i. 13. with Deut. xxviii. 30, 39.; vv. 15, 16. with Exod. xx. 18.; Deut. v. 22.; v. 17. with Deut. xxviii. 29.; v. 18 with Deut. xxxii. 21, 22.; iii. 5. with Deut. xxxii. 4.; v. 19. with Deut. xxvi. 17—19. Jeremiah and Ezekiel, by the confession of De Wette, show a distinct acquaintance with the Pentateuch[1]: comp. Jer. iv. 23. with Gen. i. 2.; v. 19. with Gen. xv. 13.; xi. 4. with Deut. iv. 20.; xxiii. 17. with Deut. xxix. 19.; xxxii. 18. with Exod. xx. 5, 6.; xxxiv. 14. with Exod. xxi. 2.; Deut. xv. 12.; xlviii. 45. with Numb. xxi. 28. Comp. also Ezek. xviii. 7. with Deut. xxiv. 11., &c.; xx. 5. with Exod. vi. 3., &c.; vv. 6, 15. with Exod. iii. 8.; v. 11. with Lev. xviii. 5.; xxii. 26. with Lev. x. 10.; xliv. 20., &c. with Lev. xxi. 2., &c.; v. 28. with Numb. xviii. 20.

In those prophets who lived in the kingdom of the ten tribes we find similar references. In Amos there is a threatening, ii. 4., against Judah for despising the law of the Lord: also ii. 7. depends on Exod. xxiii. 6.; Lev. xx. 3.; Deut. xvi. 19., xxiv. 17., xxvii. 18, 19.; v. 8. on Exod. xxii. 25, 26.; Deut. xxiv. 12., &c.; v. 9. on Numb. xiii. 32, 33.; v. 10. on Deut. xxix. 5.; vv. 11, 12. on Numb. vi. 3.; Deut. xviii. 15.; iii. 2. on Deut. xiv. 2.; iv. 4, 5. on Lev. ii. 11., vii. 12., xxii. 18., &c.; Numb. xxviii. 3.; Deut. xiv. 28., xxvi. 12.; vv. 9, 10. on Lev. xxvi. 25.; Deut. xxviii. 22, 27.; v. 11. on Deut. xxix. 22, 23. ; v. 11 on Deut. xxviii. 30, 39. It is clear from v. 21, 22. that

[1] Einleitung, § 162 b. p. 201.

the sacrifices prescribed by the law were customarily offered. The prophet's intercession for the people resembles that of Moses, Exod. xxxii. 9—14.; Numb. xiv. 11., &c. In chap. ix., v. 3. alludes to Numb. xxi. 6.; v. 8. to Deut. vi. 15.; v. 12. to Deut. xxviii. 9, 10.; v. 14. to Deut. xxx. 3. In Hosea we also find numerous allusions to the Pentateuch; as i. 10. to Gen. xxii. 17., xxxii. 12.; v. 11. to Exod. i. 10.; ii. 8. to Deut. vii. 13., xi. 14.; v. 17. to Exod. xxiii. 13.; iii. 1. to Deut. vii. 8., xxxi. 18.; iv. 10. to Lev. xxvi. 26.; v. 6. to Exod. x. 9.; v. 14. to Deut. xxxii. 39.; ix. 4. to Deut. xxvi. 14.; v. 10. to Numb. xxv. 3.; Deut. xxxii. 10. In chaps. xi. xii. there are also many references to Israelitish history, as recorded in Genesis and Exodus; and xii. 9. may be specially noticed as demolishing the notion of those writers, who, from an erroneous interpretation of Neh. viii. 17., maintain that the feast of tabernacles was not observed from the days of Joshua to the return from Babylon.[1]

The poetical parts of the Old Testament also contain references to the Pentateuch. Thus Psal. viii. refers to Gen. i. 26., &c.; xix. to Gen. i. 6—8.; xxiv. 1, 2. to Gen. i. 2, 9, 10, 22.; xxxiii. 6. to Gen. ii. 1. In xxix. 10., xxxiii. 7., and elsewhere, are allusions to the deluge. The history of the patriarchs is referred to xlvii. 9., lx. 9. (comp. Gen. xlix. 10.; Numb. xxiv. 18.); cv., cx. 4., and elsewhere. The law is frequently spoken of generally, as in i., xix., cxix. &c.; and in xl. 7., as a written document. Individual laws are mentioned, see xv. 5., compared with Exod. xxii. 25.; li. 7. with Lev. xiv. 4—7.; Numb. xix. 6, 18.: sacrifices are referred to, as xl. 6., l. 8., li. 19., lxvi. 13—15., cxvi. 14—18.[2] The book of Proverbs pre-supposes the existence of the law; as, though there are but few verbal allusions to it, it is the fruit of reflection on the divine revelation made therein. Prov. viii. 22., &c., may be compared with Gen. i.; and xxxi. 3. with Deut. xvii. 17.[3] In fine, in the book of Job it is said that there are references to the Pentateuch. Some are verbal allusions: comp. v. 14. with Deut. xxviii. 29.; xxxi. 11. with Lev. xviii. 17., xx. 14. Comp. also iv. 19., and x. 9. with Gen. iii. 7, 19.; vi. 27. and xxiv. 2—4, 9., &c. with Exod. xxii. 20. (E. V. 21.), &c.; Lev. xxv. 35., &c.; Deut. xix. 14., xxvii. 17., &c.; xii. 7—10. with Gen. i. 20—25., and ix. 2.; xxii. 6. with Exod. xxii. 26.; Deut. xxiv. 6, 10—14.; xxvii. 3. with Gen. ii. 7.; and xxxi. 26, 27. with Deut. iv. 19., xvii. 3.[4] Of the Chronicles and post-exilian prophets it is unnecessary to speak.

A great many more allusions and proofs have been accumulated and reasoned upon by the writers referred to and by others.[5] It is true that many of these have been called fanciful and strained; and authors of another class have maintained that they show merely that information was current in Israel, deduced from tradition or from

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 34.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 141. I. ii. pp. 543—556., Introduction, § 37. pp. 416—428.; Hengstenberg, Dissertations, diss. i. vol. i. pp. 107—169.

[2] Jahn, Introduction to the Old Test., part ii. chap. i. § 6.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 142. I. ii. pp. 556—559., Introduction, § 38. pp. 429—431.

[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 34.

[4] Keil, Einleitung, § 124.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 294. III. p. 340.

[5] Among these may be mentioned Dr. Chalmers, Evidences of Christianity, book iv. chap. i. 10—15. (edit. Edin. 1855), pp. 392—403., where are some useful lists of references to the Pentateuch in the later books of both the Old and New Testaments.

the documents from which the Pentateuch was subsequently framed; and there are those that would have it as then first appearing in its present form when it was said to be found in the temple in Josiah's reign.[1] But it is impossible to conceive that a deliberate imposture (for such it would have been) was then palmed upon the nation by men like Josiah and Hilkiah, who were at that time specially anxious, by penitence and turning away from sin, to avert God's threatened judgments. Nor, had they been so minded, could they have ventured on an act of sacrilege which must have been immediately exposed. There is no proof that this was the only existing copy of the law; but, if it were, instances are not wanting, even in modern days, of the entire disappearance for a time of some book which, when a single copy has been found and brought to light, is at once easily recognized as the very original work, and no production of the finder.

But, surely, however some of the allusions above given may be excepted against, there is enough to show that the whole mind of Israel, as evidenced through all its literature, was impregnated with facts, and principles, and habits, and customs, which are narrated and prescribed in the Pentateuch, and that the other books are continually re-producing Pentateuch phraseology. It is not reasonable to confine the testimony so furnished to fragments, or to suppose that prophets based their solemn warnings, and kings constructed their political and religious observances on mere floating leaves, which had not been brought into anything like order or completeness or definite proportions. There must have been some finished work to which such allusions were made. And the Pentateuch is a whole, constructed on a plan, regularly developed, with its parts fitting to each other. If it were dismembered and separated into its so-called component portions, they would not be severally complete. It is true that writers like Hupfeld have endeavoured to prove the independence and completeness of the Elohistic and Jehovistic documents; but their own admission that the final editor has suppressed portions of these documents is fatal to their proof.[2] It is impossible to enter here into any detailed argument for the unity of the Pentateuch: the question has been fully treated by various authors, to whom the student must be referred.[3] It may just, however, be remarked that the completeness, original or factitious, must needs be very perfect, since for ages it was received as a whole, the acutest minds never detecting anything heterogeneous in its composition. That peculiarities, which have in later days been supposed to mark a diversity of authors, were perceived has been already confessed; but the conclusion which some modern critics have drawn from them was not guessed at.

[1] De Wette, Einleitung, § 162 a. p. 200. See Hävernick, Einleitung, § 139. I ii. pp. 534—540.

[2] Hupfeld's purpose is to show that a document is complete in itself. But, after eliminating it in the best way he can, he still has to confess that there are gaps in it. He is not, however, dismayed, and persists that *originally* there were no gaps, but that pieces were left out by the compiler when he had materials from other sources. Die Quellen der Genesis, p. 194. It is almost needless to observe that an ingenious man may by such a process of argument prove almost anything he chooses.

[3] Hävernick, Einleitung, § 110. I. ii. pp. 35—58., Introduction, § 6. pp. 23—44.; Keil, Einleitung, §§ 22, 32.

There are difficulties in the way of a late composition of the Pentateuch which it seems hard to solve. Why are archaic forms used through the whole, if the primary documents were of no great antiquity, and if the editor was later still? For example, we have האל for the later form האלה; and הוא and נער are used through the Pentateuch, even in Deuteronomy, which some regard as very late indeed, for both genders.[1] Hupfeld, who admits the fact, accounts for it by saying that the editor—that is, of the first four books—applied a harmonizing hand, and then that either he who annexed Deuteronomy was possessed with a wonderful passion (mit einer sonderbaren Grille) for uniformity, or perhaps the author himself had the fancy of imitating the phraseology of old books. And then, as it might be asked why persons so fond of harmonizing did not harmonize the names of the Deity, but left אֱלֹהִים here, and יְהֹוָה there, Dr. Hupfeld supposes that, as in later parlance both names were used, and were equally authorized, and as there was a presumption that אֱלֹהִים was introduced for special internal grounds, so it was felt that no change of this must be made.[2] He that is convinced by such reasoning must be easily convinced indeed.

There is a problem connected with the Pentateuch, which presents some difficulty under any aspect, and has had exercised upon it some of the keenest wits, but which, on the supposition of a late date, seems to become absolutely insurmountable. It is the absence of distinct enunciation of the soul's immortality. This is not the place to discuss the matter itself, or to show how far that which is not directly taught is deducible from the Pentateuch by inference. To the acknowledged facts as they lie before us our attention must be exclusively directed. If we read from Genesis through the history, the devotional poetry, the prophetical utterances of scripture, we see an orderly development. The future world, distant and darkly hinted at first, draws nearer and nearer: the veil is gradually lifted; and flashes of the inner glory shine more brightly forth. So that David could gaze upon the path of life, and anticipate the pleasures at God's right hand for evermore; while the prophets describe exultingly the spiritual and everlasting glories of Messiah's salvation. All is in order—the church advancing, God's purposes ripening, as the ages rolled on. But now put the Pentateuch in the time of the prophets, in David's time, and you have a vast anomaly. A compiler, sitting down to construct the guide-book of the nation, the laws and the ordinances and the covenant, even if he had used older documents (and these older documents are placed, as we have seen, by the new critics very late), could not have thrown back his mind, and have shut out that blessed light which was glowing round him. It is impossible to account for the phenomena of the Pentateuch in regard

[1] See other examples of peculiarities of speech found exclusively in the Pentateuch, in Kurtz, Einheit des Pent. p. 77, *note*. They are such as Tuch acknowledges: comp. Keil, Einleitung, § 32. p. 127.; Jahn, Introduction, part ii. chap. i. § 3. pp. 177—179.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 31. I. i. pp. 188., &c.

[2] Die Quellen der Genesis, p. 199.... so lässt sich das daraus erklären dass auch im spätern Sprachgebrauch beide Namen nebeneinander bestehn, also gleichberechtigt erscheinen, und אלהים die Vermuthung für sich hatte aus bestimmten inneren Gründen gesetzt zu sein, so dass es unantastbar für ihn wurde. The words are worth preserving.

to the great doctrine of the soul's immortality if you bring down its composition to a late period.

Other considerations there are of a similar kind which are not without their weight. The Pentateuch was the law-book of the Israelitish nation. Now any one who wants to form a digest of laws from earlier documents places them in order, strikes out those which have become obsolete, and condenses what he finds into a consistent whole. But in the Pentateuch we see laws given at one time, which are modified or added to, at another. This is so clearly the fact that an argument has been raised therefrom against the whole being the work of a single writer. That has been considered before: it may here be said that this fact is a proof of the antiquity, a proof that the laws were committed to writing as soon as they were promulgated. God, though acting miraculously, did not treat the Israelites as mere machines. They were to use the ordinary means of acquiring knowledge, they were to learn by experience. So that, though they had a divine conductor, yet Hobab, well acquainted with the country, would be of vast service to them, "instead of eyes," when they were encamping in the wilderness (Numb. x. 31.). And Moses was let to find the inconvenience of being sole judge (Exod. xviii. 13—26.), before he was led to appoint inferior magistrates, an appointment which the Lord fully sanctioned. So it was on occasion of Zelophehad's leaving no sons that the general law was promulgated (Numb. xxvii. 8.), that a man's inheritance was to descend to his heirs female in default of male. No more was added. God left the people to find whether this was sufficient. And afterwards, on the representation of the elders of their tribe, a supplemental law was issued (Numb. xxxvi. 6.), that such females must marry only with their own tribe (comp. Numb. ix. 1—14.). It is hard to believe that we should find piece-meal legislation of this kind delivered by a writer who lived long after, when the law was complete.[1]

But the limits of this volume will allow no more to be said; and the matter must be summed up in a few closing words. The reasons produced for different opinions have been carefully weighed, and the great force of many of them is freely acknowledged. Still the conclusion seems irresistible for an early authorship — for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. If Moses could not relate his own death, so that some final addition had to be made, if there were documents existing before his time of which he might avail himself, he yet seems (it is the persuasion of the present editor) so to have written and modelled it as that he may fairly be called its author. The whole mass of external evidence is in favour of this. The succeeding writers of the Old Testament appear to confirm it. And there is the venerable authority of Christ himself, which cannot, without violence, be set aside. None of the objections taken from the internal structure seem conclusive. The alleged contradictions are not irreconcilable. The traces of a later date are not convincing. The narratives of the Pentateuch are literally true. The miracles it records were actually performed. The voice of God really uttered the

[1] It may be remarked, also, that it is in the highest degree improbable that the threat of destroying Israel, and raising up a new nation in the posterity of Moses, Numb. xiv., would proceed from a late writer.

precepts which are attributed to him. So that thus, by Moses's hand, was laid the first stone of that edifice of God's word which hath grown into the fair proportions in which we now enjoy a completed bible.[1]]

CHAPTER II.

ON THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

THIS division of the sacred writings comprises twelve books; viz. from Joshua to Esther inclusive: the first seven of these books are, by the Jews, called the *former prophets*, probably because they treat of the more ancient periods of Jewish history [2], and because they are most justly supposed to be written by prophetical men. The events recorded in these books occupy a period of almost one thousand years, which commences at the death of Moses, and terminates with the great national reform effected by Nehemiah, after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity.

It is evident, from an examination of the historical books, that they are collections from the authentic records of the Jewish nation; and it should seem that, though the substance of the several histories was written under divine direction, when the events were fresh in memory, and by persons who were evidently contemporary with the transactions which they have narrated, yet that under the same direction they were disposed in the form, in which they have been transmitted to us, by some other person, long afterwards, and probably all by the same hand, and about the same time. Nothing, indeed, is more certain than that very ample memoirs or records of the Hebrew republic were written from the first commencement of the theocracy, to which the authors of these books very frequently refer. Such a practice is necessary in a well-constituted state: we have evidence from the sacred writings that it anciently obtained among the heathen nations (compare Esther ii. 23. and vi. 1.); and there is evident proof that it likewise prevailed among the Israelites from the very beginning of their polity (See Exod. xvii. 14.). Hence it is that we find such frequent references to the Chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah in the books of Samuel and Kings, and also to the books of Gad, Nathan, and Iddo.

The historical books are of very great importance for the right understanding of some other parts of the Old Testament: those portions, in particular, which treat on the life and reign of David, furnish a very instructive key to many of his psalms; and the prophetical books derive much light from these histories. But the attention of the sacred writers was not wholly confined to the Jewish people: they have given us many valuable, though incidental, notices concerning the state of the surrounding nations; and the value of these notices is

[1] See Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Pentateuch; comp. also Macdonald, Creation and the Fall, part i. pp. 9, &c.; and Rawlinson, Hist. Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records, lect. ii. pp. 36—78.

[2] On the Jewish divisions of the canon of scripture, see before, pp. 34, 35.

very materially enhanced by the consideration, that, until the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the two latest Jewish historians, little or no dependence can be placed upon the relations of heathen writers.[1] But these books are to be considered not merely as a history of the Jewish church: they also clearly illustrate the proceedings of God towards the children of men, and form a perpetual comment on the declaration of the royal sage, that "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people" (Prov. xiv. 34.). While they exhibit a mournful and impartial view of the depravity of the human heart, and thus prove that "man is very far gone from original righteousness," they at the same time show "the faithfulness of God to his promises, the certain destruction of his enemies, and his willingness to extend mercy to the returning penitent. They manifest, also, the excellency of true religion, and its tendency to promote happiness in this life, as well as in that which is to come; and they furnish us with many prophetical declarations, the striking fulfilment of which is every way calculated to strengthen our faith in the word of God."

[Keil well remarks that a theocratic principle is to be observed in the historical books. The covenant with Israel, and the rule of their life, private and national, had been laid down in the book of the law; and now there must be set forth the result of faithfulness or unfaithfulness to the divine commands by word and fact; so that the annals of the chosen people simply unfold the historical realization of the divine plan previously sketched out in the law. The form in which we find the historical books has been regulated by this principle. Of some persons and things the notice is scanty, of others comprehensive and detailed. This arose not from the plenty or the paucity of materials, but from the suitableness or otherwise of occurrences to subserve the theocratic purpose. Hence the authors are in the background: they do not introduce their own feelings or opinions: they pass no judgment on the persons whose story they narrate, and leave the moral worth of their doings to be estimated by results. The summaries of character of the Israelitish monarchs to be found in the books of Kings are well-nigh the only exception.[2]]

SECTION II.

ON THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

I. *Author, genuineness, and credibility of this book.*—II. *Argument.*—III. *Scope and design.*—IV. *Synopsis of its contents.*—V. *Observations on the book of Jasher mentioned in Joshua* x. 13., *and the miracle there recorded.*

I. THE book of Joshua, which in all the copies of the Old Testament immediately follows the Pentateuch, is thus denominated,

[1] Herodotus and Thucydides, the two most ancient profane historians extant, were contemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah, and could not write with any certainty of events much before their own time. Bishop Stillingfleet has admirably proved the obscurity, defects, and uncertainty of all ancient profane history, in the first book of his Origines Sacræ, pp. 1—65. 8th edit. folio. [Late researches are, however, adding certainty to the history of various ancient nations, and producing additional confirmation of the credit of the sacred writers.]

[2] See Keil, Einleitung, § 40. pp. 160—164.

because it contains a narration of the achievements of Joshua the son of Nun, who had been the minister of Moses, and succeeded him in the command of the children of Israel; but by whom this book was written is a question concerning which learned men are by no means agreed.

1. From the absence of Chaldee words, and others of a later date, some are of opinion, not only that the book is of very great antiquity, but also that it was composed by Joshua himself. Of this opinion were several of the fathers, and the talmudical writers, and, among the moderns, Gerhard, Diodati, Huet, Alber, Bishops Patrick, Tomline, and Gray, and Dr. A. Clarke, who ground their hypothesis principally upon the following arguments:—

(1.) Joshua is said (xxiv. 26.) to have written the transactions there recorded *in the book of the law of God;* so that the book which bears his name forms a continuation of the book of Deuteronomy, the last chapter of which they think was written by Joshua. But, if we examine the context of the passage just cited, we shall find that it refers, not to the entire book, but solely to the renewal of the covenant with Jehovah by the Israelites.

(2.) In the passage (xxiv. 29., &c.), where the death and burial of Joshua are related, the style differs from the rest of the book, in the same manner as the style of Deut. xxxiv. varies, in which the decease and burial of Moses are recorded; and Joshua is here called, as Moses is in Deuteronomy, *the servant of God,* which plainly proves that this passage was added by a later hand.

(3.) The author intimates (v. 1.) that he was one of those who passed into Canaan.

(4.) The whole book breathes the spirit of the law of Moses; which is a strong argument in favour of its having been written by Joshua, the particular servant of Moses.

The last three of these arguments are by no means destitute of weight, but they are opposed by others which show that the book, as we now have it, is not coëval with the transactions it records. Thus, we read in Josh. xv. 63. that the children of Judah could not drive out the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, *but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem to this day.* Now this joint occupation of Jerusalem by these two classes of inhabitants did not take place till after Joshua's death, when the children of Judah took that city (Judg. i. 8.); though the Jebusites continued to keep possession of the strong-hold of Zion, whence they were not finally expelled until the reign of David (2 Sam. v. 6—8.). The statement in Josh. iv. 9. (that the stones set up as a memorial of the passage of the Israelites over Jordan are standing *to this day*) was evidently added by some later writer. The same remark will apply to Josh. xv. 13—19. compared with Judg. i. 10—15.; Josh. xvi. 10. with Judg. i. 29.; and to Josh. xix. 47. collated with Judg. xviii. 29. Since, then, it appears from internal evidence that the book was not written by Joshua himself, the question recurs again, by whom was the book composed or compiled? Dr. Lightfoot ascribes it to Phinehas: Calvin thinks their conjecture most probable, who refer the writing

of this book, or at least the compilation of the history, to the high priest Eleazar (whose death is recorded in the very last verse of the book); because it was the high priest's duty not only to teach the people orally, but also by writing to instruct posterity in the ways of God.[1] Henry ascribes it to Jeremiah; and Moldenhawer[2] and Van Til[3], to Samuel. But, by whatever prophet or inspired writer this book was composed, it is evident from comparing Josh. xv. 63. with 2 Sam. v. 6—8. that it was written before the seventh year of David's reign, and, consequently, could not have been written by Ezra.

Further, if the book of Judges were not written later than the beginning of Saul's reign, as some eminent critics are disposed to think, or later than the seventh year of David's reign, which is the opinion of others, the book of Joshua must necessarily have been written *before* one or other of those dates, because the author of the book of Judges not only repeats some things verbatim from Joshua[4], and slightly touches upon others which derive illustration from it[5], but also, in two several instances (Judg. i. 1. and ii. 6—8.), commences his narrative from the death of Joshua, which was related in the close of the preceding book. If the book of Joshua had not been previously extant, the author of Judges would have begun his history from the occupation and division of the land of Canaan, which was suitable to his design in writing that book.

[It is clear that there were some circumstances which Joshua himself (xxiv. 26.) committed to writing. It seems also clear that some part at least of this book was written by a contemporary. For, not to dwell upon v. 1, 6., since the reading in the first verse is doubtful, and both may be explained in a different manner, the statement that Rahab was still dwelling in Israel (vi. 25.) is decisive that this record was made no long time after the Israelites had entered Canaan. Some of the reasons, however, above produced seem to negative the belief that the book in its present condition was of that early date, or could have been altogether composed by Joshua himself. But we must take care to distinguish the arguments which are really weighty, and we must examine to what portions of the book they apply. It is not enough to reckon up passages in which the expression "to this day" may be found; as it is clear (*e.g.* xxii. 3, 17., xxiii. 8, 9.) that it occurs sometimes to designate but a short period, a few years of a man's life.[6] Of course Joshua did not write xxiv. 29.; still the appellation "servant of the Lord" is one that might easily be assumed by a man speaking of himself (see Gen. l. 17., where Joseph's brethren use it, and in the New Testament, James i. 1.[7]). But to the chaps. xiii.—xxi. inclusive the reasons pro-

[1] Calvin, Proleg. in Jos. Op. tom. i. *in fine.* This great reformer, however, leaves the question undetermined, as being at most conjectural and uncertain.

[2] Introd. ad Libros Canon. V. et N. Fœd. p. 36.

[3] Opus Analyticum, vol. i. p. 410.

[4] Judg. ii. 6—9. is repeated from Josh. xxiv. 28—31. and Judg. i. 29. from Josh. xvi. 10.

[5] Thus Judg. i. 10—15, 20. derives light from Josh. xv.

[6] See before, p. 592.

[7] The term "servant of the Lord," seems to have been a kind of official title, given to the prophets or those commissioned by God. See Keil, Einleitung, § 62. p. 223., also Commentary on the Book of Joshua (Martin's translation), pp. 61—63.: comp. 2 Kings xvii. 13.; Jer. vii. 25.; Amos iii. 7.

duced do apply; and it is also manifest that the passage xxiv. 29—33. is of a later date.

Now the book may be divided into its historical and geographical portions. In the history, chaps i.—xiii., there is no reason, from the contents, to doubt its early date: everything as narrated seems to indicate the pen of a contemporary. But then come the questions whether the geographical part can be assigned to the same hand, and whether it can be supposed of the same early date. Keil answers these questions in the affirmative. He argues strongly for the unity and completeness of the book. There is one leading idea, he believes, according to which the whole was composed and arranged. This is exhibited at the beginning, i. 2—9.; where a command and a promise are conjoined. Vv. 5—8. are a kind of table of contents; v. 5. showing how, by God's help, Canaan should be entirely subdued (i. 10—xii.); v. 6. pointing to its distribution among the tribes (xiii.—xxii.); vv. 7, 8. corresponding with the narrative of xxiii. xxiv. All the parts are closely linked together; the end of the first part, chap. xii., clearly preparing for an account of the division of the country, and the conclusion of the geographical sections referring back not only to xi. 23., but also to i. 2—6.; while the remaining chapters both are necessary to relate the return of the trans-Jordanic tribes to their own settlements and the close of Joshua's administration, and have also various references to what had preceded. The independent character of the book is also evidenced by the mention of the assignment of their lands to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, and of the appointment of the refuge cities among them; all of which had been narrated in the Pentateuch.[1]

Keil's conclusion is that, seeing the book is one organized whole, and seeing that there are in many parts unmistakable proofs of a contemporaneous hand, the whole was in all probability composed by one who witnessed the events he describes, viz. by one of the elders that overlived Joshua. He believes that, while in some cases, as before shown, the expression "unto this day" denotes only a period lying within Joshua's life-time, it in no case requires us to suppose a longer time than the life of one who had entered Canaan in the vigour of manhood, and who, therefore, might survive Joshua and Eleazar many years. It is perfectly clear, as noted above, from xv. 63., that the statement there made must have been penned before the seventh year of David's reign, when he took Jerusalem, subduing and expelling the Jebusites. This is the latest limit for the book, and that it was earlier than David's time would seem probable for the following reasons, besides those already adduced. According to xi. 8., xix. 28., Sidon appears to have been the Phœnician metropolis; whereas, under David, Tyre had evidently obtained the supremacy. Again, according to xiii. 4—6., it seems that the Phœnicians were to be expelled; whereas, in David's time, a close alliance, quite under the divine sanction, subsisted between the Hebrew monarch and the king of Tyre.

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 43.: comp. his Commentary on Joshua (Martin's translation), Introduction, pp. 29, 30.

It has, however, been thought that there are traces of later forms of speech in the book of Joshua. Thus we have עָבוּר, v. 11, 12., which is nowhere else met with; נְכָסִים, xxii. 8., occurring elsewhere only 2 Chron. i. 11, 12.; Eccl. v. 18., vi. 2. But these are really the sole (so-called) proofs of a late origin. For the use of the article for the relative, x. 24. (comp. Gen. xviii. 21., xxi. 3., &c.), the employment of בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן (v. 1., ix. 1., xii. 7.), and מֵעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן, for the country on *this* side the Jordan, אוֹתְכֶם (xxiii. 15.) for אֶתְכֶם, אוֹתִי (xiv. 12.) for אֹתִי, may, for the most part, be paralleled in the Pentateuch. הִשְׂכִּיל (i. 7, 8.) is said to be used in the sense of "being prosperous" erroneously (comp. Gen. iii. 6.); and הִמְסִיו (xiv. 8.) is not necessarily a Chaldaism: it is rather the regular earliest form, which the Hebrew afterwards lost and the Chaldee retained. Keil, therefore, altogether rejects the alleged reasons for a late date; and, while he considers that there is a perceptible difference between the language here and that of the Pentateuch[1], he maintains that there are unmistakable proofs that this is one of the most ancient books of the Bible. Thus the *scriptio defectiva* predominates. Also, יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת is not found in this book. It appears for the first time in 1 Sam. i. 3, 11., iv. 4., and very frequently afterwards. We have nowhere מַלְכוּת, which appears 1 Sam. xx. 31.; Ps. xlv. 7., but מַמְלָכָה and מַמְלְכוּת; this last word never occurring in later works, save in Jer. xxvi. 1. The prefix שֶׁ is nowhere found; but it appears in the song of Deborah, and also in Judg. vii. 12., connected with a phrase used Josh. xi. 4., and adopted probably in both cases from the Pentateuch (see Gen. xxii. 17., xxxii. 13., xli. 49.). The suffix ־ָהֶם occurs but three times (xi. 6, 9., xviii. 21.); while the earlier form ־ָם is frequently met with.[2]

Probability is all that in such a case can be attained; and perhaps it will be admitted that the considerations here adduced afford no inconsiderable amount of probability for the early composition of the book. If, however, the reasons already touched, or hereafter to be mentioned, be thought to modify such a conclusion, we must, as already shown, at least believe that this book was written not later than the earlier years of David. And in that case the expressions which seem to proceed from an eye-witness formed part of some original document, inserted with little or no alteration by the subsequent compiler.

De Wette and others have applied to this book the principle on hich they have insisted with regard to the Pentateuch. They imagine that they see traces of an Elohistic document, and additions made afterward by a Deuteronomist.[3] Such writers detect, as they believe, a difference of style, not to be accounted for by the difference of subject and scope, now narration, now geographical description. They also allege various discrepancies or contradictions which they suppose could not have proceeded from one pen. *Some* of these shall be briefly examined.

[1] Jericho is in the Pentateuch יְרֵחוֹ, in Joshua יְרִיחוֹ: Keil gives various other examples of a different phraseology, indicating not quite such antiquity in Joshua.

[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 44., Comm. on Joshua, Introd. pp. 30., &c.

[3] De Wette, Einleitung, § 168.

Joshua is said to have subdued the entire country (xi. 16—23., xii. 7., &c.: comp. xxi. 43., &c., xxii. 4.). And yet much of it is said to be yet unconquered (xiii. 1., &c.: comp. xvii. 14., &c., xviii. 3., xxiii. 5, 12.). But there is no real discrepancy. The whole land, according to the original promise, was to be given to Israel; and Joshua by his victories substantially obtained possession of it. Here, however, as in all territorial conquests, after great campaigns are decided, there would remain petty wars of detail; and it was not possible for the Israelites at once to disseminate themselves through every corner of the country. There were left, therefore, fortresses and fastnesses still held by the Canaanites, which it would take a long time thoroughly to reduce. Joshua, however, in his division of the land, made no account of these portions. The limitation of a general statement is not a contradiction of it.

Again, the narrative, x. 36, 38., xi. 21., is said to be contradicted by xiv. 12., xv. 14, 17. (comp. Judg. i. 10, 11.). But the reply is similar to the preceding. Joshua rooted out the Anakim wherever he met with them; but they were not so entirely exterminated, but that they again made head till Caleb finally destroyed them.[1]

Further, the kings of Jerusalem, Gezer, and other places are enumerated as smitten or slain, xii. 10, 12, 16, 21, 23.; and yet it seems that afterwards these cities had not been conquered (see Judg. i. 21.; Josh. xvi. 10.; Judg. i. 29, 22.; Josh. xvii. 11, 12.; Judg. i. 27.). But there is a great difference between smiting the kings, and getting possession of their territories. And, when it is said (xii. 7.) that Joshua assigned these cities to the tribes, it by no means follows that they possessed them immediately, or that the original inhabitants did not regain a temporary power in them.

An objection is further made, that, according to i. 6., xi. 23., xii. 7., xiii. 7., xiv. 1—5., the natural course was after the conquest to proceed to the regular division of the land. Whereas, when Judah, Ephraim, and the half-tribe of Manasseh had received their respective shares (xv.—xvii.) there is a pause, alleged to be through the slackness of the people (xviii. 3.): at length the division is resumed at another place, viz. Shiloh (xviii. 1., xix. 5.); and then the former allotment is modified and altered. The elucidation of these points belongs rather to a commentary than to a work like the present. It is enough to say that they involve no contradiction, and furnish no reason why all these statements should not have proceeded from the same author. The student is referred for a full discussion to Keil's Commentary upon Joshua.[2]

De Wette coolly makes out a contradiction between the fact, that, according to i.—ix. Joshua headed the tribes collectively in war (i. 12., &c., iv. 12. xxii.); whereas, according to Judg. i. 1., &c., and also Josh. xvii. 14., &c., the tribes fought individually. Caleb fought for himself (xv. 13—19.), as did the Danites (xix. 47.).[3] He has not chosen to see that these separate conquests were not made till after

[1] See Keil, Comm. on Joshua, chap. x. 36, 37., pp. 273—275.
[2] On chap. xiv., pp. 343—351.
[3] Einleitung, § 167. pp. 209, 210.

the division of the land; some of them, indeed, not till Joshua was dead.[1] Besides, the history of every war will present instances of separate expeditions, even though the whole may be directed mainly by one chief, who is at the head of the principal force.

Other objections are trifling, such as that the law was in thorough supremacy, iii. 3., &c., v. 1—12., viii. 33., &c. &c.; and yet, xxiv. 33., the existence of idolatry is mentioned. Of course, even in the best-regulated state (such is the tendency of men's hearts to evil), there will be individual instances of disobedience to God's law. And very soon, as we find afterwards, wide-spread corruption debased Israel. Again, xviii. 1., the tabernacle was set up at Shiloh; yet we find a sanctuary at Shechem, xxiv. 25, 26. But בְּמִקְדַּשׁ in the last-named verse may very properly be taken to mean the place there hallowed by Abraham (Gen. xii. 6, 7.).

As to the diversities of style above mentioned, it is alleged that שֵׁבֶט is used for *tribe* in the historical sections, as iii. 12., iv. 2., &c.; while מַטֶּה is the usual word in the geographical portions, as xiii. 15, 24., &c. &c. Keil accounts for this by the different significations of the two words, the first meaning the rod of a superior, a sceptre, while מַטֶּה, from נָטָה, to spread out, conveys the idea of a branch that has grown from a trunk. So that it is used where the tribes are considered as branches of the same people; שֵׁבֶט where they are regarded as corporate independent bodies. It has been denied, however, that the use is always in accordance with this rule. But, as שֵׁבֶט is sometimes found in a geographical (xiii. 33.), and מַטֶּה in a historical section (vii. 1., xxii. 1.), no great stress can be laid upon the usage for one side or another.

The word מַחְלֹקֶת is said to occur only in the historical portions of the book, xi. 23., xii. 7., xviii. 10.: the last, however, is in a geographical section; and there does not seem to be elsewhere any proper occasion on which this (not common) word could have been properly introduced.

Other peculiarities of diction have been alleged as indicating different sources, but these must be considered as of less weight than the general diversity of style which is said to mark the various portions — a completeness and roundness in the one, a feebler and less compacted structure in the other. That there is some diversity must certainly be allowed. Whether the difference of topics before adverted to be a sufficient explanation of it, critics are not likely to agree.[2] Hävernick maintains the unity of the first part, i.—xii.; but he supposes afterwards a combination of fragments, and is inclined to place the second part of Joshua later than the book of Judges. He dwells strongly upon the trustworthiness of the record, and observes circumstances which tend to show that contem-

[1] Browne, Ordo Sæclorum (Lond. 1844) takes a different view. He believes that separate expeditions began after the northern campaign (chap. xi. 1., &c.), and regards the victory of Caleb (xv. 13., &c.) as contemporaneous with Joshua's destruction of the Anakim, (xi. 21., &c.). His disquisition on the chronology of Joshua is well worth consulting, chap. v. sect. iii. pp. 273—280.

[2] For fuller discussion of the subject touched upon above, see Keil, Einleitung, § 43., and Comm. on Joshua, Introd. § 2. pp. 3—30.; also Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Joshua.

porary documents were used. The apportionment to Judah (chap. xv.), from which Simeon's lot (chap. xix.) was afterwards taken, is one of this kind. Had not the original document been employed, cities would not have been enumerated as belonging to Judah which were in a few years transferred to Simeon.[1]

2. It must at least be acknowledged, from the following considerations, that] the book of Joshua was compiled from ancient, authentic, and contemporary documents: —

(1.) The example of Moses, who committed to writing the transactions of his own time, leads us to expect that some continuation would necessarily be made, not only to narrate the signal fulfilment of those promises which had been given to the patriarchs, but also to preserve an account of the division of the land of Canaan among the particular tribes, as a record for future ages, and thus prevent disputes and civil wars, which might have arisen, had there been no document of acknowledged authority.

(2.) This remark is corroborated by express testimony; for in Josh. xviii. we not only read that the great captain of the Israelites caused a survey of the land to be made and *described* in a book, but in xxiv. 25. the author relates that Joshua committed to writing an account of the renewal of the covenant with God; whence it is justly inferred that the other transactions of this period were preserved in some authentic and contemporaneous document or commentary.

(3.) Without some such document the author of this book could not have specified the limits of each tribe with so much minuteness, nor have related with accuracy the discourses of Caleb (Josh. xiv. 6—12.); neither could he have correctly related the discourses of Phinehas and the delegates who acccompanied him, to the tribes beyond Jordan (Josh. xxii. 16—20.), nor the discourses of the tribes themselves (xxii. 21—30.), nor of Joshua (xxiii. and xxiv.); nor could he have so arranged the whole, as to be in perfect harmony with the law of Moses.

(4.) Without a contemporaneous and authentic document, the author would not have expressed himself, as in v. 1., as if he had been present in the transactions which he has related, nor would he have written, as he has done in vi. 25., that "she dwelleth in Israel *unto this* day."[2] To these proofs may be added the following; viz.

(5.) "Without the existence of contemporaneous and authoritative records, the allotment of thirteen cities to the priests (xxi. 13—19.) would have been nugatory. Aaron's family could not have been, at the time of the allotment, sufficiently numerous to occupy those cities. But it is altogether unlikely that these, with the adjoining lands, were left entirely unoccupied in expectation of their future owners. To afford security, therefore, to the sacerdotal family for their legitimate rights, when they should be in a condition to claim them, some document contemporaneous with the appropriation must have existed. Without such a document, innumerable

[1] Einleitung, §§ 150, 152. II. i. pp. 22., &c. 54., &c.
[2] Jahn and Akermann, Introd. in Libros Sacros Vet. Fœd. part ii. §§ 25—28.

disputes must have arisen, whenever they attempted to claim their possessions."[1]

3. Equally clear is it that the author of this book has made his extracts from authentic documents with religious fidelity, and, consequently, it is worthy of credit; for,

(1.) In the first place, he has *literally* copied the speeches of Caleb, Phinehas, of the tribes beyond Jordan, and of Joshua, and in other passages has so closely followed his authority, as to write in v. 1. *until we were passed over*, and in vi. 25. that Rahab "dwelleth in Israel *unto this day*." Hence, also, the tribes are not mentioned in the geographical order in which their respective territories were situate, but according to the order pursued in the original document, namely, according to the order in which they received their tracts of land by lot (Josh. xv.—xix.). Lastly, in conformity to his original document, the author has made no honourable mention of Joshua until after his death; whence it is highly probable that the commentary, from which this book was compiled, was originally written by Joshua himself.

(2.) This book was received as authentic by the Jews in that age when the author's fidelity could be subjected to the test of examination; and,

(3.) Several of the transactions related in the book of Joshua are recorded by other sacred writers with little or no material variations: thus, we find the conquest and division of Canaan, mentioned by Asaph (Psal. lxxviii. 53—55. compared with Psal. xliv. 2—4.); the slaughter of the Canaanites by David (Psal. lxviii. 13—15.); the division of the waters of Jordan (Psal. cxiv. 1—5.; Hab. iii. 8.); the terrible tempest of hailstones after the slaughter of the southern Canaanites (Hab. iii. 11—13. compared with Josh. x. 9—11.); and the setting up of the tabernacle at Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1.), in the books of Judges (xviii. 31.), and Samuel (1 Sam. i. 3, 9, 24. and iii. 21.). [There are also references to this book in the New Test.: see Acts vii. 45.; Heb. iii. 5., iv. 8, xi. 30, 31.; James ii. 25.]

(4.) Lastly, everything related in the book of Joshua not only accurately corresponds with the age in which he lived, but is further confirmed by the traditions current among heathen nations; some of which have been preserved by ancient and profane historians of undoubted character.[2] Thus there are ancient monuments extant, which prove that the Carthaginians were a colony of Tyrians who escaped from Joshua; as also that the inhabitants of Leptis in Africa came originally from the Sidonians, who abandoned their country on account of the calamities with which it was overwhelmed.[3] The fable of the Phœnician Hercules originated in the history of Joshua[4];

[1] Rev. Dr. Turner's and Mr. Whittingham's translation of Jahn's Introduction, p. 227. New York, 1827.

[2] See particularly Justin, lib. xxxvi. c. 2., and Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. cc. 2, 3. On the falsely-alleged contradictions between the sacred and profane historians, see before, pp. 489., &c.

[3] Allix, Reflections upon the Books of the Old Testament, chap. ii., in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. i. p. 354.

[4] Procopius, Vandal. lib. ii. c. 10., cites a Phœnician inscription; containing a passage which he has translated into Greek, to the following purport: *We are they who flee from*

and the overthrow of Og the king of Bashan, and of the Anakim who were called giants, is considered as having given rise to the fable of the overthrow of the giants. The tempest of hailstones mentioned in Josh. x. 11. was transformed by the poets into a tempest of stones, with which (they pretend) Jupiter overwhelmed the enemies of Hercules in Arim, which is exactly the country where Joshua fought with the children of Anak.[1]

The Samaritans are by some writers supposed to have received the book of Joshua; but this opinion appears to have originated in mistake. They have indeed two books extant, bearing the name of Joshua. [One is a chronicle written in Arabic. It was first made known in Europe by Scaliger, who in 1584 had a copy from the Samaritans in Egypt. Not much notice, however, was taken of it, till Juynboll printed it at Leyden, 1848, with a Latin version, notes, and a prefixed dissertation. It contains a legendary history of Joshua, and Samaritan traditions intermixed with Jewish and Mohammedan *hagadas*. It comes down to the time of Theodosius the Great, and seems to have been compiled in the thirteenth century. The other book is written in the Samaritan dialect, re-producing the substance of the Hebrew Joshua in a free translation, and is modified according to the Samaritan dogmas. It was composed by a Samaritan resident in Egypt, who used the LXX. version of Joshua, and a history of the Hebrews under Moses and Joshua, which is mentioned by Aristobulus.[2]]

II. The book of Joshua comprises the history of about seventeen years, or, according to some chronologers, of twenty-seven or thirty years: "it is one of the most important documents in the old covenant; and it should never be separated from the Pentateuch, of which it is at once both the continuation and the completion." The Pentateuch contains a history of the acts of the great Jewish legislator, and the laws upon which the Jewish church was to be established; and the book of Joshua relates the history of Israel under the command and government of Joshua, the conquest of Canaan, and its subsequent division among the Israelites; together with the provision made for the settlement and establishment of the Jewish church in that country.[3]

III. From this view of the argument of Joshua, we may easily perceive that the SCOPE and DESIGN of the inspired writer of this book was to demonstrate the faithfulness of God, in the perfect accomplishment of all his promises to the patriarchs, Abraham (Gen.

the face of Jesus (the Greek name of Joshua) *the robber, the son of Nave.* Suidas cites the inscription thus: *We are the Canaanites whom Jesus the robber expelled.* The difference between these two writers is not material, and may be accounted for by the same passage being differently rendered by different translators, or being quoted from memory, no unusual occurrence among profane writers. Comp. Polybius, Frag. cxiv.; Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin. c. xxii.

[1] Allix, Reflections, *ut supra.*; Huet, Demonstratio Evangelica, vol. i. pp. 273—282. (Amstel. 1680. 8vo.), or pp. 150, &c. (edit. Par. 1679). Some have supposed that the poetical fable of Phaëton was founded on the miracle of the sun standing still (Josh. x. 12—14.); but there does not appear to be any foundation for such an opinion.

[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 46.

[3] On the right of the Israelites to conquer Canaan, see Vol. I. p. 601.

xiii. 15.), Isaac (xxvi. 4.), Jacob (xxxv. 12.), and Joseph (l. 24.), and also to Moses (Exod. iii. 8.), that the children of Israel should obtain possession of the land of Canaan. At the same time we behold the divine power and mercy signally displayed in cherishing, protecting, and defending his people, amid all the trials and difficulties to which they were exposed; and, as the land of Canaan is in the New Testament considered as a type of heaven, the conflicts and trials of the Israelites have been considered as figuratively representing the spiritual conflicts of believers in every age of the church. Although Joshua, whose piety, courage, and disinterested integrity, are conspicuous throughout his whole history, is not expressly mentioned in the New Testament as a type of the Messiah, yet he is universally allowed to have been a very eminent one. He bore our Saviour's name: the Alexandrian version, giving his name a Greek termination, uniformly calls him Ἰησοῦς, Jesus; which appellation is also given to him in Acts vii. 45. and Heb. iv. 8. Joshua saved the people of God (as the Israelites are emphatically styled in the Scriptures) from the Canaanites: Jesus Christ saves his people from their sins (Matt. i. 21.).

A further design of this book is to show the portion which was allotted to each tribe. With this view, the author more than once reminds the Israelites that not one thing had failed of all the good things which the Lord spake concerning them; and that "all had come to pass unto them, and not one thing had failed thereof" (xxiii. 14. with xxi. 45.).

IV. The book of Joshua may be conveniently divided into three parts: viz.

Part I. *The history of the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites* (i.—xii.); comprising,

1. The call and confirmation of Joshua to be captain-general (i.).
2. The sending out of the spies to bring an account of Jericho (ii.).
3. The miraculous passage of the Israelites over Jordan (iii.), and the setting up of twelve memorial stones (iv.).
4. The circumcision of the Israelites at Gilgal, and their celebration of the first passover in Canaan; the appearance of the "captain of the Lord's host" to Joshua near Jericho (v.).
5. The capture of Jericho (vi.), and of Ai (vii. viii.).
6. The politic confederacy of the Gibeonites with the children of Israel (ix.).
7. The war with the Canaanitish kings; and the miracle of the sun's standing still (x.).
8. The defeat of Jabin and his confederates (xi.).
9. A summary recapitulation of the conquests of the Israelites both under Moses in the eastern part of Canaan (xii. 1—6.), and also under Joshua himself in the western part (xii. 7—24.).

Part II. *The division of the conquered land;* containing,

1. A general division of Canaan (xiii.).
2. A particular apportionment of it, including the portion of Caleb (xiv.); the lot of Judah (xv.); of Ephraim (xvi.); of Manasseh (xvii.); of Benjamin (xviii.); and of the six tribes of Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, Dan; and of Joshua himself (xix.).

3. The appointment of the cities of refuge (xx.), and of the Levitical cities (xxi.).

4. The dismission from the camp of Israel of the militia of the two tribes and a half who settled on the other side of Jordan, their return, and the transactions resulting from the altar which they erected on the borders of Jordan (xxii.).

PART III. *The dying addresses and counsels of Joshua, his death and burial, &c.*

1. Joshua's address to the Israelites, in which he reminds them of the signal benefits conferred on them by God, and urges them to "cleave unto the LORD their God" (xxiii.).

2. Joshua's dying address to the Israelites, and renewal of the covenant between them and God (xxiv. 1—28.).

3. The death and burial of Joshua, the burial of Joseph's bones, and the death of Eleazar the high priest (xxiv. 29—33.).

If this book were placed in chronological order, perhaps it would stand as follow: i. 1—9., ii., i. 10—18., iii.—xi., xxii., xii.—xxi., xxiii., xxiv.

V. A considerable difference of opinion subsists among learned men concerning the book of *Jasher*, mentioned in Josh. x. 13. In addition to the observations already offered[1], we may remark that Bishop Lowth is of opinion that it was a poetical book, no longer extant when the author of Joshua and Samuel lived and wrote.[2]

[The point of special interest, connected with the mention of the book of Jasher in Josh. x. 13., is its bearing upon the question whether or no a miracle was wrought to enable the Israelites entirely to destroy their enemies in the battle of Gibeon. Some remarks were made upon the subject by (it would seem) Dr. Hengstenberg, in the Evang. Kirchenzeitung for Nov. 1832[3]; and the opinion was maintained that, as a quotation was introduced from a poetical book by the historian,

[1] See Vol. I. p. 115.

[2] The book of Jasher is twice quoted, *first* in Josh. x. 13, where the quotation is evidently poetical, and forms exactly three distiches.

> "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,
> And thou moon, in the valley of Ajalon.
> And the sun stood still; and the moon stayed her course,
> Until the people were avenged of their enemies.
> And the sun tarried in the midst of the heavens,
> And hasted not to go down in a whole day."

The second passage where the book of Jasher is cited is in 2 Sam. i. 18.; where David's lamentation over Saul is said to be extracted from it. The custom of the Hebrews, in giving titles to their books from the initial word, is well known: thus Genesis is called Bereshith, &c. They also sometimes named the book from some remarkable word in the first sentence; thus the book of Numbers is sometimes called *Bamidbar*. We also find in their writings canticles which had been produced on important occasions, introduced by some form of this kind: *az jashar* (then sang), or *ve-jashar peloni*, &c. Thus, *az jashir Mosheh*, "then sang Moses" (Exod. xv. 1. the Samaritan Pentateuch reads *jasher*); *ve-thashar Deborah*, "and Deborah sang" (Judg. v 1. See also the inscription of Psal. xviii.). Thus the book of Jasher is supposed to have been some collection of sacred songs composed at different times and on different occasions, and to have had this title, because the book itself and most of the songs began in general with this word, *ve-jashar*. Lowth, Prælect. pp. 306, 307 *notes*; or Dr. Gregory's translation, vol. ii. pp. 152. 153. *notes*. The Book of Jasher, published at London in 1751, and re-printed at Bristol in 1829, is a shameless literary forgery. An account of it will be found in Vol. IV. Sect. VII. pp. 741—747.

[3] Translated in the American Bibl. Repository, Oct. 1833, pp. 721—730.

the passage must be interpreted in a figurative manner. Following out this idea, Mr. Hopkins made an elaborate examination of the subject.[1] His conclusion is, that we have, vv. 12—15, "an extract from a book which was known at the time as 'the book of Jasher,' which was probably a collection of poems, descriptive of some important events, having truth for their basis, but fiction for their dress." He believes, further, that the author of the book of Joshua, while transcribing this extract, "paused in the midst of it, in order that he might guard the reader against supposing that he would be understood as declaring that this [an actual miracle] ever took place." It is unfortunate for this notion that the pause, that is, the naming of the book of Jasher in the middle, instead of the beginning or the end, of the quotation, seems to have failed in guarding readers; for, admitting that Hab. iii. 11. may have nothing to do with the matter, it cannot be denied that at least so early as the time of the Son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlvi. 4.) the reality of a miracle was believed; and that this belief has continued to be generally entertained to our own days. Mr. Hopkins's dissertation is an able one; and, as the verses in question are poetry, while the preceding and following context is prose, it is not difficult to allow that he proves his point as to the fact of quotation. He may, however, be thought not so successful in the rest of his deductions. He dwells upon v. 15. as narrating the return of Joshua to Gilgal, when in fact he did not return thither (v. 43.) till the brief campaign was ended. He argues against the literal truth of the passage from the want of notice of a wonder, which, if it occurred, must have attracted the attention of all the inhabitants of the world, both in subsequent books of the bible and in the records of other nations. He maintains that Joshua must have been to the west of Gibeon when the alleged words were spoken at a late hour of the day, so that the sun could not then have been over that city. He further observes that there are allusions, Judg. v. 20.; Psal. xviii. 7—16., which equally seem to describe physical facts, while yet no one thinks of interpreting them literally; why then should not the poetry here cited be regarded as figurative also?

There is weight, no doubt, in these arguments; but yet the question is unanswered why, if the statement was not literally true, did the inspired writer introduce and endorse it? It is strange beyond conception that an author, gravely recording history, should suddenly incorporate poetry—his own composition or any other man's, it matters not—with his prose, and yet wish it to be understood that the poetry was merely a flourish, a fictitious exaggeration of the plain fact. An ordinary writer of any judgment would not do this: how can we imagine it of an inspired penman?

It is true that Keil[2] and other writers of undoubted reverence for scripture adopt this view; and it is by no means intended to charge such writers with sceptical tendencies. Still the words of an author of the last century, Fessler, are worthy of all attention: "Mihi sane si id quod sentio dicere fas sit; hæc, similesque aliorum miraculorum pro sacris illis Scenitis olim patratorum explanationes [scil. ut totum

[1] Amer. Bibl. Repos., Jan. 1845, pp. 97—130.
[2] Comm. on Joshua (Engl. edit.) pp. 251—269.

Josue miraculum nihil aliud sit, quam crebri fulminum jactus, &c.], Jehovæ prodigia, ad causarum naturalium effectus exigentes, a terrore panico, et extrema dyspnœa novo theologici seculi nostri morbo profectæ videntur. Scio quid eas viris doctis persuaserit: nempe *ne annalium sacrorum fides tam singularibus miraculis laboret; ne cœlestis religio risui et sannis exponatur:* sed vereor ne contra umbras galea et clypeo se defendant . . . . si credis Jehovam paterna in hanc gentem [Hebræorum] dilectione toties cum ea in legis naturalis et æternæ observatione dispensasse; universam naturam in eorum obsequium et commoditatem convertisse; caligine, sanguine, ranis, ciniphibus, grandine, fulminibus, locustis, bruchis, morte denique primogenitorum Ægypti, libertatem gentis suæ extorsisse; prodigiosa nube et igne viam fugitivis signasse; si inquam omnia hæc ut sapientem decet credis: nimis turpiter mascula in credendo virtute dejiceris, cum prohibito ad preces Josue solis et lunæ motu, tu fide qua firmiter standum erat vaccillas."[1]

The most remarkable investigation of the matter in question has been made by Mr. Greswell in his Fasti Temporis Catholici, and Origines Kalendariæ, Oxford, 1852; which the student is recommended to consult. Only the very briefest notice of Mr. Greswell's reasonings can here be given. He connects the standing still of the sun and moon with the going back of the shadow on the dial in the days of Hezekiah (2 Kings xx.). He considers in detail the circumstances of Joshua's campaign (Josh. x.), and supposes that it occupied, as he believes the narrative shows, six days, from Sunday, May 31, B.C. 1520, to the following Friday evening. The distance of Gibeon from Gilgal he estimates at about thirteen and a half miles, and calculates that after the night march of the Israelitish army the battle would begin early in the morning. It was a surprise; and therefore the Canaanites would make no stubborn resistance. In probably two hours they would be routed and in flight. At that time the sun would be seen above Gibeon, and the moon in the depression of the valley of Ajalon. Then the words were spoken; for the expression בַּחֲצִי הַשָּׁמַיִם does not imply that the sun was then in the meridian. The pursuit continued to Makkedah, about twelve miles more; the five kings, who had taken refuge in a cave, and were blockaded there till the slaughter was over, were brought out and hanged; and not till some time after this (Josh. x. 26, 27.) did the sun go down, when the bodies were buried. Mr. Greswell argues that an ordinary day, from four or five in the morning till seven or eight at night, was obviously too short for all the events said to have happened on this day.[2] He then examines the miracle of Hezekiah, which he fixes on May 31, B.C. 710, and considers the effects of each on the measures of time.[3] And afterwards he investigates the extraneous evidence which can be produced for the actual occurrence of the miracles.[4] His conclusions are supported by the most elaborate and careful computations.]

[1] Anthologia Hebraica, Leopoli, 1787, pp. 148, 149.
[2] Diss. v. chap. ii. vol. i. pp. 251—276. [3] Chap. iii. pp. 276—321.
[4] Chap. iv. pp. 321—383.

SECTION III.

ON THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

I. *Title.*—II. *Date and author.*—III. *Scope, chronology, and synopsis of its contents.*—IV. *Observations on this book.*

I. The book of Judges derives its name from its containing the history of the Israelites from the death of Joshua to the time of Eli, under the administration of thirteen Judges; whom God raised up on special occasions to deliver his people from the oppression of their enemies, and to manage and restore their affairs. (Concerning their powers and functions see Vol. III. p. 98.) The judges frequently acted by a divine suggestion, and were endowed with preternatural strength and fortitude (comp. ii. 18., vi. 14, 34., xi. 29., and xiv. 6, 19.): it is necessary to bear this in mind when perusing the relation of some of their achievements, which were justifiable only on the supposition of their being performed under the sanction of a divine warrant, which supersedes all general rules of conduct. Besides, "in some cases (such as that of Samson's suicide) they may have abused their endowments; since the supernatural gifts of God are equally liable to abuse with those which he bestows in the ordinary course of nature."[1]

II. From the expression recorded in Judg. xviii. 30. some have imagined that this book was not written till after the Babylonish captivity, but this conjecture is evidently erroneous; for, on comparing Psal. lxxviii. 60, 61. and 1 Sam. iv. 11. with that passage, we find that the captivity intended by the historian was a particular captivity of the inhabitants of Dan, which took place about the time the ark was taken by the Philistines. Besides, the total absence of Chaldee words sufficiently proves the date of the book of Judges to have been many centuries anterior to the great Babylonish captivity. This book, however, was certainly written before the second book of Samuel (comp. 2 Sam. xi. 21. with Judg. ix. 53.), and before the capture of Jerusalem by David (compare 2 Sam. v. 6. with Judg. i. 21.).

There is a considerable diversity of opinion as to the person by whom this book of Judges was written; it being, by some writers, ascribed to Phinehas, Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or Ezra, who compiled it from the memoirs of his own time which were left by each judge; while others think that it was compiled by some prophet out of the public registers or records that were kept by the priests and Levites. But the best-founded opinion seems to be, *that* it was written by the prophet Samuel, the last of the judges; and in this opinion the Jews themselves coincide.

[It is necessary to examine whether the book of Judges, as we now have it, is one connected whole, proceeding from a single pen, or whether it consists of portions originally independent, and brought together afterwards by a compiler. De Wette and others deny the unity of the work: chaps. xvii.—xxi. inclusive they consider a kind of

[1] Prof. Turner's translation of Jahn's Introduction, p. 243. *note.*

appendix, and suppose that there are discrepancies at the beginning, which forbid the belief that one author composed chaps. i. ii. iii.[1] No sufficient grounds, however, are produced for the last assertion. In chap. i., vv. 8, 21. are not inconsistent; neither is i. 18. contradicted by iii. 3. In almost every narrative of a war that ever was written, we find statements that towns or districts have been ravaged and taken by one party, and afterwards recovered and held by the other. Nor does the section i. 27—36. render iii. 1—4. superfluous, so as to make it improbable that both were by the same author. Bertheau's argument also, that in i.—ii. 5. we find the Israelites sparing and dwelling with the native Canaanites through their own choice, while in ii. 11—iii. 4. it is represented that certain of the devoted tribes were reserved in order to be a punishment to Israel, is worthless. The ideas are in perfect accordance. God made in this case, as in so many others, his people's sin the means of their punishment. Because (see ii. 20—23.) the Israelites disobediently neglected the charge they had received to extirpate the Canaanites, God was no longer with them, and let those with whom they made their unholy alliances regain a degree of power sufficient to annoy and sometimes enslave the Hebrews. There is no good reason, therefore, for doubting the essential unity of the first part of Judges.

With chaps. xvii.—xxi. the case seems different. There is a chronological sequence in the earlier chapters, if not strictly, yet generally observed; while the events narrated in these last sections are evidently not in the order of time in relation to those recounted before. De Wette lays stress on the alleged facts that these chapters are *untheocratic*, that there is no mythology to be found in them, and that there is a perceptible difference in the diction.[2] In support of the first he refers to xvii. 6., xviii. 1., xix. 1., xxi. 25. But these passages will hardly maintain his position. They simply assert that there was at the time the events occurred "no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes." All that the words, in fairness, can be taken to assert is, that the reins of government were loose, there was no arbitrary power in exercise. And the meaning is confined to civil matters by the statement that there was then no king. It indicates the time of the judges, whose rule was lax, not necessarily extending over all the country, and whose succession was not regular, since they seem to have been commissioned only in emergencies. In Deut. xii. 8., where the same expression occurs, it *does* refer to religious service, as the context shows: the rites of the law could not be properly observed except in a settled habitation; in the pilgrim state in the wilderness there was of necessity a laxity. The application of the phrase, wherever it or a similar one occurs, must be ruled by the context; and it is only as a note of time and a peculiarity of diction that any argument can be built upon it here. In these respects it is admitted that it does seem to indicate a distinction between the appendix and the foregoing chapters; it would tend to show that they, in which the phrase is not

[1] Einleitung, § 174. [2] Ibid.

found, were composed before the institution of monarchy, the appendix not till kings reigned in Israel. De Wette's second reason, the absence of what he calls mythology, cannot be listened to.[1] He means that there is nothing of a supernatural cast, as in chaps. vi. xiii. &c.; and his argument is based on the presumption that the scripture narrative is not just the truth, but a kind of poetical production, coloured for effect, in some parts of which we find miracles, because the genius of the writer led him to introduce them, in other parts none, because their author had no mind for such exceptions to the general laws of nature. A presumption of this kind is destructive of the authority of scripture. As to the difference of diction, the phrase above mentioned may be taken as one instance. Other peculiarities are "from Dan even to Beersheba" (xx. 1.), עֹלוֹת וּשְׁלָמִים (xx. 26.; xxi. 4.), פִּנּוֹת (xx. 2.), וַיִּשְׂאוּ נָשִׁים (xxi. 23.), &c. &c. Stähelin's zeal to make out a case has induced him to enumerate words and phrases as exclusively belonging to the appendix which a calmer research would have shown him occur in other parts of the book, as שָׁאַל בַּיהוָה (xx. 23, 27., also i. 1.) פָּגַע, to strike down, to kill, (xviii. 25., also viii. 21., xv. 12.). This De Wette has to acknowledge. Keil altogether denies that there is any difference in the diction of the parts in question: he considers, indeed, the similarity so great, as to furnish no light proof that the author was one and the same, and accounts for the occurrence of words and phrases in one place only, by the fact that the subject afforded no opportunity for introducing them in any other.

It is clear, from what has been said, that the reasons are not decisive on either side: it is with diffidence, therefore, that an opinion must be propounded. Perhaps the consideration of time may be most likely to lead us to a right conclusion. Certainly, from i. 21., the composition of the former part of the book cannot be placed later than the seventh year of David; we may suppose it a few years earlier; for, had the sentence been penned but *just* before Jerusalem was taken by that king, it is probable that, on the occurrence of the event, the writer (if still alive) would have corrected his statement. A few years before — for Saul's reign could not have been long[2] — would carry us up to the time of the commonwealth, prior to the appointment of a king. And the chapters seem to bear the aspect of such a time. There is also a limit in the other direction. In chap. xiii. 1. the period of Israel's subjection to the Philistines is stated; and this was not known till after that period was ended by Samuel's victory (1 Sam. vii. 1—14.). The date, therefore, seems to fix itself to the time of the administration of Samuel; nor is it an unreasonable conjecture that that prophet was the author.

But, as to the appendix, there is some ground for assigning to it a later date. The phrase before adverted to, "in those days there was no king in Israel" intimates that when the author wrote there *was* a king; and the language, xviii. 31., "all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh," seems to indicate that the sanctuary was no

[1] See before, pp. 517, 518, 623.

[2] See Browne, Ordo Sæclorum, chap. v. sect. i. pp. 260., &c.

longer there. Now, the ark, having been removed from Shiloh just before Eli's death, was eventually brought to Jerusalem by David; and, the place for a temple having been selected by that monarch, and the temple erected there by Solomon, Jerusalem was, ever after, the seat of God's sanctuary. To the time of the monarchy, then, the indications of the appendix point, but yet not far on in the monarchy. There is no trace of the separation of the tribes: every expression seems to show that Israel was still an united people, and that, after the catastrophe of Benjamin was repaired, there was continued harmony of the whole nation. If this be thought to have any weight, the appendix must have been composed before the close of Solomon's reign, perhaps a century later than the former part of the book. But it must be carefully repeated, that a measure of probability is all that can be attained. The argument from xxi. 12, 19. that the section was written at a late period by a foreigner, at least not in Palestine, will not bear examination. The words "which is in the land of Canaan" are used merely to distinguish the position of Shiloh from that of Jabesh-gilead, which was on the other side of the Jordan; and v. 19 describes the locality of the dance, near Shiloh.

There is one passage, xviii. 30., which seems to necessitate a later date for the appendix: עַד־יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ. If, as some critics suppose, this language can be interpreted only of a deportation of the inhabitants of the country, the carrying away of the ten tribes by the Assyrians must be meant, and the writer must have lived not earlier than B.C. 721. It is admitted that this appears to be the obvious sense of the words. But there are difficulties in the way of so interpreting them. It is not likely that such disobedience to the law could have been so long tolerated. "Tunc miror istam iconolatriam non detectam fuisse a Samuele, Davide, Salomone, et sublatam," says Dathe[1], unable to come to any certain decision. It is strange, also, that, if there were a house of idols already at Dan, Jeroboam should have set up one of his calves there, and that, if there were Levites already performing forbidden worship, he should have placed with them, or in their stead, those who, we are expressly told, "were not of the sons of Levi" (see 1 Kings xii. 29—31.). Hengstenburg, Hävernick, and Welte believe, in consequence, that the carrying off the ark by the Philistines (comp. Psal. lxxviii. 61 וַיִּתֵּן לַשְּׁבִי עֻזּוֹ) is intended (see before, p. 622.); while Keil supposes that the reference is to some unrecorded calamity.[2] Different minds will arrive at different conclusions.

If, as seems to be the case, the appendix proceeds from a different hand than the former chapters, there is yet another question, did the appendix-writer edit the whole book, collecting the earlier portions from contemporaneous documents? The reply must be in the negative. There is no trace of his hand in any part prior to the point where he commences his narrative. Both authors may have used written documents, as in chap. v., where Deborah's song is

[1] Libri Historici Vet. Test., Halæ, 1784, not. *in loc.*
[2] Einleitung, § 50. Comp. Hävernick, Einleitung, § 160. II. i. pp. 109, 110.

recorded; but there is no ground for supposing that the latter moulded his own and other materials into a whole. The appendix is distinct, and is added to the rest, because the events related occurred in the days of the judges; just as the book of Ruth might be added, and formerly was added, to the same volume.]

III. The book of Judges comprises the history of about three hundred years: it consists of three parts; the first embraces the history of the elders, who ruled the Israelites after the death of Joshua, and the subsequent transactions, to the commencement of their troubles (i.—iii. 4.). The second part contains the history of the judges from Othniel to Eli (iii. 5.—xvi.); and the third, which narrates several memorable actions performed not long after the death of Joshua (xvii.—xxi.), is thrown to the end of the book, that it might not interrupt the thread of the narrative. "This history," observes Dr. Priestley, "abundantly verifies the frequent warnings and predictions of Moses; according to which, the people, being under the immediate government of God, were in the most exemplary manner to be rewarded for their obedience, and punished for their disobedience, and especially for their conformity to the religions of their neighbours, whom God had devoted to destruction on account of their polytheism and idolatry." There is considerable difficulty in settling the chronology of this book, several of the facts related in it being reckoned from different eras, which cannot now be exactly ascertained; many of the judges also are generally supposed to have been successive, who in all probability were contemporaries, and ruled over different districts at the same time.[1] In the following synopsis it is attempted to reduce the chronology to something like order, and also to present a correct analysis of the book.

PART I. *The state of the Israelites after the death of Joshua, until they began to turn aside from serving the Lord* (i.—iii. 4.) B.C. 1443—1413.

PART II. *The history of the oppressions of the Israelites, and their deliverances by the judges* (iii. 5—xvi.).

1. The subjection of the eastern Israelites to the king of Mesopotamia, and their deliverance by Othniel (iii. 5—11.) B.C. 1413—1405.

2. The subjection of the eastern Israelites to the king of Moab, and their deliverance by Ehud. The western Israelites delivered by Shamgar (iii. 12—31.) B.C. 1343—1305.

3. The northern Israelites, oppressed by Jabin, king of Canaan, are delivered by Deborah and Barak (iv.). The thanksgiving song of Deborah and Barak [2] (v.) B.C. 1285.

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[1] See on this perplexed matter the discussion and table at the end of the art. Judges in Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.; Keil, Einleitung, § 49, and references there given, especially to Keil's own disquisition in the Dorpat Theol. Beiträge, ii. pp. 203., &c.; also Browne, Ordo Sæclor., chap. v. pp. 254., &c.

[2] The triumphal ode of Deborah is analyzed at considerable length by Bishop Lowth (lectt. xiii. xxviii.), who considers it as a specimen of the perfectly-sublime ode. In the fourth and fifth verses, "the extraordinary displays of the Divine Majesty, which the Israelites had witnessed at Mount Sinai, are described in very poetical language, and compared with the divine interposition in behalf of Israel. The presence of God had thrown all nature, as it were, into convulsions: the thunders and lightnings were attended by impetuous showers of rain; and Mount Sinai was in such agitation that it seemed to be melted from before

4. The eastern and northern Israelites are delivered from the Midianites by Gideon. History of Gideon and his family (vi.—ix.) B.C. 1252—1233.

5. Administrations of Tola and Jair. The Israelites, oppressed by the Ammonites, are delivered by Jephthah. The administrations of Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (x.—xii.) B.C. 1233—1157.

6. The birth of Samson. Servitude of the Israelites to the Philistines, and their deliverance by Samson (xiii.—xvi.) B.C. 1155—1117

PART III. *Appendix* (xvii—xxi.), narrating—

1. The idolatry of Micah (xvii.), and afterwards of the tribe of Dan (xviii.) B.C. 1413.

2. A crime committed by the Benjamites of Gibeah (xix.); and the consequent almost-total extinction of the tribe of Benjamin (xx., xxi.) B.C. 1413.

IV. The book of Judges forms an important link in the history of the Israelites, and is properly inserted between the books of Joshua and Samuel, as the judges were the intermediate governors between Joshua and the kings of Israel. It furnishes us with a lively description of an unsettled nation; a striking picture of the disorders which prevailed in a republic without magistracy; when *the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through by-ways* (v. 6.); when few prophets were appointed to control the people, and *every one did that which was right in his own eyes* (xvii. 6.). It exhibits the contest of true religion with superstition; the beneficial effects that flow from the former, and the evil consequences of impiety: it is a most remarkable history of the long-suffering of God towards the Israelites, in which we see the most signal instances of his justice and mercy alternately displayed. The people sinned and were punished; they repented and found mercy. Something of this kind we find in every page; and these things are written for our warning. None should *presume*, for God is *just;* none need *despair*, for God is *merciful.*[1] From the scenes of violence which darken this history, St. Paul has presented us with some illustrious examples of faith, in the characters of *Gideon, Barak, Samson, and Jephthah* (Acts xiii. 20.; Heb. xi. 32.). Independently of the internal evidences of its authenticity which are to be found in the style of this book, the transactions it records are not only cited or alluded to by other sacred writers besides St. Paul[2], but are further confirmed by the traditions current among the heathen writers. Thus, we find the memorial of Gideon's actions preserved by Sanchoniatho, a Tyrian

the Lord" (Scott. in loc.). The transaction at Mount Sinai, which furnished this magnificent passage, took place B.C. 1491; the deliverance of the Israelites, under Deborah and Barak, B.C. 1285, or according to some chronologers, B.C. 1296, that is, nearly two hundred years after. Yet, misled by the neologian interpretation of Eichhorn, Jahn has gravely ascribed the victory of Barak over Sisera to his taking advantage of a raging tempest. Introd. in Libros Vet. Fœd. part ii. § 37. This section is almost a servile transcript of Eichhorn. Prof. Turner and Mr. Whittingham have exposed the fallacy of these mischievous interpretations in the notes to their translation of Jahn (pp. 243—245.). Dr. Ackermann in his expurgated edition of Jahn has altogether omitted this section, without apprising the reader of such omission.

[1] Bp. Gray, Key, p. 157.; Dr. A. Clarke, Pref. to Judges, p. vi.

[2] Comp. Psal. lxxviii. 56—66., lxxxiii. 11, 12., cvi. 34—46.; 1 Sam. xii. 9—11.; 2 Sam. xi. 21.; Isai. ix. 4. and x. 26.

writer who lived soon after him, and whose antiquity is attested by Porphyry, an inveterate enemy to Christianity.[1] The Vulpinaria, or feast of the foxes, celebrated by the Romans in the month of April, (the time of the Jewish harvest), in which they let loose foxes with torches fastened to their tails[2], was derived from the story of Samson, which was conveyed into Italy by the Phœnicians; and, to mention no more, in the history of Samson and Delilah, we find the original of Nisus and his daughter, who cut off those fatal hairs. upon which the victory depended.[3]

SECTION IV.

ON THE BOOK OF RUTH.

I. *Title and argument.*—II. *Date and authorship.*—III. *Scope.*—IV. *Synopsis of its contents.*

I. THE book of Ruth is generally considered as an appendix to that of Judges, and an introduction to that of Samuel [to which last Augustine thinks it should belong as a kind of preface[4]]; it is therefore placed, and with great propriety, between the books of Judges and Samuel. In the ancient Jewish canon of the Old Testament, Judges and Ruth formed but one book[5], because the transactions which it contains happened in the time of the judges; although the modern Jews separate it from both, and make it the second of the five Megilloth or volumes which they place together towards the end of the Old Testament. It is publicly read by them in the synagogues on the feast of weeks or of Pentecost, on account of the harvest being mentioned in it, the first-fruits of which were offered to God on that festival.[6] This book derives its name from Ruth the Moabitess, whose history it relates, and whom the Chaldee paraphrast supposes to have been the daughter of Eglon king of Moab; but this conjecture is utterly unsupported by scripture; nor is it at all likely that a king's daughter would abandon her native country, to seek bread in another land, and marry a stranger.

II. Josephus the Jewish historian, and some others of later date, refer this history to the time of Eli; Moldenhawer, after some Jewish writers, assigns it to the time of Ehud; rabbi Kimchi and other Jewish authors conceive Boaz, who married Ruth, to have been the

[1] Bochart, Chanaan, lib. ii. c. 17. [2] Ovid, Fasti, lib. iv. 681., &c.

[3] Ovid, Metam. lib. viii. fab. 1. M. De Lavaur in his *Conférence de la Fable avec l'Histoire Sainte*, tom. ii. pp. 1—13., has shown that Samson the judge of the Israelites is the original and essential Hercules of pagan mythology; thus furnishing an additional proof how much the heathens have been indebted to the Bible. The reader will find an abridged translation of the pages cited in Dr. A. Clarke's commentary on Judg. xvi.

[4] De Doct. Christ. lib. ii. cap. viii. 13.

[5] Jerome expressly states that this was the case in his time. Deinde subtexunt Sophetim, id est Judicum librum, et in eundem compingunt Ruth; quia in diebus judicum facta ejus narratur historia. Prologus Galeatus in Lib. Reg. i. Eusebius, when giving Origen's catalogue of the sacred books, confirms Jerome's account. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. xxv.

[6] See above, p. 35, note 2.

same person as Ibzan, who judged Israel immediately after Jephthah; Junius, comparing the book of Ruth with Matt. i., is of opinion that the events recorded in this history took place in the days of Deborah; and the learned archbishop Ussher, that they happened in the time of Shamgar. As the famine which caused Elimelech to leave his country "came to pass in the days when the judges ruled" (Ruth i. 1.), bishop Patrick has referred the beginning of this history to the judicature of Gideon, about the year of the world 2759, at which time a famine is related to have happened (Judg. vi. 3—6.).[1] Considerable difficulty has arisen in settling the chronology of this book, in consequence of its being mentioned by St. Matthew (i.—5, 6.) that Salmon the father of Boaz (who married Ruth) was married to Rahab (by whom is generally understood Rahab the harlot, who protected the spies when Joshua invaded the land of Canaan); and yet that Boaz was the grandfather of David, who was born about three hundred and sixty years after the siege of Jericho, a length of time, during which it is difficult to conceive that only three persons, Boaz, Obed, and Jesse, should have intervened between Rahab and David. But this difficulty may readily be solved, either by supposing that some intermediate names of little consequence were omitted in the public genealogies copied by the evangelist (as we know to have been the case in some other instances); by concluding, with archbishop Ussher, that the ancestors of David, being men of extraordinary piety, or designed to be conspicuous because the Messiah was to descend from them, were blessed with longer life and greater strength than ordinarily fell to the lot of men in that age[2]; or by believing that only the most eminent persons were named by the historian. It is certain that Jesse was accounted an old man when his son David was but a youth (see 1 Sam. xvii. 12.); and, since Boaz is represented as the great grandfather of the royal Psalmist, it is evident that the date of the history of Ruth cannot be so low as the time of Eli assigned by Josephus, nor so high as the time of Shamgar: the most probable period, therefore, is that stated by bishop Patrick, viz. during the judicature of Gideon, or about the year of the world 2759, B.C. 1241.

[Of the authorship of this book nothing satisfactory can be said. It has been assigned to Samuel, to Hezekiah, and to Ezra respectively. By some the diction is considered to be so different from that of the books of Judges and of Samuel, that the authors of those cannot have written this. De Wette enumerates Chaldaisms and other peculiarities, as שִׂבֵּר, עָגַן, i. 13., לָהֵן for לָכֵן ibid.; נָשָׂא נָשִׁים, i. 4., (see Judg. xxi. 23.); שָׂמְתִּי, שָׁכַבְתִּי, iii. 3, 4., א for ה, i. 20.; ם suff. for ן, i. 8., &c., 11.[3] But they are explained away by other writers; some calling them archaisms, some Bethlehemitisms, some Moabitisms. Perhaps, however, these are rather evasions than explanations. It is

[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. v. c. 9. § 1.; Seder Olam, c. 12; Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Canonicos Vet. et Nov. Test. p. 43.; Kimchi on Ruth, c. i.; Junius, Annotat. in Ruth i.; Bishop Patrick on Ruth i. 1.; Leusden, Philol. Heb., pp. 18. 86.

[2] Chronologia Sacra, pars i. c. 12. pp. 69, 70. ed. Genevæ, 1722, folio.

[3] Einleitung, § 194. Comp. Hävernick, Einleitung, § 162, II. i. p. 117.; Keil, Einleitung, § 140. p. 472.

urged as a proof of the late composition of the book, that in iv. 7. usages are mentioned as prevailing "in former times," a presumption that they were now discontinued, and that therefore a considerable interval must have passed between the occurrence of the events narrated and the time of the narrator. There is little more than conjecture in this. And it has been met with another conjecture. Marriage, it is said, with foreign women was permitted when the book was composed. For there is no word of disapproval of the marriage with Ruth. Whereas, in the post-exilian times, such alliances were highly disapproved (Ezra, ix. 1., &c.; Neh. xiii. 1—3, 23—27.).[1] Therefore the book was written before the return from Babylon. That it was written before that return is most probable; but the reason here alleged is of little weight. Alliances of this kind did not *become* unlawful in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. The prohibition had been uttered ages before, and existed (unless the Mosaic law be altogether discredited) at the time, whenever that was, that the book was written. Further, the absence of any censure on the marriage with Ruth is no proof that it was unobjectionable. It is customary with the sacred writers, unlike other authors, to record events without making observations upon them. And, still further, Ruth had forsaken her own land, and her own religion (if it had ever been a false one), and had taken the God of Israel for her God. The most serious part of the charge, of corrupting their husbands and ill-training their children, made against the women married by the restored exiles, did not apply to her.

From the reasons just referred to, we can, it seems, obtain little satisfaction as to the time when this book was composed. But the genealogy, iv. 18—22., may throw some light upon the matter. As this genealogy includes David, the book could not have been written before his time: as David is the last named in the succession, it seems likely that that king was still living when the author wrote. In the absence of decisive proof we may be justified in assigning the narrative to David's age.

Doubts have been entertained whether the Rachab mentioned by St. Matthew (i. 5.), was the "harlot" of whom we read in Joshua. For an ingenious disquisition on this question, Browne's Ordo Sæclorum may be consulted.[2]]

III. The Scope of this book is partly to deliver the genealogy of king David through the line of Ruth, a heathen proselyte to the Jewish religion, and the wife of Boaz, whose adoption into the line of Christ has generally been considered as a pre-intimation of the admission of the Gentiles into the Christian church. It had been foretold to the Jews that the Messiah should be of the tribe of Judah, and it was *afterwards* further revealed that he should be of the family of David; and, therefore, it was necessary, for the full understanding of these prophecies, that the history of the family, in that tribe, should be written *before* these prophecies were revealed, to prevent the least suspicion of fraud or design. And thus this book, these prophecies, and their accomplishment, serve to illustrate each

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 140. p 472. [2] Chap. v. sect. iii. pp. 282—286.

other.[1] A further design of this book is to evidence the care of Divine Providence over those who sincerely fear God, in raising the pious Ruth from a state of the deepest adversity to that of the highest prosperity. [It may be added that Bertholdt (Einleitung, v. 2357.), and F. Benary (De Hebr. Leviratu, p. 30.), consider it the object of this book to enforce, by a beautiful family picture, the duty of a man to marry his kinswoman.[2] It is not necessary to take pains to refute such a notion.]

IV. The book of Ruth, which consists of four chapters, may be conveniently divided into three sections; containing,

1. An account of Naomi, from her departure from Canaan into Moab, with her husband Elimelech, to her return thence into the land of Israel with her daughter-in-law Ruth (i.) B.C. 1241—1231.

2. The interview of Boaz with Ruth, and their marriage (ii., iii., iv. 1—12.).

3. The birth of Obed, the son of Boaz by Ruth, from whom David was descended (iv. 13—18.).

The whole narrative is written with peculiar simplicity; and the interviews between Boaz and Ruth display the most unaffected piety, liberality, and modesty; and their reverent observance of the Mosaic law, as well as of ancient customs, is portrayed in very lively and animated colours.

SECTION V.

ON THE TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

I.—*Title.*—II. *Authors.*—III. *Argument, scope, and analysis of the first book of Samuel.*—IV. *Argument, scope, and analysis of the second book of Samuel.*—V. *General observations on these two books.*

I. In the Jewish canon of scripture these two books form but one, termed in Hebrew the book of Samuel, probably because the greater part of the first book was supposed to be written by that prophet, or because he was one of the most prominent persons in the period of which the history is narrated. In the Septuagint version the books of Samuel are called the first and second books of Kings, or of the Kingdoms; in the Vulgate they are designated as the first and second books of Kings; and, by Jerome, they are termed the books of the Kingdoms; as being two of the four books in which the history of the kings of Israel and Judah is related.

II. Jahn is of opinion that the books of Samuel and the two books of Kings were written by one and the same person, and published about the forty-fourth year of the Babylonish captivity; and he has endeavoured to support his conjecture with much ingenuity, though unsuccessfully, by the uniformity of plan and style which he thinks are discernible in these books. The more prevalent opinion is that of the Talmudists, which was adopted by the most learned

[1] Bedford, Scripture Chronology, book v. c. 5.
[2] See Keil, Einleitung, § 139. p. 470.; comp. Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lib. art. Ruth.

fathers of the Christian church: viz. that the first twenty-four chapters of the first book of Samuel were written by the prophet whose name they bear; and that the remainder of that book, together with the whole of the second book, was committed to writing by the prophets Gad and Nathan, agreeably to the practice of the prophets who wrote memoirs of the transactions of their respective times.

[It is not easy to arrive at any certainty with respect to the age and authorship of these books. Jahn's notion that the books of Samuel and of Kings were written by the same person is utterly untenable. Dr. Eadie alleges the following reasons against it: (1.) In Kings there are several references to the law of Moses; in Samuel none. (2.) In Kings, authorities are repeatedly cited; in Samuel there is no formal allusion to such sources of information. (3.) The plan of Samuel differs from that of Kings. The former is more biographical; the latter assumes rather the character of annals. (4.) The modes of expression are not the same. In Kings are later forms of language, of which few occur in Samuel. (5.) The later chapters of the second book of Samuel form a kind of appendix, thus completing the book, and sufficiently separating between it and Kings.[1] It must not, however, be concealed that Stähelin believes that the first two chapters of 1 Kings belong to the second book of Samuel. In proof of this opinion he produces several expressions found in Samuel which occur in those chapters, and nowhere else through the Kings. But De Wette urges as a counter-argument that in 1 Kings ii. 3. there is a reference to the Mosaic law.[2] The books of Samuel may therefore be considered as an independent and finished work.

But as to their composition there have been differences of opinion. Some writers have imagined that, after the fashion of the Pentateuch, compiled from the so-called Elohistic and Jehovistic documents, here also two leading sources have been combined. Accordingly Gramberg divides the books into *Relation a.* and *Relation b.*, and constructs a table in which he shows what sections he apportions to each. Stähelin has a similar table and arranges the sections, though with some difference in the details, under the two heads of *Jehovistic sources*, and *Additions of a compiler.*[3]

Among the arguments used is a certain peculiarity of expression, which does not find much favour even with De Wette, and is so far from being allowed by Keil, that he considers the uniformity of style one proof of the unity of the whole work.[4] It is further said that the narrative is disjointed, and that there is from time to time a kind of summing up, indicating the conclusion of a document. Such are 1 Sam. vii. 15—17., xiv. 47—52.; 2 Sam. viii. 15—18., xx. 23—26. But really, if we examine these places, we shall find but little force in the argument based upon them. The first comes just after the account of the great day of Mizpeh, when the Philistine yoke was broken: what more natural than to introduce there a notice of

[1] Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit., art. Samuel, Books of.
[2] Einleitung, § 186.
[3] Ibid. § 179.
[4] Einleitung, § 53.

Samuel's ordinary administration of justice, which not till then, it would seem, was he able to settle peacefully and satisfactorily? With respect to xiv. 47—52., we have then reached the crisis of Saul's rule and life. Hitherto he had been successful, regardless indeed of Samuel's charge in one instance, but yet with the prospect of his throne's being established, if he should afterwards walk in the way of God's commandments. But with chap. xv. begins his downward course; such a summary, therefore, as that at the close of chap. xiv. is very fitting in such a place. The same observation may be made on 2 Sam. viii. 15—18. It was then the turning-point of David's reign. In chap. x. begins the narrative of that series of events which led to his great sin, and embittered his closing years. It is no objection to say that chap. ix. intervenes. The account of David's kindness to Jonathan's son is an apt adjunct to the enumeration of the great officers who administered his government, and comes properly between the account of his rise and successes (occurring, as no doubt the event related did, in a time of settled peace), and the first step of his retrogression. The list, xx. 23—26., is appropriately placed; because David had just been restored to the throne; and the succeeding chapters, xxi.—xxiv., describe merely the closing scenes of his life, as an appendix to the previous history.[1] These pauses, then, are only such as we continually meet with in ordinary narratives of the kind. The catalogues may have been transcribed from authorized registers; but there is small ground hence furnished for the opinion that one writer took up and overlaid and extended the work of another.

An argument, however, is also taken from alleged discrepancies between the different portions of the work; and, if these can be satisfactorily established, it will hardly be contended that they proceeded from the same hand. Some of these must be examined. It is urged that the assertion 1 Sam. vii. 13. is contradicted by ix. 16., x. 5., xiii. 3, 19, 20. But the objectors have not regarded the chronology. The victory of Mizpeh was gained evidently when Samuel was in the full vigour of life. It was not till he was an old man, very probably upwards of twenty years later, that we hear anything more of the Philistines; and certainly, if deliverance from their incursions was obtained for so long a time by Samuel's conquest, the expressions used are literally true, and in no degree opposed by the fact that at a subsequent period, when the judge who had subdued them was become enfeebled, and his sons were unpopular, they took advantage of these circumstances to acquire their former supremacy.

It is alleged that two different modes of Saul's appointment to the kingdom are narrated, ix. 1.—x. 16., by a special revelation from God, and x. 17—27. by a public assembly of the people, where he was chosen by lot. To call these inconsistent is to deny that God governs the world he has made. To the reverent inquirer Prov. xvi. 33. will supply a sufficient answer.

It is further urged that xiii. 8. refers back to x. 8.; but that it

[1] See Keil Einleitung, § 53.

is hard to make a consistent narrative, for that certainly in the interval (xi. 14, 15.) the people with Saul and Samuel had met at Gilgal. The question here is whether the seven days in xiii. 8. are identical with those prescribed in x. 8., that is, whether Samuel gave Saul only a single charge of the kind, or whether it is not likely that Saul, in any new distress, would at once apply to the prophet? It is not unnatural to suppose that the first command was obeyed, and that on a subsequent occasion Saul received a fresh charge to wait, though not the express giving of that charge, but simply the neglect of it is recorded.

It is said that xiv. 47—52. was written by one who knew nothing of x. 17., &c., xi. 14., &c., xv.; so that they are not in harmony. Critical eyes, we are told, will easily discover this, though other readers may overlook it. No question can be decided by such assertions; and modern critics have especially to take care of judging ancient modes of composition by present usage. The argument—we should have cast the narrative into a different mould; and, therefore, one original writer would have done the same—is very inconclusive. Those who have consulted annals written but a few centuries ago, much more those who are acquainted with the inartificial narratives of eastern books, may very well believe that the passages in question flowed from the same pen.

The difficulties connected with 1 Sam. xvii. have been elsewhere discussed.[1]

There is said to be a contradiction between 1 Sam. xviii. 27. and 2 Sam. iii. 14.; but it is perfectly removed by a reference to xviii. 25. The king prescribed the number 100; and this was the price that David names to Ish-bosheth, though he had in fact doubled Saul's demand.

The discrepancy between xix. and xx. is said to be so great that the two accounts cannot have proceeded from the same hand. David, it is argued, after what is recorded in chap. xix., never could have thought of presenting himself at the royal table (xx. 5.); and Saul would not have expected, as we are told he did (xx. 26.), to see him there. But the answer is not difficult. Saul, in his madness, had frequently attempted David's life (xviii. 10, 11.); and yet David did not hesitate to approach the king again. The out-burst narrated chap. xix. was more violent than any that preceded; and David began now to be convinced that Saul's purpose would be carried out even in his calmer moments. This Jonathan, especially after what occurred at Naioth (xix. 23, 24.), did not believe (xx. 2.); and therefore a test is agreed on. Saul, perhaps hardly remembering what he had done in his fury, might well expect David to appear on a solemn feast; and his behaviour when he was disappointed, and only that, showed that the breach was irreparable.

It is also urged that the same events are differently narrated, and appear as separate circumstances. Thus, there are two rejections of Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. 14., and xv. 26.; a two-fold mention of the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" 1 Sam. x. 10—12., and

[1] See before, p. 459—461.

xix. 24.; two flights to Achish, 1 Sam. xxi. 10—15., and xxvii.; two expeditions of Saul, in which he is in David's power, and is spared by him, 1 Sam. xxiv., and xxvi., &c. It is hence assumed that these were separate traditions of the same event respectively, and that the unskilful editor, unable to disentangle the literal fact, incorporated both into his narrative. The same charge, we have seen, was made against the writers of the earlier books. If it be true, the Israelites have been singularly unfortunate in their historians, in that they one after another fell into the same grave fault of telling the same story in two different ways. Apart from the question of inspiration it is difficult to believe this, unless incontrovertible evidence of its truth can be produced. But there is no such incontrovertible evidence. The different narratives are given with so much specialty of circumstance, that, if we at all admit the credibility of the writer and grant him common sense, we must suppose that the cases referred to are similar but not the same.[1]

If the solutions given of the alleged discrepancies be not satisfactory to any reader, he will do well, before hurrying to a conclusion, to ponder the wise and weighty words of Dr. Davidson: "Discrepancy arises from our ignorance." Many difficulties which we cannot now remove might be removed, were we in possession of all the circumstances.

It is, in truth, a matter of little comparative importance whether these books of Samuel were penned by one individual or by more. That they present a faithful record is the grand point; and on the question of their composition men will never all agree. That some use was made of previously-existing documents none perhaps will deny. The song of Hannah, the lists of David's worthies, the elegy on the death of Saul and Jonathan (where express reference is made to the book of Jasher), the psalm in 2 Sam. xxii., were all, doubtless, previously in writing. Some of these Thenius has noted as of the highest antiquity.[2]

Of the author little can be said with certainty. From 1 Chron. xxix. 29. it has been assumed that Samuel, Gad, and Nathan chronicled the occurrences of their times, and, therefore, that these three prophets were the authors of the books of Samuel. The conclusion is, to say the least, doubtful. The word translated "book" is identical with that rendered "acts" as applied to David just before; and all that can be fairly deduced from the passage is, that the acts of David are written among the acts of (the time of) Samuel, Gad, and Nathan.

That the writer lived some time after most of the events recorded seems evident from several of the places in which the expression "unto this day" occurs; *e. g.* 1 Sam. v. 5., vi. 18., xxx. 25.; 2 Sam.

[1] See all these matters carefully discussed by Keil, Einleitung, § 53. It is curious that the objectors would solve a difficulty by a mode liable to the very objection at which they stumble. They cannot think of allowing a parallelism of events; and yet they insist on a parallelism of writers. Saul could not, they say, twice pursue David, and fall into his power; and yet historians sit down twice to tell the tale, and manage it so ill that the world does not find out for centuries what they really mean to record.

[2] Die Bücher Samuels, Leipzig, 1842, Einl. p. xxi.

iv. 3., vi. 8., xviii. 18. From these, running through the narrative from the earlier to the later portions, it appears that sections were not composed by contemporaneous authors, one taking up the pen as it fell from a predecessor's hand (in which case the phrase would have been needless); and there is thus another argument for the unity of the whole. Other passages, such as 1 Sam. ix. 9.; 2 Sam. xiii. 18., also indicate a time somewhat removed from that of the events narrated. So, too, does 1 Sam. xxvii. 6. Indeed, this place possibly shows that the writer lived after the division of Israel and Judah. It is not, however, quite so conclusive as some have endeavoured to make it; for the writer's intention is not so much to contrast the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, as to note that Ziklag, first assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 31.), and afterwards taken away for Simeon (Josh. xix. 5.), was, on its recovery from the Philistines, re-incorporated with Judah, instead of returning to Simeon.[1]

Perhaps, on a fair consideration of all the circumstances, we shall not err greatly if we assign this work to the age of Rehoboam.]

III. The first book of Samuel contains the history of the Jewish church and polity, from the birth of Samuel, during the judicature of Eli, to the death of Saul, the first king of Israel; a period of nearly eighty years, viz. from the year of the world 2869 to 2949. Its SCOPE is, first, to continue the history of the Israelites under the last two judges, Eli and Samuel, and their first monarch Saul, and to give the reason why their form of government was changed from an aristocracy to a monarchy; thus affording a strong confirmation of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, in which we find that this change had been foretold by Moses, in his prophetic declaration to the assembled nation, a short time before his death, and upwards of four hundred years before the actual institution of the regal government. This book also exhibits the preservation of the church of God amidst all the vicissitudes of the Israelitish polity; together with signal instances of the divine mercy towards those who feared Jehovah, and of judgments inflicted upon his enemies. It consists of three parts: viz.

PART I. *The transactions under the judicature of Eli* (i.—iv.).

1. The birth of Samuel (i.), with the thanksgiving and prophetical hymn of his mother Hannah (ii.). The tenth verse of this chapter is a prediction of the Messiah.

2. The call of Samuel, his denunciations against Eli by the command of God, and his establishment in the prophetic office (iii.).

3. The death of Eli, and the capture of the ark by the Philistines (iv.).

PART II. *The history of the Israelites during the judicature of Samuel.*

1. The destruction of the idol Dagon (v.); the chastisement of the Philistines, their restoration of the ark, and the slaughter of the Bethshemites for looking into the ark (vi.).

2. The reformation of divine worship, and the repentance of the

[1] See Hävernick, Einleitung, § 167. II. i. p. 144.

Israelites at Mizpeh, with the discomfiture of the Philistines, who were kept under during the remainder of Samuel's judicature (vii.).

3. The Israelites' request for a regal government; the destination of Saul to the kingly office (viii., ix.); his inauguration (x.), and victory over the Ammonites (xi.).

4. Samuel's resignation of the supreme judicial power (xii.); though, in a civil and religious capacity, he "judged Israel all the days of his life" (1 Sam. vii. 15.).

PART III. *The history of Saul, and the transactions during his reign.*

1. The prosperous part of Saul's reign, comprising his war with the Philistines, and offering of sacrifice (xiii.), with his victory over them (xiv.).

2. The rejection of Saul from the kingdom, in consequence of his rebellion against the divine command in sparing the king of Amalek, and the best part of the spoil (xv.).

3. The inauguration of David, and the events that took place before the death of Saul (xvi. —xxviii.); including,

i. The anointing of David (xvi.); his combat and victory over Goliath (xvii.).

ii. The persecutions of David by Saul; his exile and covenant with Jonathan (xviii.); his flight (xix.); friendship with Jonathan (xx.); his going to Nob, where he and his men ate of the shew-bread; his flight, first to Achish king of Gath, and subsequently into the land of Moab (xxi., xxii. 1—4); the slaughter of the priests at Nob, with the exception of Abiathar (xxii. 5—23.).

iii. The liberation of Keilah by David (xxiii. 1—6.); his flight into the wilderness of Ziph and Maon (xxiii. 7—29.); Saul's life in David's power at Engedi, who spares it (xxiv.); the churlish conduct of Nabal (xxv.); Saul's life spared a second time (xxvi.); David's second flight to Achish (xxvii.).

4. The last acts of Saul to his death; including,

i. Saul's consultation of the witch of Endor[1] (xxviii.).

ii. The encampment of the Philistines at Aphek, who send back David from their army (xxix.).

iii. David's pursuit and defeat of the Amalekites who had plundered Ziklag, and from whom he recovers the spoil (xxx.).

iv. The suicide of Saul, and total discomfiture of the Israelites (xxxi.).

IV. The second book of Samuel contains the history of David, the second king of Israel, during a period of nearly forty years, viz.

[1] Few passages of scripture have been discussed with more warmth than the relation contained in 1 Sam. xxviii.: some commentators have conjectured that the whole was a juggle of the Pythoness whom Saul consulted; others, that it was a mere visionary scene; Augustine and others, that it was Satan himself who assumed the appearance of Samuel; and others, that it was the ghost of Samuel, raised by infernal power, or by force of magical incantation. All these hypotheses, however, contradict the *historical fact* as related by the author of this book: for it is evident from the Hebrew original of v. 14. more closely translated, and compared throughout with itself, that it was "Samuel himself" whom Saul beheld, and who (or his spirit) was actually raised immediately, and before the witch had any time to utter any incantations, by the power of God, in a glorified form, and wearing the appearance of the ominous mantle in which was the rent that signified the rending of the kingdom from Saul's family. The *reality* of Samuel's appearance on this occasion was a doctrine of the primitive Jewish church (compare Ecclus. xlvi. 20.), and was also thus understood by Josephus, who has not only translated the original passage correctly, but likewise expressly states that the soul of Samuel inquired why it was raised. Antiq. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 14. § 2.; Dr. Hales, Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 355—360., or vol. ii. pp. 322—327. (edit. 1830), where the subject is fully discussed. See also Calmet, Dissertation sur l'Apparition de Samuel, Commentaire Littéral, tom. ii. pp. 331—336. That it was Samuel himself is further evident from the clearness and truth of the prediction (which could come only from God); for *on the morrow*, that is, very shortly after, Saul and his sons were slain.

from the year of the world 2948 to 2988; and, by recording the translation of the kingdom from the tribe of Benjamin to that of Judah, it relates the partial accomplishment of the prediction delivered in Gen. xlix. 10. The victories of David, his wise administration of civil government, his efforts to promote true religion, his grievous sins, and deep repentance, together with the various troubles and judgments inflicted upon him and his people by God, are all fully described. This book consists of three principal divisions, relating the triumphs and the troubles of David, and the transactions subsequent to his recovery of the throne, whence he was driven for a short time by the rebellion of his son Absalom.

PART I. *The triumphs of David* (i.—x.).

1. His pathetic elegy over Saul and Jonathan (i.).

2. His confirmation in the kingdom (ii.—iv.).

3. His victories over the Jebusites and Philistines (v.); and the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem (vi.). David's prayer to God on that occasion, and the divine promises made to him (vii.); which, though they primarily related to the establishment of the throne in his posterity, yet ultimately prefigured the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah (comp. vii. 12—16. with Heb. i. 5.).

4. His victories over the Philistines, Ammonites, and other neighbouring nations (viii.—x.).

PART II. *The troubles of David, and their cause, together with his repentance, and subsequent recovery of the divine favour* (xi.—xix.).

1. The cause of David's troubles, his *first great* offence against God, his sin in the matter of Uriah, and the divine judgments denounced against him on that account (xi., xii.).

2. The punishments in consequence of that sin, first, from domestic troubles in the sin of Amnon (xiii.); and, secondly, public troubles, in the rebellion of Absalom, which, for a short time, exiled David from the throne (xiv.—xvii.); the death of Absalom (xviii.), David's mourning for him and return to Jerusalem (xix.); Sheba's insurrection (xx.).

PART III. *Transactions of David's reign after his restoration* (xxi.—xxiv.).

1. The famine, and successful battles with the Philistines (xxi.).

2. David's psalm of praise, on a general review of the mercies of his life (xxii.). This divine ode also occurs in the book of Psalms (Psal. xviii.), with a few variations. We have it *here*, as originally composed for his own closet and his own harp; but *there* we have it as delivered to the chief musician for the service of the church, with some amendments.

3. The last words of David, forming a supplement to the preceding hymn (xxiii. 1—7.), followed by an enumeration of his mighty men (xxiii. 8—39.).

4. David's *second* great offence against God, in numbering the people; its punishment; David's penitential intercession and sacrifice (xxiv.).[1]

[1] "The offence of David seems to have chiefly consisted in his persisting to require a muster of all his subjects able to bear arms, without the divine command, without necessity, in a time of profound peace, to indulge an idle *vanity* and *presumption*, as if he put his trust more in the number of his subjects than in the divine protection; and the offence of his people might also have been similar, always elated as they were, and provoking the anger of the Lord in prosperity by their forgetfulness of him. Deut vi. 10—12." Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. p. 383, or p. 352. (edit. 1830.)

V. This second book of Samuel bears an exact relation to the preceding, and is likewise connected with that which succeeds. We see throughout the effects of that enmity against other nations, which had been implanted in the minds of the Israelites by the Mosaic law, and which gradually tended to the extirpation of idolatry. "This book, likewise, as well as the former, contains other intrinsic proofs of its verity. By describing without disguise the misconduct of those characters, who were highly reverenced among the people, the sacred writer demonstrates his impartial sincerity; and, by appealing to monuments that attested the veracity of his relations when he wrote, he furnished every possible evidence of his faithful adherence to truth. The books of Samuel connect the chain of sacred history by detailing the circumstances of an interesting period. They describe the reformation and improvements of the Jewish church established by David: and, as they delineate minutely the life of that monarch, they point out his typical relation to Christ. Many heathen authors have borrowed from the books of Samuel, or have collected from other sources, many particulars of those accounts which he gives."[1] In the falls of David we behold the strength and prevalence of human corruption; and, in his repentance and recovery, the extent and efficacy of divine grace.

The two books of Samuel are of very considerable importance for illustrating the book of Psalms, to which they may be considered as a key. Thus, Psal. iii. will derive much light from 2 Sam. xv. 14., &c.; Psal. iv. from 1 Sam. xxii., xxiii., xxvi.; Psal. vii. from 2 Sam. xvi. 2, 11.; Psal. xxiv. from 2 Sam. vi. 12., &c.; Psal. xxx. from 1 Sam. v. 11.; Psal. xxxii. and li. from 2 Sam. xii.; Psal. xxxiv. from 2 Sam. xxi. 10—15.; Psal. xxxv. from 2 Sam. xv., xvii.; Psal. xlii. and xliii. from 2 Sam. xvii. 22—24.; Psal. lii. from 1 Sam. xxii. 9.; Psal. liv. from 1 Sam. xxiii. 19. and xxvi. 1.; Psal. lv. from 2 Sam. xvii. 21, 22.; Psal. lvi. from 1 Sam. xxi. 11—15.; Psal. lvii. from 1 Sam. xxii. 1. and xxiv. 3.; Psal. lix. from 1 Sam. xix. 11.; Psal. lx. from 2 Sam. viii. 3—13. and x. 15—19.; Psal. lxiii. from 1 Sam. xxii. 5. and xxiii. 14—16.; Psal. lxviii. from 2 Sam. vi. 3—12.; Psal. lxxxix. from 2 Sam. vii. 12., &c.; and Psal. cxlii. from 1 Sam. xxii. 1. and xxiv. 1., &c. [There are references to the books of Samuel in the New Testament, *e. g.* Acts vii. 46., xiii. 21, 22.; Heb. i. 5.]

SECTION VI.

ON THE TWO BOOKS OF KINGS.

I. *Order and title of these books.*—II. *Author, and sources.*—III. *Argument and synopsis of the first book of Kings.*—IV. *Argument and synopsis of the second book of Kings.*—V. *General observations on these books.*

I. The two books of Kings are closely connected with those of Samuel. The origin and gradual increase of the united kingdom of

[1] Bp. Gray, Key, p. 181.

Israel under Saul and his successor David having been described in the latter, the books now under consideration relate its height of glory under Solomon, its division into two kingdoms under his son and successor Rehoboam, the causes of that division, and the consequent decline of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, until their final subversion; the ten tribes being carried captive into Assyria by Shalmaneser, and Judah and Benjamin to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. In the most ancient editions of the Hebrew Bible, the two books of Kings constitute but *one*, with a short space or break sometimes between them. Some of the early fathers of the Christian church seem to have begun the first book of Kings at the death of David (ii. 12.). The more modern copies of the Hebrew Bible have the same division with our authorized version, though in the time of the Masoretes they certainly formed only one book; as both (like the books of Samuel) are included under one enumeration of sections, versions, &c., in the Masorah. They have evidently been divided at some unknown period, into two parts, for the convenience of reading.

The titles to these books have been various, though it appears from Origen that they derived their name from the initial words וְהַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד, *Now king David*[1]; in the same manner as (we have seen) the book of Genesis does. In the Septuagint Greek version, it is simply termed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΩΝ, of *reigns* or kingdoms, of which it calls Samuel the first and second, and these two the third and fourth. The Vulgate Latin version intitles it: *Liber Regum tertius; secundum Hebræos, Liber Malachim*, that is, *the third book of Kings; according to the Hebrews, the first book of Malachim.* The old Syriac version has: *Here follows the book of the kings who flourished among the ancient people; and in this is also exhibited the history of the prophets, who flourished in their times.* In the Arabic it is thus entitled: *In the name of the most merciful and compassionate God; the book of Solomon, the son of David the prophet, whose benedictions be upon us. Amen.*[2]

II. [The books of Kings form a complete whole[3], in which the author has represented the progressive development of the theocracy, according to the principle of God's promise to David, 2 Sam. vii. 12—16. This promise is the thread running through the history from Solomon to the captivity. How the Lord fulfilled this gracious word, how, though he chastised the house of David for their transgressions, he yet preserved them an inheritance, and did not rend away all the kingdom, how he bore long with Israel as well as with Judah, and how, even after Judah, not warned by the fall of the sister kingdom, had provoked him to remove them from their land, he yet took not away for ever his mercy from David's line — all this the author designs to exhibit. And such an exhibition was of precious value, inasmuch as, wrapped up in the promise of temporal

[1] Ὅπέρ ἐστι, βασιλεία Δαυίδ. Orig. Op. Par. 1718—1738. tom. ii. p. 529.

[2] Dr. A. Clarke, Pref. to 1 Kings, p. 1.

[3] It has been imagined that there is a great similarity of diction in 1 Kings i., ii., and 2 Samuel; but it is not enough to justify the attributing of both to the same writer: see before, p. 632.

blessing, there was yet an indication of that spiritual glory in which one of David's descendants should sit upon his throne, ruling a kingdom of which there was to be no end.[1]

In conformity with this principle, the books of Kings evince a sufficient unity to show that they were composed by one and the same author. They are compiled indeed from particular annals, but they are no mere compilation, but a whole wrought out after a settled plan, in method and in style giving a substantial proof of their independent completeness. The writer refers to his sources in the same terms, marks carefully the chronology of the most important events, estimates the character and administration of the kings by the rules of the Mosaic law, describes the commencement, tenor, and close of each reign, and the death and burial of the sovereigns in the same phraseology.

Keil produces the following proofs of these several particulars. For chronological reckoning, 1 Kings ii. 11.; vi. 1, 37, 38.; vii. 1.; viii. 2, 65, 66.; ix. 10.; xi. 42.; xiv. 20, 21, 25.; xv. 1, 2, 9, 10, 25, 33.; xvi. 8, 10, 15, 23, 29.; xviii. 1.; xxii. 1, 2, 41, 42, 51.; 2 Kings i. 17.; iii. 1.; viii. 16, 25, 26.; ix. 29.; x. 36.; xi. 3, 4.; xii. 1, 6.; xiii. 1, 10.; xiv. 1, 2, 17, 23.; xv. 1, 2, 8, 13, 17, 23, 27, 30, 32, 33.; xvi. 1, 2.; xvii. 1, 5, 6.; xviii. 1, 2, 9, 10, 13.; xxi. 1, 19.; xxii. 1, 3.; xxiii. 23, 31, 36.; xxiv. 1, 8, 12, 18.; xxv. 1—3, 8, 25, 27. References to the law, 1 Kings ii. 3 ; iii. 14.; vi. 12. &c.; viii. 58, 61.; ix. 4, 6.; xi. 33, 38.; 2 Kings x. 31.; xi. 12.; xiv. 6.; xvii. 13, 15, 34, 37.; xviii. 6.; xxi. 8.; xxii. 8. &c.; xxiii. 3, 21, 24. &c. For the way in which the death, burial, and succession of kings are noticed, we find among others, 1 Kings xi. 43.; xiv. 20, 31.; xv. 8, 24.; xxii. 50, 51.; 2 Kings viii. 24.; xiii. 9.; xiv. 29.; xv. 7, 38.; xvi. 20.; xx. 21.; xxi. 18.; xxiv. 6. The kings of Judah are characterized, 1 Kings xv. 3, 11.; xxii. 43.; 2 Kings xii. 3.; xiv. 3.; xv. 3, 34.; xviii. 3.; xxii. 2.; and xvi. 2.; xxi. 2, 20.; xxiii. 37.; xxiv. 9, 19.; the kings of Israel, 1 Kings xiv. 7, 8.; xv. 26, 31.; xvi. 19, 26, 30. &c.; xxii. 53.; 2 Kings iii. 3.; x. 29, 31.; xiii. 2, 11.; xiv. 24.; xv. 9, 18, 24, 28.; xvii. 21. &c. Then there are expressions used respecting the choice of Jerusalem and the temple in 1 Kings viii. 16, 29.; ix. 3.; xi. 36.; xiv. 21.; 2 Kings xxi. 4, 7.; xxiii. 27.; attachment to Jehovah, 1 Kings viii. 61.; xi. 4.; xv. 3, 14.; 2 Kings xx. 3. The same usages in point of language are found throughout; as עָצוּר וְעָזוּב, 1 Kings xiv. 10.; xxi. 21.; 2 Kings ix. 8.; xiv. 26.; the frequent use of the particle אָז, 1 Kings iii. 16.; viii. 1, 12.; ix. 11, 24.; xi. 7.; xvi. 21.; xxii. 50.; 2 Kings xii. 18.; xiv. 8.; xvi. 5.; הִתְמַכֵּר לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע, 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25.; 2 Kings xvii. 17. Peculiarities of later speech-usage are *words:* as בֶּדֶק, 2 Kings xii. 6., &c., xxii. 5.; דָּיֵק, 2 Kings xxv. 1.; כֹּר for חֹמֶר, 1 Kings v. 2, 25.; מְדִינוֹת, 1 Kings xx. 14., &c.; פֶּחָה, 1 Kings x. 15.; xx. 24.; 2 Kings xviii. 24.; קֻבֵּל, 2 Kings xv. 10.; רַב, 2 Kings xxv.

[1] See Keil, Commentary on the books of Kings (translated by Martin), vol. i. Introd. pp. 9—11. Comp. also Davison, Discourses on Prophecy (6th edit.), diss. v. part ii. pp. 140, 141, 151—153.

8., &c.; *word-forms*, as צִדֹנִין, 1 Kings xi. 33.; רָצִין, 2 Kings xi. 13.; סָבִיב, 2 Kings viii. 21.; &c. &c.[1]

Some critics, however, though admitting the substantial unity of Kings, imagine that they see examples of discrepancy and repetition, which go to prove, in their opinion, that the author did little more than bring his materials into juxta-position. Thus it is said that there is a contradiction between 1 Kings ix. 22. and xi. 28.; the former passage asserting that Solomon made none of the Israelites bondmen, while the latter describes Jeroboam as ruler of the charge of the house of Joseph. But the objection confounds two things. In 1 Kings v. 13. (Heb. 27.), it is said that Solomon imposed certain tasks on the children of Israel (מַס is the word used), and in xi. 28. there was a burden, סֵבֶל, on the house of Joseph; whereas the declaration ix. 22. is לֹא־נָתַן שְׁלֹמֹה עֶבֶד, he did not make bond-slaves. They worked only by courses (v. 14.); while the bondmen were continually employed. Another contradiction is alleged between 1 Kings xxi. 19. and xxii. 38. compared with 2 Kings ix. 25, 26. It was threatened that the dogs should lick Ahab's blood where they had licked Naboth's. This, it would seem, was at Jezreel; whereas, after Ahab had been killed, it was when his chariot was washed in the pool of Samaria that his blood was licked up by the dogs. But it is distinctly said on Ahab's repentance, imperfect as it was, that the threatened evil should not be inflicted in his days. We have other examples in the scripture history of punishment being modified or remitted on the repentance of those who had been sentenced. See, for instance, the case of the Ninevites who repented at the preaching of Jonah; so that the destruction of their city did not take place within the specified time. And yet, in the case before us, so weighty is the word uttered by the prophet, that, though to Ahab himself there is some mitigation granted, yet his blood is licked up by dogs after he had died a violent death, and his son's carcase is contemptuously cast into the very plot of ground that had been Naboth's. Surely there is no appreciable contradiction.

These are the only instances alleged of what critics have called "direct contradiction;" but Thenius has industriously collected a variety of other, as he is pleased to term them, "indirect" discrepancies.[2] They are, however, for the most part so utterly trifling, as hardly to deserve a refutation. Thus, things are described as subsisting "to this day," 1 Kings viii. 8., ix. 21, xii. 19.; 2 Kings viii. 22., whereas at the time the work was written the Jewish polity had ceased, and such relations no longer existed. The answer is, that the author retained the expressions from the sources he used. Then it is said that Jeroboam's residence in Tirzah, 1 Kings xiv. 17., does not agree with xii. 25., where Shechem and Penuel alone are mentioned as his residences. Now, first, it is not asserted that he lived at Penuel, but merely that he built it; and next, even if it was, it by no means follows that, during some part of his reign at least,

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 58., Comm. on Kings, vol. i. Introd., pp. 9, 10; Stähelin, Krit. Unters. p. 150.

[2] See Thenius, Die Bücher der Könige. Leipzig, 1849. Einleit. pp. ii. iii.

he did not reside elsewhere. It is useless to encumber the pages of this book with more examples: they may be found, with satisfactory replies, in Keil.[1]

There are also a few instances of repetition; as 1 Kings ix. 27, 28. and x. 22.; 2 Kings viii. 28, 29., and ix. 14—16.; also xiii. 12, 13, and xiv. 15, 16. If these are not to be accounted for by the frequent practice of oriental writers, who were accustomed to repeat their statements, they merely show, what is readily admitted, that the author really availed himself of the sources to which he refers. It is futile to object a want of exact chronological order, as in 2 Kings xiii. 14—21.; where the account of Elisha's death is placed after that of the decease of Joash. No comprehensive history ever was, or ever could be written in precise chronological sequence: had the sacred penman even attempted this, it would have been urged as a ground of objection, as strongly and with more justice, by those who now censure him.

The time of the composition of these books may be very nearly ascertained. It was after the Jews had been carried captive (2 Kings xxv. 27—30.), but probably before the return to Judæa; else that great event would no doubt have been alluded to. Some critics have pointed to 1 Kings vi. 1, 37, 38. as an additional proof of this; for the names (Zif and Bul) of months were not in use after the exile. But this has little weight: the names were retained from the original sources, as the added explanations "which is the second month," "which is the eighth month," seem to indicate. That the author wrote in Babylon is argued from 1 Kings iv. 24., and 2 Kings xxv. 27—30.; but this is nothing more than conjecture.[2] And, though the writer was probably of Judah, Israel having been previously dispersed, yet it is useless to allege, in support of this, that he details more particularly the history of the smaller kingdom, and attributes the misfortunes of the nation to the division between the tribes (2 Kings xvii. 21.). This is all that can be ascertained: the individual writer is uncertain. Jewish tradition fixes on Jeremiah; but it is unlikely, as the closing verses of Kings could not have been composed less than sixty-six years after Jeremiah was called to the prophetical office. It is true that the section, 2 Kings xxiv. 18—xxv. 30., is nearly identical with Jer. lii.[3] But Keil has shown that there are variations in style. The probability is that there was some common source from which the author of Kings derived his statement, and that a final editor added chap. lii. as an appendix to Jeremiah's prophecies. Other conjectures, that a pupil of Jeremiah and that Ezra wrote the books of Kings, are but conjectures.[4]

The sources from which the author mainly drew his materials are indicated by himself. At the close of Solomon's history, he refers for fuller particulars to *the Book of the Acts of Solomon* (1 Kings xi. 41.), for every king of Judah to *the book of the Chronicles of the kings*

[1] Einleitung, § 58.
[2] See De Wette, Einleitung, § 185, note *c.* compared with § 147 a., note *c.*
[3] Hävernick, Einleitung, § 171: II. i. pp. 170, &c.
[4] See Keil, Einleitung, § 59., Comm. on Kings, vol. i. Introd. pp. 8—13.

of Judah (1 Kings xiv. 29., xv. 7, 23., xxii. 45.; 2 Kings viii. 23., xii. 19. &c.), and for every king of Israel to *the Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel* (1 Kings xiv. 19., xv. 31., xvi. 5, 14, 20, 27., xxii. 39.; 2 Kings i. 18., x. 34. &c.). The book of the acts of Solomon has been supposed identical with the book of Nathan the prophet (2 Chron. ix. 29.). But this is not a likely conjecture: it was doubtless a comprehensive history of the monarch, comprising the events narrated in the three books mentioned in Chronicles. The book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel is cited for the last time 2 Kings xv. 31., that of the kings of Judah last in 2 Kings xxiv. 5.; perhaps the history was not carried down by them beyond these respective points, the reigns of Pekah and Jehoiakim. It is impossible to speak with any certainty of the nature or plan of these works, which may perhaps have been two parts of a complete history cited as *the Book of the kings of Judah and Israel,* 2 Chron. xxxii. 32., and with slight variations of title, 2 Chron. xx. 34., xxiv. 27., xxxv. 27. Be this as it may, they seem to have been annals, not mere official registers, composed at different times by prophetic men. Not that there was a continuous narrative taken up by one prophet, where another ceased, but possibly these chronicles were put together not long before the exile from the narratives of men contemporary with the facts they related.[1] Thenius fancies, but without sufficient reason, that the ultimate author of the books of Kings had only extracts from this larger work before him.

Besides the sources named, the writer had possibly some others for the histories of Elijah and Elisha, prophets who occupied such a prominent position in Israel, and whose wonderful acts are related at length.]

The divine authority of these books is attested by the many predictions they contain: they are cited as authentic and canonical by Jesus Christ (Luke iv. 25—27.), and by his apostles (Acts vii. 47.; Rom. xi. 2—4.; James v. 17, 18.), and they have constantly been received into the sacred canon by the Jewish and Christian churches in every age. Their truth and authenticity also derive additional confirmation from the corresponding testimonies of ancient profane writers.[2]

III. The first book of Kings embraces a period of one hundred and twenty-six years, from the anointing of Solomon, A.M. 2989, to the death of Jehoshaphat, A.M. 3115. It relates the latter part of David's life; his death, and the accession of Solomon, whose reign comprehended the most prosperous period of the Israelitish history,

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 60. Comp. Comm. on Kings, vol. i. Introd. pp. 13—21. The consideration that these books were digested from memoirs, written by different persons who lived in the respective times of which they wrote, will help to reconcile what is said of Hezekiah in 2 Kings xviii. 5. that *after him none was like him of all the kings of Judah,* with what is said of Josiah in chap. xxiii. 25. that *like unto him was there no king before him;* for what is said of Hezekiah was true, till the eighteenth year of Josiah, when that pious sovereign began the reformation of which so much is said in the sacred history. Reeves, Pref. to Books of Kings.

[2] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. c. 2.; Eusebius, Prep. Evang. lib. x.; Grotius de Veritate, lib. iii. c. 16; and Allix, Reflections upon the Books of the Old Testament, chap. ii. have collected several instances of the confirmation of the sacred historians from profane authors. On this subject also consult the testimonies given in Vol. I. pp. 144—162.

and prefigured the peaceful reign of the Messiah; Solomon's erection and consecration of the temple at Jerusalem (the beauty and perfection of which was a type of the beauty and perfection of the church of God); his defection from the true religion; the sudden decay of the Jewish nation after his death, when it was divided into two kingdoms, under Rehoboam, who reigned over Judah, comprising the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and under Jeroboam, who was sovereign of the other ten tribes, in the sacred writings designated as the kingdom of Israel; the reigns of Rehoboam's successors, Abijam, Asa, and Jehoshaphat; and those of Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri, Tibni, the wicked Ahab, and Ahaziah (in part), who succeeded Jeroboam on the throne of Israel. For the particular order of succession of these monarchs, and of the prophets who flourished during their respective reigns, the reader is referred to the chronological table inserted in the Appendix to the third volume of this work. The first book of Kings may be divided into two principal parts; containing, 1. The history of the undivided kingdom under Solomon; and, 2. The history of the divided kingdom under Rehoboam and his successors, and Jeroboam and his successors.

PART I. *The history of Solomon's reign* (i.—xi.) contains a narrative of,

1. The latter days of David; the inauguration of Solomon, and his designation to be David's successor (i.—ii. 11.).
2. The reign of Solomon from the death of David to his undertaking the erection of the temple (ii. 12—iv. 34.).
3. The preparations for building the temple (v.).
4. The building of the temple (vi.) and of Solomon's own house, with the preparation of the vessels for the temple-service (vii.).
5. The dedication of the temple, and the prayer of Solomon (viii.).
6. Transactions during the remainder of Solomon's reign; his commerce; visit from the queen of Sheba; the splendour of his monarchy; his falling into idolatry; and the adversaries by whom he was opposed until his death (ix., x., xi.).

PART II. *The history of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel* (xii. —xxii.).

1. The accession of Rehoboam, and division of the two kingdoms (xii.).
2. The reigns of Rehoboam king of Judah, and of Jeroboam I. king of Israel (xiii., xiv.).
3. The reigns of Abijam, and Asa, kings of Judah, and the contemporary reigns of Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri, and the commencement of Ahab's reign (xv., xvi.).
4. The reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and of his contemporaries Ahab, and Ahaziah (in part), during which the prophet Elijah flourished (xvii.—xxii.).

IV. The second book of Kings continues the contemporary history of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, from the death of Jehoshaphat, A.M. 3115, to the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, A.M. 3416, a period of three hundred years. The last three verses of the preceding book have been improperly disjoined from this. The history of the two kingdoms is

interwoven in this book, and presents a long succession of wicked sovereigns in the kingdom of Israel, from Ahaziah to Hoshea, in whose reign Samaria was captured by Shalmaneser king of Assyria, and the ten tribes were taken captive into that country. In the kingdom of Judah, we find some few pious princes among many who were corrupt. Sixteen sovereigns filled the Jewish throne, from Jehoram to Zedekiah, in whose reign the kingdom of Judah was totally subverted, and the people carried into captivity to Babylon. During this period numerous prophets flourished, as Elijah, Elisha, Jonah, Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, Daniel, Ezekiel, &c. The second book of Kings comprises twenty-five chapters, which may be divided into two parts; containing, 1. The history of the two monarchies, until the end of the kingdom of Israel; and, 2. The history of Judah alone to its subversion.

PART I. *The contemporary history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, to the end of the former* (i.—xvii.).

1. The contemporary reigns of Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, kings of Judah, and of Ahaziah, and Joram, kings of Israel; the translation of Elijah, and designation of Elisha to be his successor; miracles wrought by him (i.—viii. 29.).

2. Jehu appointed king over Israel; Jehoram put to death by him; the reign of Jehu; death of Ahaziah king of Judah, and the usurpation of Athaliah (ix.—xi. 3.).

3. The reign of Jehoash king of Judah, and the contemporary reigns of Jehoahaz, and his son Jehoash, kings of Israel; the death of the prophet Elisha; and the miracle performed at his grave (xi. 4—xiii. 25.).

4. The reigns of Amaziah, Azariah or Uzziah, and Jotham, kings of Judah, and the contemporary reigns of Jehoash or Joash, Jeroboam II., Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah (xiv., xv.).

5. The reign of Ahaz king of Judah; interregnum in the kingdom of Israel after the death of Pekah terminated by Hoshea the last sovereign, in the ninth year of whose reign Samaria his capital was taken by the king of Assyria, whither the ten tribes were taken into captivity; the subversion of the kingdom of Israel; and the mixture of religion introduced by the Cuthites who were transplanted to Samaria (xvi., xvii.).

PART II. *The history of the decline and fall of the kingdom of Judah* (xviii., xxv.).

1. The reign of Hezekiah; his war with the Assyrians; their army destroyed; the recovery of Hezekiah from a mortal disease; the Babylonish captivity foretold; his death (xviii., xix., xx.).

2. The reigns of Manasseh, and Amon (xxi.).

3. The reign of Josiah (xxii.—xxiii. 30.).

4. The reigns of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah the last king of Judah; Jerusalem taken; the temple burnt; and the Jews carried into captivity to Babylon (xxiii. 31—xxv. 30.).

V. The two books of Kings, particularly the second, abound with impressive and lively narrations; and the strict impartiality, with which the author of each book has related events and circumstances dishonourable to his nation, affords a convincing evidence of his fidelity and integrity. These books delineate the long-suffering of

God towards his people, and his severe chastisements for their iniquitous abuse of his mercy: at the same time they mark most clearly the veracity of God, both in his promises and in his threatenings, and show the utter vanity of trusting in an arm of flesh, and the instability of human kingdoms, from which piety and justice are banished.[1]

[De Wette and Hävernick speak of the *prophetico-didactic* character of these books, as exhibiting with peculiar minuteness the influence of the prophets, "which designs," says the latter, "by no means to give a mere external political or internal religious and ecclesiastical view, but has applied itself with the most decided preference to the delineation of the prophetic in relation to the kingly office; so that the view given penetrates as deeply into the whole life and conduct of the prophets, as of the kings and people."[2] Keil in some measure assents to this, but believes that the idea is pushed too far, and well observes, "the author did not follow a prophetico-didactic tendency as opposed to a purely-historical aim in the selection and elaboration of his materials."[3]]

SECTION VII.

ON THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

I. *Title.*—II. *Author and date.*—III. *Scope.*—IV. *Analysis of the two books of Chronicles.*—V. *Observations on them.*

I. THE ancient Jews comprised the two books of Chronicles in one book; but in the Hebrew Bibles, now printed for their use, they have adopted the same division which is found in our Bibles, apparently (Calmet thinks) for the purpose of conforming to our mode of reference in concordances, the use of which they borrowed from the Romish church. The Jews intitle these books דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, *The Words of Days*, or *Annals*; probably from the circumstance of their being compiled out of diaries or annals, in which were recorded the various events related in these books. In the Septuagint version they are termed ΠΑΡΑΛΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΑ, *the things that were left or omitted*; because not only many things which were omitted in the former part of the sacred history are here supplied, but some narrations also are enlarged, while others are added. The Greek translators of that version seem to have considered these books as a supplement, either to Samuel and to the books of Kings, or to the whole Bible. The appellation of Chronicles was given to these books by Jerome, because they contain an abstract, in order of time, of the whole of the sacred history, to the time when they were written.[4]

[1] In the first volume of Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts, pp. 134—138., there are some admirable reflections on the moral causes of the Babylonish captivity, and the propriety of that dispensation, which will amply repay the trouble of perusal.
[2] De Wette, Einleitung, § 183. p. 232.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 168. II. i. pp. 146, 147.
[3] Comm. on Kings, vol. i. Intr. § 1. p. 2.
[4] Calmet's and Dr. Clarke's Prefaces to the two Books of Chronicles.

II. These books were evidently compiled from others, which were written at different times, some before and others after the Babylonish captivity: it is most certain that the books of Chronicles are not the original records or memorials of the transactions of the sovereigns of Israel and Judah, so often referred to in the books of Kings. Those ancient registers were much more copious than the books of Chronicles; which contain ample extracts from original documents, to which they very frequently refer.

Concerning the author of these books we have no distinct information. Some have conjectured that he was the same who wrote the books of Kings; but the great difference, Calmet remarks, in the dates, narratives, genealogies, and proper names, together with the repetitions of the same things, and frequently in the same words, strongly militates against this hypothesis. The Hebrews commonly assign the Chronicles to Ezra; who, they say, composed them after the return from the captivity, and was assisted in this work by the prophets Zechariah and Haggai, who were then living. This opinion they endeavour to support, *first*, from the similarity of style (the last three verses of the second book of Chronicles corresponding very nearly with the first three verses of Ezra), from the recapitulations and general reflections which are sometimes made on a long series of events: *secondly*, the author lived after the captivity, since in the last chapter of the second book he recites the decree of Cyrus, which granted liberty to the Jews, and he also continues the genealogy of David to Zerubbabel, the chief of those who returned from the captivity: *thirdly*, these books contain certain terms and expressions, which they think are peculiar to the person and times of Ezra.

However plausible these observations may be, there are other marks discernible in the books of Chronicles, which tend to prove that Ezra did not compose them. In the *first place*, the author continues the genealogy of Zerubbabel to the twelfth generation; but Ezra did not live to that time, and, consequently, could not have written the genealogy in question: *secondly*, the writer of these books was neither a contemporary nor an original writer; but compiled and abridged them from ancient memoirs, genealogies, annals, registers, and other works which he frequently quotes, and from which he sometimes gives copious extracts, without changing the words, or attempting to reconcile inconsistencies. It is evident, therefore, that the author of these books lived after the captivity, and derived his materials from the memoirs of writers contemporary with the events recorded, who flourished long before his time. The authenticity of these books is abundantly supported by the general mass of external evidence; by which also their divine authority is fully established, as well as by the indirect attestations of our Lord and his apostles.[1]

[The sources to which the Chronicle-writer refers, are, for the history of David, (1.) the book of Samuel the seer, of Nathan the

[1] Compare 1 Chron. xxiii. 13. with Heb. v. 4., and xxiv. 10. with Luke i. 5.; 2 Chron. ix. 1. with Matt. xii. 42. and Luke xi. 31.; and 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21. with Matt. xxiii. 35 and Luke xi. 51.

prophet, and Gad the seer (1 Chron. xxix. 29.); for the history of Solomon (2.) the book of Nathan, the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam (2 Chron. ix. 29.). For the further history of Judah reference is made to (3.) a book of the kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chron. xvi. 11.), cited elsewhere with some small variations of title (xxv. 26., xxviii. 26., xxxii. 32., xxvii. 7., xxxv. 27., xxxvi. 8., xx. 34., xxxiii. 18., see the Hebrew); by which there can be little doubt that but a single book is meant. Elsewhere we have (4.) the story, מִדְרַשׁ, of the book of the Kings (2 Chron. xxiv. 27.), which may be identical with the foregoing, because, Keil argues, the history of Joash, for which it is cited, agrees as closely with the history of that monarch, 2 Kings xi. xii., as the history of those kings in Chronicles with that in Kings, for which the Chronicle-writer refers to the book of the kings of Judah and Israel and the author of Kings to the annals of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel.[1] This, however, is not decisive. Other sources are (5.) the book of Shemaiah the prophet, and Iddo the seer concerning genealogies (2 Chron. xii. 15.); (6.) the story, מִדְרַשׁ, of the prophet Iddo (2 Chron. xiii. 22.); (7.) the book of Jehu, the son of Hanani (2 Chron. xx. 34.); (8.) the acts of Uzziah, written by Isaiah the prophet (2 Chron. xxvi. 22.); (9.) the vision of Isaiah the prophet (2 Chron. xxxii. 32.); and (10.) the sayings of the seers (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.). Of these, the book (or words) of Jehu, and the vision of Isaiah are said to have been incorporated with the book of the kings of Judah and Israel. Keil imagines that the rest were independent histories; but there is much probability that they were sections of one large historical work.

It has been questioned whether the Chronicle-writer had the canonical books of Kings before him. He can hardly be supposed ignorant of these books, though he appears to have worked out his narrative from his sources after his own method, and not as merely adding a supplement to the preceding writer.

With regard to the date of this book, there is some difficulty in understanding how far the pedigree (1 Chron. iii. 17—24.) reaches. Zunz would bring it down to B.C. 260 or 270.[2] Hävernick believes that the names beginning "the sons of Rephaiah" (v. 21.) were not descendants of Zerubbabel, but belong to a pedigree running parallel with the preceding[3]; while Vitringa and others imagine that the passage is an interpolation.[4] There are unquestionably traces of a late date; as the reckoning by *darics* (1 Chron. xxix. 7.); and the use of בִּירָה for the temple (1 Chron. xxix. 1, 19.); which seem to point to the period of the Persian dominion. A later time can hardly be conceded.]

III. The principal SCOPE of these books is to exhibit with accuracy the genealogies, the rank, the functions, and the order of the priests and Levites; that, after the captivity, they might more easily assume their proper ranks, and re-enter on their ministry.[5] The

[1] Einleitung, § 144. p. 494. [2] Die Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden, pp. 31, 33.
[3] Einleitung, § 180. II. i. p. 266. [4] See Keil, Einleitung, § 145. p. 496.
[5] Conf. Keil, Einleitung, § 143. pp. 486. 487.

author had further in view to show how the lands had been distributed among the families before the captivity; so that the respective tribes might on their return obtain, as far as was practicable, the ancient inheritance of their fathers. He quotes old records by the name of *ancient things* (1 Chron. iv. 22.), and recites four several rolls or numberings of the people; one taken in the time of David, a second in the time of Jeroboam, a third in the time of Jotham, and a fourth in the time of the captivity of the ten tribes. In other places he speaks of the numbers which had been taken by order of king David, but which Joab did not finish. Hence we may perceive the extreme accuracy affected by the Jews in their historical documents and genealogies: the latter, indeed, could not be corrupted *formerly* (for most of the people could repeat them memoriter); although, from frequent transcription, much confusion has been introduced into many of the names, which it is now, perhaps, impossible to clear up. It is, however, most evident that the basis of the books of Chronicles was a real history and real genealogies; for such particulars of names and other circumstances would never have been invented by any person, as no imaginable purpose could be answered by it; and the hazard of making mistakes, and being thereby exposed when they were first published, would be very great.

IV. The Chronicles are an abridgment of all the sacred history, but more especially from the origin of the Jewish nation to their return from the first captivity. The first book traces the rise and propagation of the people of Israel from Adam, and afterwards gives a circumstantial account of the reign and transactions of David. In the second book the narrative is continued, and relates the progress and dissolution of the kingdom of Judah, to the very year of the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity: very little notice is taken of the kings of Israel. The period of time embraced in the books of Chronicles is about 3468 years; and they may be commodiously divided into four parts; viz.—1. The genealogies of those persons through whom the Messiah was to descend, from Adam to the captivity, and to the time of Ezra; 2. The histories of Saul and David; 3. The history of the united kingdoms of Israel and Judah under Solomon; and, 4. The history of the kingdom of Judah after the secession of the ten tribes from Rehoboam, to its utter subversion by Nebuchadnezzar.

PART I. *Genealogical tables from Adam to the time of Ezra* (1 Chron. i.—ix. 34.).

1. Genealogies of the patriarchs from Adam to Jacob, and of the descendants of Judah to David, and his posterity to Zerubbabel and his family (1 Chron. i.—iii.).

2. Genealogies of other descendants of Judah by Pharez, and of the remaining eleven sons of Jacob (iv.—ix. 1.).

3. Genealogies of the first inhabitants of Jerusalem, after their return from the Babylonish captivity (ix. 2—34.).

In perusing the Hebrew genealogies, it will be necessary to remember that the terms *father*, *son*, *begat*, and *begotten*, which are of such frequent occurrence in them, do not always denote immediate procreation or filiation, but extend to any distant progenitor.[1]

[1] Thus in Gen. xxix. 5. Laban is called the *son* of Nahor, though, in fact, he was only his *grandson* by Bethuel. Similar instances are often to be found in the scriptures.

"These genealogical tables are exceedingly brief. Nothing is to be found of the tribe of Dan. That of Benjamin is twice introduced (1 Chron. vii. 6—12. and viii.). The genealogies of the priests and Levites are given most in detail, and terminate with the destruction of Jerusalem. They are very far from being complete: even those of the high priests, extending through one thousand years, comprehend only twenty-two successions, where thirty might be expected (1 Chron. vi.). Those of the tribe of Judah are pretty copious (1 Chron. ii. 3—55. iv. 1—22.); and the register of David's descendants runs down to the fourth century before Christ (1 Chron. iii.). All these tables relate to distinguished families and individuals: they contain occasionally many important historical notices, which prove that in the original tables historical matters were here and there introduced."[1] See 1 Chron. iv. 9, 10., v. 19—22., and vii. 21—23.

Part II. *The histories of Saul and David* (1 Chron. ix. 35.—xxix. 22.).

1. The pedigree of Saul and his death (1 Chron. ix. 35—x. 14.).
2. The history and transactions of the reign of David; including,

i. His inauguration; list of his worthies, and account of his forces (xi. xii.).
ii. The bringing up of the ark from Kirjath-jearim, first to the house of Obed-edom, and thence to Jerusalem; and the solemn service and thanksgiving on that occasion (xiii.—xvi.). David's intention of building a temple approved of by Jehovah (xvii.).
iii. The victories of David over the Philistines, Moabites, Syrians, and Edomites (xviii.); and over the Ammonites, Syrians, and Philistines (xix. xx.).
iv. David takes a census of the people; a plague inflicted, which is stayed at his intercession (xxi. 1—27.).
v. An account of David's regulations for the constant service of the temple; his preparations and directions concerning the building of it (xxi. 27—xxiii. 1.); regulations concerning the Levites (xxiii. 2—32.); the priests (xxiv.), singers (xxv.), and porters or keepers of the gates (xxvi.).
vi. Regulations for the administration of his kingdom; list of his military and civil officers (xxvii.).
vii. David's address to Solomon and his princes concerning the building of the temple (xxviii.); the liberal contributions of David and his subjects for this purpose, and his thanksgiving for them (xxix. 1—22.).

Part III. *The history of the united kingdom of Israel and Judah under Solomon* (1 Chron. xxix. 23—30.; 2 Chron. i.—ix.).

1. The second inauguration of Solomon; death of David; the piety, wisdom, and grandeur of Solomon (1 Chron. xxix. 23—30.; 2 Chron. i.).
2. Account of the erection and consecration of the temple, and of some other edifices erected by him (2 Chron. ii. 1—viii. 16.).
3. The remainder of Solomon's reign to his death (viii. 17, 18., ix.).

Part IV. *The history of the kingdom of Judah, from the secession of the ten tribes, under Jeroboam, to its termination by Nebuchadnezzar* (2 Chron. x.—xxxvi.)

1. The accession of Rehoboam; the division of the kingdom; Jerusalem plundered by Shishak (2 Chron. x.—xii.).
2. The reigns of Abijah, and Asa, kings of Judah (xiii.—xvi.).
3. The reign of Jehoshaphat (xvii.—xx.).
4. The reigns of Jehoram, and Ahaziah; the usurpation of Athaliah (xxi., xxii.).
5. The reign of Joash (xxiii., xxiv.).
6. The reigns of Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham (xxv.—xxvii.).
7. The reign of Ahaz (xxviii.).
8. The reign of Hezekiah (xxix.—xxxii.).
9. The reigns of Manasseh, and Amon (xxxiii.).
10. The reign of Josiah (xxxiv. xxxv.).

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[1] Jahn, Introduction by Prof. Turner, pp. 259, 260.

11. The reigns of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah; the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple (xxxvi.).[1]

V. Independently of the important moral and religious instruction to be derived from the two books of Chronicles, as illustrating the divine dispensations towards a highly-favoured but ungrateful people, the second book is extremely valuable in a critical point of view; not only as it contains some historical particulars which are not mentioned in any other part of the Old Testament, but also as it affords us many genuine readings, which, by the inaccuracy of transcribers, are now lost in the older books of the Bible. The discrepancies between the books of Kings and Chronicles, though very numerous, are not of any great moment, and admit of an easy solution, being partly caused by various lections, and partly arising from the nature of the books; which, being supplementary to those of Samuel and Kings, omit what is there related more at large, and supply what is there wanting.[2] It should further be recollected that, *after* the captivity, the Hebrew language was slightly varied from what it had formerly been; that different places had received new names, or undergone sundry vicissitudes; that certain things were now better known to the returned Jews under other appellations, than under those by which they had formerly been distinguished; and that, from the materials to which the author had access (and which frequently were different from those consulted by the writers of the royal histories), he has selected those passages which appeared to him best adapted to his purpose, and most suitable to the time in which he wrote. It must also be considered that he often elucidates obscure and ambiguous words in former books by a different mode of spelling them, or by a different order of the words employed, even when he does not use a distinct phraseology of narration, which he sometimes adopts.[3]

As the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles relate the same histories, they should all be constantly read and collated together; not only for the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of

[1] The last two verses of the second book of Chronicles are evidently the beginning of the book of Ezra, which follows next in the order of the canon, and must have been copied from it before the transcriber was aware of his error; but, finding his mistake, he abruptly broke off, and began the book of Ezra at the customary distance, without publishing his error by erasing or blotting out those lines which he had inadvertently subjoined to the book of Chronicles. This copy, however, being in other respects of authority, has been followed in all subsequent copies, as well as in all the ancient versions. This circumstance affords a proof of the scrupulous exactness with which the copies of the canonical books were afterwards taken. No writer or translator would take upon himself to correct even a manifest error. How then can we think that any other alteration, diminution, or addition, would voluntarily be made by any of the Jewish nation, or not have been detected if it had been attempted by any person? Dr. Kennicott, Diss. i. pp. 491—494. Dr. Priestley, Notes on Scripture, vol. ii. pp. 93, 94.

[2] The above remark will be clearly illustrated by comparing 2 Kings xxiv. 6. with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. and Jer. xxxvi. 30.; 1 Kings xxii. 43. with 2 Chron. xvii. 6.; 2 Kings ix. 27. with 2 Chron. xxii. 9. See also Professor Dahler's learned Disquisition De Librorum Paralipomenων auctoritate atque fide historica (8vo. Argentorati et Lipsiæ, 1819); in which he has instituted a minute collation of the books of Chronicles with the books of Samuel and of Kings, and has satisfactorily vindicated their genuineness and credibility against the insinuations and objections of some recent sceptical German critics.

[3] Calmet's Dictionary, art. Chronicles, *in fine.*

Jewish history, but also in order to illustrate or amend from one book what is obscure in either of the others.

The following table of the more remarkable parallel passages of the books of Chronicles and those of Samuel and Kings will assist the reader in his collation of these books[1]:—

1 Chron. x. 1—12.	with	1 Sam. xxxi.
1 Chron. xi. 1—9.		2 Sam. v. 1—10.
1 Chron. xi. 10—41.		1 Sam. xxiii. 8—39.
1 Chron. xiii. 1—14.		2 Sam. vi. 3—11.
1 Chron. xiv. 1—7.		2 Sam. v. 11—25.
1 Chron. xvii.		2 Sam. vii.
1 Chron. xviii.		2 Sam. viii.
1 Chron. xix.		2 Sam. x.
1 Chron. xx. 1—3.		2 Sam. xi. 1., xii. 30., &c.
1 Chron. xx. 4—8.		2 Sam. xxi. 18—22.
1 Chron. xxi.		2 Sam. xxiv.
2 Chron. i. 3—13.		1 Kings iii. 4—14.
2 Chron. i. 14—17.		1 Kings x. 26—29.
2 Chron. ii.		1 Kings v. 15—32.
2 Chron. iii. iv.		1 Kings vi. vii.
2 Chron. v. 2—vii. 10.		1 Kings viii.
2 Chron. vii. 11—22.		1 Kings ix. 1—9.
2 Chron. viii.		1 Kings ix. 15—28.
2 Chron. ix. 1—12.		1 Kings x. 1—13.
2 Chron. ix. 13—31.		1 Kings x. 14—29.
2 Chron. x. 1—xi. 4.		1 Kings xii. 1—24.
2 Chron. xii. 2—11.		1 Kings xiv. 25—28.
2 Chron. xvi. 1—6.		1 Kings xv. 17—22.
2 Chron. xviii.		1 Kings xxii. 2—35.
2 Chron. xx. 31—37.		1 Kings xxii. 41—50.
2 Chron. xxi. 6—10.		2 Kings viii. 17—24.
2 Chron. xxii. 2—6.		2 Kings viii. 26—29.
2 Chron. xxii. 10—xxiii. 21.		2 Kings xi.
2 Chron. xxiv. 1—14.		2 Kings xii. 1—16.
2 Chron. xxv. 1—4, 11, 17—24, 27, 28.		2 Kings xiv. 1—14, 19, 20.
2 Chron. xxvi. 1, 2.		2 Kings xiv. 21, 22.
2 Chron. xxvi. 3, 4, 21.		2 Kings xv. 2—5.
2 Chron. xxvii. 1—3.		2 Kings xv. 33, 35.
2 Chron. xxviii. 1—4.		2 Kings xvi. 2—4.
2 Chron. xxix. 1, 2.		2 Kings xviii. 2, 3.
2 Chron. xxxii. 9—21.		2 Kings xviii. 17—37.
2 Chron. xxxii. 24—31.		2 Kings xx. 1—19.
2 Chron. xxxiii. 1—10.		2 Kings xxi. 1—10.
2 Chron. xxxiv. 1, 2, 8—28.		2 Kings xxii.
2 Chron xxxiv. 29—33.		2 Kings xxiii. 1—20.
2 Chron. xxxv. 18, 20—25.		2 Kings xxiii. 22, 23.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 1.		2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 2—4.		2 Kings xxiii. 31—34.

[With regard to the mode in which the Chronicle-writer used his materials, and the alleged unhistoric character of his book, little need here be said. The variations observed have been classed under three heads: (1.) in orthography and diction, (2.) in arrangement, (3.) in numbers and facts. The two former are of little importance.

It may be proper to premise that there are writers who seem to exhaust the powers of language in vituperating this author. He is incorrect, confused, senseless. He is actuated by unworthy motives. Thus, De Wette, commenting on a supposed contradiction between

[1] This table is copied from Prof. Turner's and Mr. Whittingham's translation of Jahn, pp. 271, 272. note. It is mainly from De Wette: Keil gives nearly the same table, Einleitung, § 142.

2 Chron. xx. 35., &c., and 1 Kings xxii. 49., &c., gravely ascribes it to the Chronicle-writer's "hatred against Israel."[1] Were these charges really fact, the only wonder would be that the books ever obtained any kind of authority or respect.[2]

If these books are compared with those of Samuel and Kings, there will appear various classes of differences.

There are omissions: the domestic scene between Michal and David (2 Sam. vi. 20—23.); David's kindness to Mephibosheth (2 Sam. ix.); his adultery with Bathsheba (2 Sam. xi. 2—xii. 25.); Amnon's incest and Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. xiv.—xix.); Sheba's insurrection (2 Sam. xx.); the giving up of Saul's sons to the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 1—14.); a Philistine war (2 Sam. xxi. 15—17.: this was prior to that mentioned 1 Chron. xx. 4.); David's thanksgiving psalm and last words (2 Sam. xxii., xxiii. 1—7.); Adonijah's attempt on the throne, and the anointing of Solomon (1 Kings i.); David's charge to the latter (1 Kings ii. 1—9.); the settlement of Solomon's authority by the punishment of the insurgents (1 Kings ii. 13—46.); his marriage with Pharaoh's daughter (1 Kings iii. 1.); his wise judgment (1 Kings iii. 16—28.); his officers, magnificence, and wisdom (1 Kings iv. 1—v. 1.); the building of his palace (1 Kings vii. 1—12.); his strange wives and idolatry (1 Kings xi. 1—40.); and, finally, the history of the kingdom of the ten tribes.[3]

There are also facts added in Chronicles which are not noticed in Samuel or Kings: the list of the troops that came to David at Ziklag and Hebron, to make him king (1 Chron. xii.); his preparations for building the temple (xxii.); his numbering and arranging of the Levites and priests (xxiii.—xxvi.); his regulations for the army and officers (xxvii.); his last directions in an assembly of the people shortly before his death (xxviii. xxix.); then, in the history of Judah, the account of Rehoboam's fortifying his kingdom, his reception of the Levites who were driven out of Israel, his wives and children (2 Chron. xi. 5—24.); Abijah's war with Jeroboam (xiii. 3—20.); his wives and children (xiii. 21.); Asa's strengthening of his realm and victory over Zerah the Ethiopian (xiv. 3—14.); Azariah's address to him, in consequence of which he suppresses idolatry (xv. 1—15.); the reproof he receives from Hanani (xvi. 7—10.); Jehoshaphat's establishment of religion, his strength, and his army (xvii. 2.—xviii. 1.); the reproof he had from Jehu, and his judicial regulations (xix.); his victory over the Ammonites and others (xx. 1—30.); his providing appanages for his sons, whom his successor Jehoram puts to death (xxi. 2—4.); Jehoram's idolatry and punishment (xxi. 11—19.); death of the priest Jehoiada, and consequent apostacy of Joash (xxiv. 15—22.); Amaziah's military power (xxv. 5—10.), and idolatry (xxv. 14—16.); Uzziah's wars, victories, fortifications, and forces (xxvi. 6—15.); Jotham's fortifications and war with the Ammonites (xxvii. 4—6.); the cleansing of the temple, keeping of the passover, and re-establishment of religion under Hezekiah (xxix. 3.—xxxi. 21.); his riches (xxxii. 27—30.); Manasseh's captivity in Babylon, his deliverance and conversion (xxxiii. 11—17.).[4]

[1] Einleitung, § 190. p. 249.
[2] See Hävernick, Einleitung, § 178. II. i. pp. 230, &c.
[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 142. p. 480.
[4] Ibid. pp. 480, 481.

There are, besides, fuller details of matters shortly noticed in Samuel and Kings. Thus, the list of David's heroes is given more largely in 1 Chron. xii. 11—47., than in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8., &c.; also the account of the carrying of the ark from Kirjath-jearim to its establishment in Zion (comp. 1 Chron. xiii. 2., xv. 2—21., xvi. 4—43., with 2 Sam. vi.). Other examples may be seen in Keil.[1]

Short historical additions are also made; as the fact that Joab was the first to enter the strong-hold of Zion and smite the Jebusites, and was hence appointed captain (comp. 1 Chron. xi. 6, 8. with 2 Sam. v. 8, 9.), &c. &c.[2]

Occasionally a few words are left out of a narrative. Thus comp. 1 Chron. x. 12., with 1 Sam. xxxi. 12.; 1 Chron. xiii. 7. with 2 Sam. vi. 3., &c. &c.[3] There are also additional words, explanatory remarks, reflections, &c.; as in 1 Chron. xiii. 9., compared with 2 Sam. vi. 6. Comp., moreover, 1 Chron. xix. 2, 16. with 2 Sam. x. 2, 16.; v. 15. with v. 14.; 1 Chron. xx. 2. with 2 Sam. xii. 30., &c. &c.[4]

Further, differences are to be found in the spelling, as the more frequent use of the *scriptio plena*, in the employment of Aramæan and later forms, modes of construction, &c. &c., of which very many examples are given by Keil.[5]

All these variations make the task of exactly reconciling the different accounts not an easy one. But, if we bear in mind that there have been errors of transcription, and that we are often not acquainted with all the circumstances, the passages that present any considerable difficulty are but few. Frequently, indeed, the objections are of the most frivolous character. Thus 2 Chron. xiv. 2—5. is said to contradict xv. 17.; and 2 Chron. xvii. 6. to contradict xx. 33.[6]; on which Hävernick sensibly observes that the historian is speaking in one place of the high-places dedicated to idols, which were destroyed, in the other of those dedicated to Jehovah, which were not.[7]

Many of the alleged contradictions have been already considered[8]: only one or two more shall be noticed here.

It is said that there is an evident mistake in 2 Chron. xx. 36., as compared with 1 Kings xxii. 48. The phrase "ships of Tharshish," in the last-named place may, it is allowed, be properly used, though the vessels were intended to go to Ophir; ships of Tharshish meaning very likely any large vessels fitted for a long navigation. Whereas it is urged that ships would never be built at Ezion-Geber *to go* to Tharshish. Even Hävernick[9] and Keil[10] admit an error here, and account for it by supposing that the phrase "ships of Tharshish" was misunderstood in the Chronicle-writer's time, and supposed by him to mean those which went to Tharshish. This, however, is very unlikely: he could hardly be so ignorant. But it is not easy to offer a better explanation as the text stands. The alteration of a single word would bring both passages into harmony.

The lists also, 1 Chron. ix. 1—34., and Neh. xi. 3—36., do not

[1] Einleitung, § 142. p. 481. [2] Ibid. p. 482. [3] Ibid. p. 484.
[4] Ibid. pp. 485, 486. [5] Ibid. pp. 482—484.
[6] De Wette, Einleitung, § 190. c. p. 247. [7] Einleitung, § 178. II. i. p. 283.
[8] See before, pp. 461., &c. [9] Einleitung, p. 237. [10] Einleitung, pp. 500. 501.

agree. Keil supposes that they are not intended to be the same; and the student is recommended to consult his disquisition.[1] There is certainly a difficulty, whether we suppose them identical or not. But it must be repeated that, if no satisfactory explanation of this and the previously-noted discrepancy can be given now, it is somewhat bold to charge the errors, if errors there be, upon the author instead of on some transcriber.[2] And the student must be reminded that the points of exact agreement between the various and independent writers throughout the scriptures are almost innumerable[3]; those of stubborn discrepancy very few.

A word may be said on the similarity of expressions used in Chronicles and Ezra. De Wette has noticed several[4]; but some that he has produced are of no weight. Surely no one can imagine that any proof of the identity of authorship is afforded by the fact that the same doxology is found in both books, Ezra iii. 11.; 1 Chron. xvi. 41.; 2 Chron. v. 13.; especially when this very doxology appears in more than one Psalm, Psalms cxviii. cxxxvi.]

SECTION VIII.

ON THE BOOK OF EZRA.

I. *Title and author.*—II. *Argument, scope, and synopsis of its contents.*—III. *Observations on a spurious passage ascribed to Ezra.*

I. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah were anciently reckoned by the Jews as one volume, and were divided by them into the first and second books of Ezra. The same division is recognized by the Greek and Latin churches; but the third book, assigned to Ezra, and received as canonical by the Greek church, is the same, in substance, as the book which properly bears his name, but interpolated. And the *fourth* book, which has been attributed to him, is a manifest forgery, in which the marks of falsehood are plainly discernible, and which was never unanimously received as canonical either by the Greek or by the Latin church, although some of the fathers have cited it, and the Latin church has borrowed some words out of it. It is not now extant in Greek, and never was extant in Hebrew.

[Some critics, as Bialloblotzsky, Keil, and others have maintained that this book was composed throughout by one person. The former, endeavouring to account for the interchangeable use of the first and third persons in the narrative, cites Niebuhr as saying that "there is an essential difference between public events which a man recollects, though only as in a dream, to have heard of at the time when they occurred, and those which preceded his birth. The former we think of with reference to ourselves; the latter are foreign

[1] Einleitung, § 142. pp. 477, 478.

[2] Stuart thinks it probable that the books of Chronicles, have been "negligently transcribed." Hist. of Old Test. Canon, sect. vi. p.153.

[3] Such books as Blunt's Undesigned Coincidences cannot be too diligently perused. See also Rawlinson, Hist. Evid. of the Truth of the Script. Records, lectt. iii. iv.

[4] Einleitung, § 196 b. p. 262. See below, pp. 660, 661.

to us. The epoch and duration of the former we measure by our own life, the latter belong to a period for which our imagination has no scale. Life and definiteness are imparted to all that we hear or read with respect to the events of our own life." These remarks will, he thinks, account for the *enallage* in question. There are frequent examples of it in the sacred volume, *e.g.* Ezek. i. 1—3.; Hos. i. 2—4., iii. 1. &c., &c. Nor is it uncommon in ordinary modern writings.[1]

It may, however, be doubted whether this reasoning is satisfactory. The instances cited are only from the prophetic books; and, though Hävernick conceives that Ezra imitated the prophetic style[2], it is not easy to believe in an imitation of this kind.

The history of the first return from Babylon and of the building of the temple, chaps. i.—vi. presents some diversity from the rest of the book. The first person is never used, except chap. v. 4.; where it is probably to be ascribed to Tatnai and his companions. There are also varieties of expression, as "the law or book of Moses," (iii. 6.; vi. 18.); a phrase which is met with only once in the second part of the book (vii. 6.); while other phrases are elsewhere found (vii. 11, 12, 14, 21, 25., x. 3.). But this variation is of little weight, as the greater number of the passages referred to occur in a Persian state document. Nor are some others which are alleged more convincing. But there is a stronger proof in the fact that, not only are letters and decrees, but part of the history itself, in the former section written in Chaldee, (iv. 8—vi. 18.); while in the latter there is only one state paper in that dialect, vii. 12—26. It is not likely that a single author, unless writing at considerable intervals, would use two languages.

The probability, then, seems to be that chaps. i.—vi. were not from Ezra's pen; and there is an equal probability that the remainder, chaps. vii.—x., was written by him. If so, he must have had the previous part before him, and have intended to continue it by the introductory words, vii. 1. It is urged against this view that viii. 1—26. and x. stand apart from the rest, in the use of the third person; and also that Ezra would scarcely have spoken of himself in such terms as we find vii. 6, 10. These objections are by no means decisive; what possible impropriety could there be in a man's declaring that it was his purpose, that "he had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it"? St. Paul's language of himself was stronger, Acts xxiii. 1., xxiv. 16.; Phil. iii. 13, 14, 17, &c. &c. If, however (and the matter is a balance of probabilities) a different view is taken, it must be supposed that some final editor incorporated Ezra's own narrative, vii. 27 — ix. 15., with other documents, connecting them into a continuous history.]

II. The book of Ezra harmonizes most strictly with the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, which it materially elucidates (comp. Ezra v. with Hagg. i. 12. and Zech. iii. iv.). It evinces the paternal care of Jehovah over his chosen people, whose history it relates from

[1] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Ezra.

[2] Einleitung, § 183. II. i. p. 281.

the time of the edict issued by Cyrus, to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus — a period of about seventy-nine, or, according to some chronologers, of one hundred years.[1] [If the book be considered as carrying on the history to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, the time comprised in it cannot be less than ninety-two years; but it would seem hardly to go beyond Artaxerxes' eighth year.] This book consists of two principal divisions: the first contains a narrative of the return of the Jews from Babylon under the conduct of Zerubbabel; and the second gives an account of the reformation of religion under Ezra.

PART I. *From the return of the Jews under Zerubbabel to the re-building of the temple* (i.—vi.).

1. The edict of Cyrus, permitting the Jews to return into Judæa and re-build the temple; account of the people who first returned under the conduct of Zerubbabel, and of their offerings towards re-building the temple (i. ii.).
2. The building of the temple commenced, but hindered by the Samaritans (iii. iv.).
3. The temple finished in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes, by the encouragement of the decree issued in the second year of his reign (v. vi.).

PART II. *The arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem, and the reformation made there by him* (vii.—x.).

1. The departure of Ezra from Babylon with a commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus (vii.).
2. Account of his retinue and arrival at Jerusalem (viii.).
3. Narrative of the reformation effected by him (ix. x.).

The zeal and piety of Ezra appear, in this book, in a most conspicuous point of view: his memory has always been held in the highest reverence by the Jews, who consider him as a second Moses: though not expressly styled a prophet, he wrote under the influence of the Divine Spirit; and the canonical authority of his book has never been disputed. [Zunz has objected to its credibility. on the ground that the history in chap. i. is made up from v. 13—16., and vi. 3—5., and that the numbers, i. 9—11, are excessive. But these are groundless surmises. He also alleges an anachronism; for Ezra (x. 6.) goes into the chamber of Johanan, son of Eliashib; whereas this high-priest lived (Neh. xii. 22, 23.) long after Nehemiah. But Johanan might have been the son of the Eliashib mentioned Neh. xiii. 4, 7.[1]] Ezra is said to have died in the hundred and twentieth year of his age, and to have been buried at Jerusalem.

III. In Justin Martyr's conference with Trypho the Jew, there is a very extraordinary passage respecting the typical import of the passover, cited by that father; in which Ezra, in a speech made before the celebration of the passover, expounds the mystery of it as clearly relating to Christ; and which, Justin concludes, was at a very early day expunged from the Hebrew copies by the Jews, as too manifestly favouring the cause of Christianity. The passage

[1] See Zunz, Die Gottesdienstl. Vörtrage, pp. 21. &c.; and Keil, Einleitung, § 150. p 620.

may be thus translated[1]: "And Ezra said unto the people, This passover is our Saviour and our Refuge; and, if ye shall understand and ponder it in your heart, that we are about to humble him in this sign, and afterwards shall believe on him, then this place shall not be made desolate for ever, saith the Lord of hosts. But, if ye will not believe on him, nor hear his preaching, ye shall be a laughing-stock to the Gentiles." As this passage never existed in the Hebrew copies, and is not now to be found either in them or in any copies of the Septuagint version, it is the opinion of most critics that it originally crept into the Greek bibles from a marginal addition by some early Christian, rather than that it was expunged from the later copies by the Jews.

SECTION IX.

ON THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

I. *Title and author.*—II. *Argument and synopsis of its contents.*

I. THE book of Nehemiah, we have already observed, is in some versions termed the second book of Ezra or Esdras, from an opinion which anciently obtained, and was adopted by Athanasius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and other eminent fathers of the church, that Ezra was the author of this book. In the modern Hebrew bibles it has the name of Nehemiah prefixed to it, which is also retained in our English bibles. The author of this book was *not* the Nehemiah who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon with Zerubbabel.

[That Nehemiah, whose name this book bears, and who was cup-bearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus, wrote the greater part of it, is beyond reasonable doubt. But, though some maintain that the whole was from his pen, there are serious objections to such a belief.

The part, i. 1—vii. 5. is written in the first person, and by the general similarity of style, and the occurrence of favourite expressions (comp. ii. 8. with ii. 18.; ii. 12. with vii. 5.; ii. 19. with iii. 33. (E. V. iv. 1.); iii. 36. &c. (E. V. iv. 4. &c.) with v. 13.; v. 19. with vi. 14.), must be attributed to Nehemiah. And to this must be added the list, vii. 6—73., which he declares he found.[2] After this there is a change; and, from viii—x. 39., Nehemiah seems to retire into the back-ground; and there are some diversities in the phraseology. Thus, instead of פֶּחָה, governor, ii. 7, 9., iii. 7., v. 14, 15, 18., xii. 26., we find Tirshatha, viii. 9., x. 2. (E. V. i.). Keil alleges in reply that Nehemiah, being a civil officer, must necessarily give place to Ezra in the solemnization of ecclesiastical ministrations, and that, in the two places referred to, where he is called the Tirshatha, as he was per-

[1] Justin Martyr, Dial. cum Tryphone, pp. 292, 293. edit. by Thirlby, or pp. 169, 170. edit. Par. 1742. Mr. Whitaker, Origin of Arianism, p. 305, advocates its genuineness, and concludes that the passage in question originally stood in Ezra vi. 19—22., probably between the 20th and 21st verses. Dr. Grabe, Dr. Thirlby, and after them archbp. Magee, Disc. on Atonement, vol. i. p. 306. note, doubt its genuineness. Dr. A. Clarke is disposed to believe it authentic. Disc. on Eucharist, pp. 32, 33.

[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 152. pp. 521, 522.

forming official acts, he would naturally assume his special title as vice-gerent of the Persian king. But these reasons are not sufficient to account for the variation. It is further alleged that, in the section under consideration, the names of God, Jehovah, Adonai, Elohim, are promiscuously used, viii. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 18, &c.; while Elohim is generally employed by Nehemiah. In this, however, there is but little weight; for the other names are found in what Nehemiah wrote (i. 5, 11., iv. 14., v. 13.); and, besides, chaps. viii—x. describe solemn prayers, &c., in which special names of God might naturally be expected. It is a mere fancy to say that the divine names are differently used in the prayer of Nehemiah, chap. i., and in those of the Levites, chaps. viii. ix. A better argument is that Nehemiah generally designates nobles or rulers as חֹרִים, סְגָנִים, *e. g.* ii. 16., iv. 8, 13., v. 7, 17., vi. 17., vii. 5., xii. 40., xiii. 11., whereas these words do not appear in viii—x., but רָאשֵׁ הָאָבוֹת, the chief or heads of the fathers. Keil's reply here is not convincing, that, as the priests and Levites were spoken of, "the chief of the fathers" was the most appropriate phrase for the leaders of the people (comp. xii. 12, 23.). On the whole, the probability is that Nehemiah did not write this section; and not only does De Wette pronounce it an interpolation, but Hävernick also gives up its Nehemiah authorship, and ascribes it to Ezra, explaining on this ground the otherwise-somewhat-puzzling omission of Ezra's name in the list, chap. x.[1] This last conjecture, however, is impugned by De Wette, who denies that either Ezra, or any contemporary of Nehemiah, could have written the section.[2] Some of his arguments are baseless, as when he infers a contradiction between Ezra iii. 4. and Neh. viii. 17. interpreting the last-named verse to assert that the feast of tabernacles had never been observed at all since the days of Joshua; whereas the simple meaning of this text is that no feast of tabernacles had during the time been observed with so great solemnity. Just as well might it be concluded from 2 Kings xxiii. 22. that no passover had been kept from the days of the judges. That the feast of tabernacles had been observed is clear from Hos. xii. 9. The probability is that this section, though not written by Nehemiah, was yet the work of a contemporary, and formed a part of the materials from which the whole book was afterwards compiled.

Chap. xi. is connected with the first part of vii. 5.: it was most likely from Nehemiah's pen. The lists, xii. 1—26., must be from some later hand; as the succession of high priests is continued down to Jaddua, who was contemporary with Alexander the Great.[3] Attempts have been made to prove the possibility of Nehemiah's having survived till Jaddua entered on his office; but no conclusion ought to be drawn from such very uncertain premises. The remainder of the book was written by Nehemiah, with perhaps the exception of xii. 44—47.; as xiii. 1. seems to connect itself closely with xii. 43.

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah are supposed to have been

[1] Einleitung, § 187. II. i. pp. 305. &c.
[2] Einleitung, § 197. a. For a different judgment, see Keil, Einleitung, § 125.
[3] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. capp. vii. viii.

originally one, possibly a continuation of Chronicles. It is true that some late critics on various grounds oppose this conclusion; but their arguments cannot be here considered. Portions of both Ezra and Nehemiah were, as we have seen, the productions severally of those eminent persons; but a later writer must have put the books into the condition in which we have them; and there is no improbability in believing that he was the compiler of the books of Chronicles].

II. Nehemiah, according to some writers, was of the tribe of Levi, but, in the opinion of others, of the royal house of Judah: as the office he held in the Persian court (that of cup-bearer) was a post of great honour and influence, it is certain that he was a man of illustrious family; and of his integrity, prudence, and piety, the whole of this book presents abundant evidence. He arrived at Jerusalem thirteen years after Ezra, with the rank of governor of the province, and vested with full power and authority to encourage the re-building of the walls of that city, and to promote the welfare of his countrymen in every possible way.

Having governed Judæa for twelve years (Neh. xiii. 6.), Nehemiah returned to his royal patron, but after a short time[1] he obtained permission to repair again to his country, where he is supposed to have spent the remainder of his life. His book may be conveniently divided into four parts; viz.

Part I. *The departure of Nehemiah from Shushan, with a royal commission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and his first arrival there* (i. ii. 1—11.).

Part II. *Account of the building of the walls, notwithstanding the obstacles interposed by Sanballat* (ii. 12—vii. 4.).

Part III. *The first reformation accomplished by Nehemiah;* containing,

1. A register of the persons who had first returned from Babylon, and an account of the oblations at the temple (vii. 5—72.).

2. Account of the reading of the law, and the celebration of the feast of tabernacles (viii.).

3. A solemn fast and humiliation kept; and the renewal of the covenant of the Israelites with Jehovah (ix. x.).

4. List of those who dwelt at Jerusalem, and of other cities occupied by the Jews that returned; register and succession of the high priests, chief Levites, and principal singers (xi.—xii. 26.). The completion and dedication of the wall (xii. 27—47.).

Part IV. *The second reformation accomplished by Nehemiah on his second return to Jerusalem, and his correction of the abuses which had crept in during his absence* (xiii.).

In Nehemiah we have the shining character of an able governor, truly zealous for the good of his country and for the honour of his religion; who quitted a noble and gainful post in the greatest court in the world, generously spent the riches he had there acquired for the public benefit of his fellow-Israelites, and waded through

[[1] The length of this time is doubtful. It could not have been more than nine years; as the permission appears to have been granted by Artaxerxes. His second administration was possibly ten years, till the end of the reign of Darius Nothus. See Hävernick, Einleitung, § 188. II. i. pp. 324, 325.]

inexpressible difficulties with a courage and spirit, which alone could, with the divine blessing, procure the safety and reform the manners of such an unhappy and unthoughtful nation.[1] The administration of this pious and truly-patriotic governor lasted about thirty-six years, to the year of the world 3574, according to some chronologers; but Dr. Prideaux has with more probability fixed it to the year 3595. The scripture history closes with the book of Nehemiah.

SECTION X.

ON THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

I. *Title.*—II. *Author.*—III. *Argument.*—IV. *Synopsis of its contents.*

I. THIS book, which derives its name from the person whose history it chiefly relates, is by the Jews termed *Megillah Esther*, or the volume of Esther. Its authenticity was questioned by some of the fathers, in consequence of the name of God being omitted throughout[2]; but it has always been received as canonical by the Jews, who hold this book in the highest estimation, placing it on the same level with the law of Moses. They believe that, whatever destruction may attend the other sacred writings, the Pentateuch and the book of Esther will always be preserved by a special providence.

II. Concerning the author of this book, the opinions of biblical critics are so greatly divided, that it is difficult to determine by whom it was written. Augustine and some of the fathers of the Christian church ascribe it to Ezra. By other writers it is ascribed to the joint labours of the great synagogue, who, from the time of Ezra to Simon the Just, superintended the edition and canon of Scripture. Philo the Jew assigns it to Joachin, the son of Joshua the high priest, who returned with Zerubbabel. Cellérier ascribes it to an unknown author, who was contemporary with the facts recorded in this book.[3] Others think it was composed by Mordecai; and others, again, attribute it to Esther and Mordecai jointly. The two latter conjectures are grounded on the following declaration in Esther ix. 20, 23, 32.: *And Mordecai wrote these things, and sent letters unto all the Jews that were in all the provinces of king Ahasuerus;... and the Jews undertook to do as they had began, and as Mordecai had written unto them.* But the context of the passage clearly shows that these words do not relate to the book itself, but to the circular letters which Mordecai sent to the Jews in all the provinces of the Persian empire, announcing the mighty deliverance from their enemies which had been vouchsafed to them, and instituting a perpetual anniversary

[1] Pyle's Paraphrase on the Old Testament, vol. iv. p. 641.
[2] On this account, De Wette, who objects to all the other books (of the Old Testament) their theocratico mythological spirit, condemns *this* for its want of religion! Prof. Turner's Translation of Jahn, p. 289. Such is the consistency of neologian critics!
[3] Introduction à la Lecture des Livres Saints, Ancien Testament, p. 320.

in commemoration of such deliverance.[1] [And v. 32. merely shows that the history was committed to writing.] The institution of this festival, and its continued observance to the present time, is a convincing evidence of the reality of the history of Esther, and of the genuineness of the book which bears her name; since it is impossible, and, in fact, inconceivable, that a nation should institute, and afterwards continue to celebrate (see 2 Macc. xv. 36.), through a long succession of ages, this solemn annual festival, merely because a certain man among them had written an agreeable fable or romance.

[De Wette considers the language of this book as marked by Persisms and late forms. Of the former he produces from the first chapter פַּרְתְּמִים, nobles, i. 3.; פִּתְגָם, decree, i. 20.; of the latter גִּנָּה, garden; בִּיתָן, palace, i. 5.; בּוּץ, fine linen; שֵׁשׁ, marble, i. 6.; רַב, officers, i. 8.; אָמַר, to command, i. 10, 17.; כֶּתֶר, crown, i. 11.; מַאֲמַר, commandment, i. 15.; טוֹב עַל, please, i. 19.; יְקָר, honour, i. 20. He refers also to explanations of Persian customs (i. 1, 13., viii. 8), and characterizes the book as exhibiting a revengeful spirit. These indications, he supposes, prove that it was written in Persia, after the decline of the monarchy, and, if not so late as the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, at least considerably after the events narrated.[2] These reasons, however, are not conclusive. That the book was composed by a resident in Persia may, indeed, be freely acknowledged, from the acquaintance evinced with Persian customs (i. 1, 10, 14, 19.; ii. 9.; iii. 7, 12, 15.; iv. 11.; viii. 8. &c. 14), without resorting to the additional reason which De Wette produces, and which is weak enough, that there is no expression of attachment to Palestine to be detected. Hence the Persisms. The examples adduced of late forms of speech do not prove that the composition was later than that of Ezra and Nehemiah. Thus, for גִּנָּה, see Cant. vi. 11.; for בּוּץ, 2 Chron. v. 12.; for אָמַר, Neh. xiii. 9.; for טוֹב עַל, Neh. ii. 5. 7.; for יְקָר, Psal. xlix. 13, 21 (12, 20.). The explanations, as they are called, of Persian customs tell little one way or another, and at all events might naturally be introduced into a work intended to be read elsewhere than within the boundaries of the empire. And, as to the asserted spirit of revenge, this is not in the writer, but in the persons whose deeds are chronicled. And, after all, the exhibition of a revengeful temper is little to be relied on in ascertaining the date of a composition. Revengeful tempers have been exhibited in all ages, as well as in the times of the Ptolemies, to which De Wette strangely supposes this feature to point. Another class of reasons, taken from the supposed decline of religion into formality, as an extraordinary reliance placed on fasting (iv. 16.), must be also rejected. There is nothing more attributed to fasting than in Judg. xx. 26.; 2 Sam. xii. 16, 17, 21, 22. In a case, therefore, where there can be no certainty, we shall perhaps not err greatly if we suppose this book written about the same time with those of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The absence of God's name is a very remarkable feature in the

[1] For an account of this festival, called the feast of *Purim*, see Vol. III. pp. 346, 347.
[2] Einleitung, § 199.

work. Keil accounts for it, but unsatisfactorily, by saying that the writer did not wish to represent the persons he mentioned as more religious than they really were, or to place the events in a light which would have seemed strange to his contemporaries and foreign to the subject.[1]]

A very probable opinion (and which will enable us satisfactorily to account for the omission of the name of God in this book) is that it is a translated extract from the memoirs of the reign of the Persian monarch Ahasuerus. The Asiatic sovereigns, it is well known, caused annals of their reigns to be kept: numerous passages in the books of Kings and Chronicles prove that the kings of Israel and Judah had such annals; and the book of Esther itself attests that Ahasuerus had similar historical records (ii. 23., vi. 1., x. 2.). It was indispensably necessary that the Jews should have a faithful narrative of their history under queen Esther. Now, from what more certain source could they derive such history than from the memoirs of the king her consort? Either Ezra, or Mordecai, had authority or credit enough to obtain such an extract. In this case, we can better account for the retaining of the Persian word *Purim*, as well as for the details which we read concerning the empire of Ahasuerus, and (which could otherwise be of no use whatever for the history of Esther) for the exactness with which the names of his ministers and of Haman's sons are recorded. The circumstance of this history being an extract from the Persian annals will also account for the Jews being mentioned only in the third person, and why Esther is so frequently designated by the title of queen, and Mordecai by the epithet of "the Jew." It will also account for those numerous parentheses, which interrupt the narrative in order to subjoin the illustrations which were necessary for a Jewish reader; and for the abrupt termination of the narrative by one sentence relative to the power of Ahasuerus, and another concerning Mordecai's greatness. Finally, it is evident that the author of this extract, whoever he was, wished to make a final appeal to the source whence he derived it (x. 2.). This very plausible conjecture, we apprehend, will satisfactorily answer the objection that this book contains nothing peculiar to the Israelites, except Mordecai's genealogy. There is, unquestionably, no mention made of divine Providence, or of the name of God, in these memoirs or chronicles of Ahasuerus; and, if the author of the extract had given it a more Jewish complexion, if he had spoken of the God of Israel, instead of rendering his narrative more credible, he would have deprived it of an internal character of truth.[2]

III. The transactions recorded in this book relate to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus[3], the same who reigned during the time of

[1] Einleitung, § 155.

[2] Coquerel, Biographie Sacrée, tom. i. pp. 361—363 (Amsterdam, 1825).

[3] Chronologers are greatly divided in opinion who was the Ahasuerus of the sacred historian. Scaliger, who has been followed by Jahn, has advanced many ingenious arguments to show that it was Xerxes who was intended. Archbishop Ussher supposes to have been Darius the son of Hystaspes. The most probable opinion is that of Dr. Prideaux, Connexion, sub anno 465, vol. i. pp. 270, &c.; who, after a very minute discussion, main-

Ezra and Nehemiah. They commence about the year of the world 3544, and continue through a period not exceeding eighteen or twenty years. The book of Esther relates the elevation of a Jewish captive to the throne of Persia, and the providential deliverance of herself and people from the machinations of the cruel Haman and his associates, whose intended mischief recoiled upon themselves: thus affording a practical comment on the declaration of the royal sage: "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished; but the seed of the righteous shall be delivered" (Prov. xi. 21.).

[There are strong objections to the hypothesis that the Ahasuerus of Esther was Artaxerxes Longimanus. It cannot be believed that a monarch who gave in the seventh year of his reign such a commission to Ezra as we see in Ezra vii. could be so ignorant in regard to the Jews as we find him in his twelfth year, Esth. iii. 8—10. It is now therefore generally supposed that the king in question was Xerxes[1], whose character, cruel, vain, and licentious, well agrees with that of Ahasuerus. Xerxes, too, did hold a great assembly of his nobles in his third year, prior to the expedition into Greece, and in his seventh year he was at Susa, after his ignominious return, giving himself up to sensual pleasure. Some have identified Esther with the ferocious Amestris; but there is little in favour of this, except the similarity of name.

It may be added that not Mordecai, but his ancestor Kish (ii. 5, 6.), had been carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar; else we should have him upwards of a hundred when Xerxes ascended the throne.[2]]

IV. The book consists of two parts, detailing,

PART I. *The promotion of Esther; and the essential service rendered to the king by Mordecai, in detecting a plot against his life.* (i. ii.).

PART II. *The advancement of Haman; his designs against the Jews, and their frustration.*

1. The promotion of Haman, and the occasion of which he availed himself to obtain an edict for massacring the Jews (iii.).

2. The consequent affliction of the Jews, and the measures pursued by them (iv.).

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tains that the Ahasuerus of Esther was Artaxerxes Longimanus, agreeably to the account of Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. xi. cap. 6.; of the Septuagint version; and of the apocryphal additions to the book of Esther. The opinion of Prideaux is adopted by bishops Tomline and Gray, and the very accurate chronologer, Dr Hales (See Gray, Key, p. 227.; Tomline, Elements, vol. i. p. 93.; Dr. Hales, Analysis, vol. ii. pp 524, &c., or p. 481., edit. 1830.). We may therefore conclude that the permission given to Nehemiah to re-build the walls of Jerusalem was owing to the influence of Esther and Mordecai, and that the emancipation of the Jews from the Persian yoke was gradually, though silently, effected by the same influence. It is not improbable that the pious reason, assigned by Artaxerxes (Ezra vii. 23.) for the regulations given to Ezra, originated in the correct views of religion which were communicated to him by his queen Esther.

[1] Hävernick, Einleitung, § 192. II. i pp. 338. &c.; Keil, Einleitung, § 154. pp. 530. &c.; Dr. Nicholson in Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art Ahasuerus. De Wette argues against Xerxes; but his arguments are not conclusive. Thus he says that the author of Esther does not mention the expedition into Greece, and therefore knows nothing of it. Einleitung, § 198. a., pp. 266, 267. A writer in the Journal of Sac. Lit., April, 1860., pp. 122—126., declares for Longimanus.

[2] Comp. Stuart, Hist. of Old Test. Canon, sect. vi. pp. 159—167.

3. The defeat of Haman's particular plot against the life of Mordecai (v.—vii.).
4. The defeat of his general plot against the Jews (viii.—ix. 16.).
5. The institution of the festival of Purim, to commemorate their deliverance (ix. 17—32.); and the advancement of Mordecai (x.).

In our copies the book of Esther terminates with the third verse of the tenth chapter; but in the Greek and Vulgate bibles, there are ten more verses annexed to it, together with six additional chapters, which the Greek and Roman churches account to be canonical. As, however, they are not extant in Hebrew, they are expunged from the sacred canon by protestants, and are supposed to have been compiled by some Hellenistic Jew.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE POETICAL BOOKS.

THOUGH some of the sacred writings, which present themselves to our notice in the present chapter, are anterior in point of date to the historical books, yet they are usually classed by themselves under the title of the *poetical books;* because they are almost-wholly composed in Hebrew verse. This appellation is of considerable antiquity. Gregory Nazianzen calls them the *five metrical books:* Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, in his iambic poem addressed to Seleucus, enumerates them, and gives them a similar denomination; as also do Epiphanius and Cyril of Jerusalem.[1] The poetical books are five in number, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles or Song of Solomon: in the Jewish canon of scripture they are classed among the Hagiographa, or holy writings; and in our bibles they are placed between the historical and prophetical books.

SECTION I.

ON THE BOOK OF JOB.

I. *Title of the book.*—II. *Reality of Job's person.*—III. *Age in which he lived.*—IV. *Scene of the poem of Job.*—V. *Completeness, author, and canonical authority.*—VI. *Structure of the poem.*—VII. *Argument and scope.*—VIII. *Spurious addition to this book in the Septuagint version.*—IX. *Rules for studying this book to advantage.*—X. *Synopsis.*—XI. *Idea of the patriarchal theology, as contained in the book of Job.*

I. THIS book has derived its title from the venerable patriarch Job, whose prosperity, afflictions, and restoration from the deepest ad-

[1] Greg. Naz. Carm. xxxiii. v. 16. Op. tom. ii. p. 98. Paris, 1611.; Epiphanius de Pond. et Mens. p. 533., or tom. ii. p. 162. (edit. Paris, 1622.); Cyril. Hieros. Cat. iv. 22. p. 66. (edit. Oxon. 1703.); Suicer, Thesaurus, tom. ii. *voce* *στιχηρά*.

versity, are here recorded, together with his exemplary and unequalled patience under all his calamities. No book, perhaps, has more exercised the ingenuity of critics and commentators than this of Job.

II. The actual existence of the patriarch has been questioned by many eminent critics, who have endeavoured to prove that the whole poem is a fictitious narration, intended to instruct through the medium of parable. This opinion was first announced by the Jewish rabbi Maimonides[1], and has since been adopted by Le Clerc, Michaelis, Semler, bishop Stock, and others. The reality of Job's existence, on the contrary (independently of its being the uniform belief of the Jewish and Christian churches), has been maintained with equal ability by Leusden, Calmet, Heidegger, Carpzov, Van Til, Spanheim Moldenhawer, Schultens, Ilgen, archbishop Magee, bishops Patrick, Sherlock, Lowth, Tomline, and Gray, Drs. Kennicott and Hales, Messieurs Peters and Good, Drs. Taylor and Priestley, and many other modern commentators and critics.

The principal arguments commonly urged against the reality of Job's existence are derived from the nature of the exordium, in which Satan appears as the accuser of Job; from the temptations and sufferings permitted by the Almighty Governor of the world to befall an upright character; from the artificial regularity of the numbers by which the patriarch's possessions are described, as seven thousand, three thousand, one thousand, five hundred, &c.

With regard to the first argument, the incredibility of the conversation which is related to have taken place between the Almighty and Satan, "who is supposed to return with *news* from the terrestrial regions," an able commentator has remarked, Why should such a conversation be supposed incredible? The attempt at wit in the word *news* is somewhat out of place; for the interrogation of the Almighty, "Hast thou fixed thy view upon my servant Job, a perfect and upright *man?*" (i. 8.), instead of aiming at the acquisition of news, is intended as a severe and most appropriate sarcasm upon the fallen spirit. "Hast *thou*, who, with superior faculties and a more comprehensive knowledge of my will, hast not continued perfect and upright, fixed thy view upon a subordinate being, far weaker and less informed than thyself, who has continued so?" "The attendance of the apostate at the tribunal of the Almighty is plainly designed to show us that good and evil angels are equally amenable to him, and equally subject to his authority; a doctrine common to every part of the Jewish and Christian scriptures, and, except in the mythology of the Parsees, recognized by, perhaps, every ancient system of religion whatever. The part assigned to Satan in the present work is that expressly assigned to him in the case of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden, and of our Saviour in the wilderness; and which is assigned to him generally, in regard to mankind at large, by all the evangelists and apostles whose writings have reached us, both in their strictest historical narratives, and closest argumentative inductions. And hence the argument, which should induce us to regard the

[1] Moreh Nevochim, part iii. capp. xxii. xxiii.

present passage as fabulous, should induce us to regard all the rest in the same light which are imbued with the same doctrine; a view of the subject which would sweep into nothingness a much larger portion of the bible than, I am confident, Michaelis would choose to part with." [1]

The other arguments alleged are, comparatively, of small moment, and need not be here dwelt on.

The fact is that there is every possible evidence that the book which bears Job's name contains a *literal history* of the temptations and sufferings of a real character.

In the first place, that Job was a real character may be inferred from the manner in which he is mentioned in the Scriptures. Thus, the prophet Ezekiel speaks of him: *Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God* (Ezek. xiv. 14.).[2] In this passage the prophet ranks Noah, Daniel, and Job together, as powerful intercessors with God; the first for his family; the second for the wise men of Babylon; and the third for his friends: now, since Noah and Daniel were unquestionably real characters, we must conclude the same of Job. *Behold*, says the apostle James, *we count them happy which endure: ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy* (James v. 11.). We have also the strongest internal evidence, from the book itself, that Job was a real person; for it expressly specifies the names of persons, places, facts, and other circumstances usually related in true histories.

Further, no reasonable doubt can be entertained respecting the real existence of Job, when we consider that it is proved by the concurrent testimony of all eastern tradition: he is mentioned by the author of the book of Tobit, who lived during the Assyrian captivity[3]; he is also repeatedly mentioned by Mohammed[4] as a real character. The whole of his history, with many fabulous additions, was known among the Syrians and Chaldæans: many of the noblest families among the Arabians are distinguished by his name[5], and boast of being descended from him. So late even as the end of the fourth

[1] Dr. Good's Introductory Dissertation to his version of Job, pp. xv. xvi. See also archbishop Magee, Discourses and Dissertations on the Atonement, vol. ii. pp. 49—53.; Dr. Gregory's translation of Bishop Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 358—370. in notes.

[2] To evade the strong proof afforded by Ezekiel's express recognition of the reality of Job's person, Jahn remarks that fictitious personages may be brought upon the stage along with real; as is evident from Luke xvi. 19—31.; where Abraham is introduced with the fictitious characters Lazarus and the rich man. But there is an evident difference between a parable expressly purporting to be fictitious, and a solemn rebuke or warning to a whole nation. Besides, in Luke, the circumstances predicated of *all* the characters are fictitious; in Ezekiel they are unquestionably true with relation to Noah and Daniel, and might be reasonably expected to be so in the other instance associated with these two. Prof. Turner's translation of Jahn, part ii. § 189. p. 467. note. Comp. Stuart, Hist. of Old Test. Canon. sect. vi. p. 135.

[3] Tobit ii 12. in the Vulgate version, which is supposed to have been executed from a more extended history of Tobit than the original of the Greek version.

[4] Sale's Koran, pp 271, 375. 4to edit. Sur. iv. 161., xxi. 83. See also D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, voce *Aiúb*, tom. i. p. 144. 4to. edit.

[5] As the father of the celebrated Sultan Saladin (Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 3.); and also Saladin himself, whose dynasty is known in the East by the name of Aiubiah or Jobites. D'Herbelot, tom. i. pp. 145—147.

century, we are told that there were many persons who went into Arabia to see Job's dunghill[1], which, in the nature of things, could not have subsisted through so many ages; but the fact of superstitious persons making pilgrimages to it sufficiently attests the reality of his existence; as also do the traditionary accounts concerning the place of Job's abode.[2]

[To one who devoutly believes that the book of Job was written by divine inspiration, it is but a subordinate question, whether the history be the record of facts, or whether the form of parable or fictitious narrative have been chosen as the vehicle of momentous instruction. Our Lord has himself introduced unreal persons into his discourses; yet no believer on this account the less regards his parables as the words of eternal truth. The matter may therefore be dispassionately argued.

There are few, if any, critics to be now found, who maintain that the book of Job is purely fictitious. But, between this extreme view on the one hand, and that, on the other, that the whole is literal fact, there is an intermediate hypothesis, which has found much favour with modern critics. Bishop Warburton argued with great force that the book was an allegory, founded on an old true story, but embellished and moulded by some writer at the time of the captivity, for the purpose of comforting the Jews, and assuring them of ultimate restoration. Its allegorical character is now generally given up; but the position, that it has merely a basis of fact, and that the circumstances, speeches, and colouring have been added, re-cast, multiplied by the writer, is held by very many, including such men as Hengstenberg[3] and Keil.[4] It is vain to deny that the arguments which they adduce have considerable weight. "The whole work," says Hengstenberg, "is arranged on a well-considered plan, proving the author's power of independent invention: the speeches are, in their general structure and in their details, so elaborate, that they could not have been brought out in the ordinary course of a disputation: it would be unnatural to suppose Job, in his distressed state, to have delivered such speeches, finished with the utmost care. . . . The transactions between God and Satan in the prologue, absolutely require that we should distinguish between the subject-matter, forming the foundation of the work, and its enlargement; which can be only done when a poetical principle is acknowledged in its composition. God's speaking out of the clouds would be a miracle without an object corresponding to its magnitude, and having a merely-personal reference; while all the other miracles of the Old Testament are in connection with the theocratical government, and occur in the midst and for the benefit of the people of God."

It must also be acknowledged that some of the arguments, with which this view has been met, will not bear examination. There is no proof that eastern tradition is of an independent character: all

[1] Chrysostom, Ad pop. Antioch. hom. 5. Op. (Par. 1718—38.) tom. ii. p. 59.
[2] Thevenot's Voyage, p. 447.; La Roque, Voyages en Syrie, tom. i. p. 239.
[3] Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Job.
[4] Einleitung, § 123. See also Hävernick, Einleitung, III. § 292.

the allusions made by the author of Tobit, by Mohammed, &c. together with the current legends, &c. &c. are derived from the book itself. The grounds, then, on which to depend, are the testimonies above cited of Ezekiel and St. James. It is absolutely inconceivable that they should have referred, in the way they have done, to Job's character and history, if that character were not in its main features genuine, if that history were not essentially fact. The attempt to show that real and fictitious persons may be placed together in a narrative, by the alleged example of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, utterly fails. Who can assure us that our Lord did not intend real persons? And, besides, Abraham is introduced there, not with any reference to his recorded history upon earth, but as uttering warnings in that land of spirits, of which, as well as of the faculties and employments of those that exist there, we are little qualified to pronounce an opinion. Carefully examined, the testimonies of Ezekiel and St. James seem to point to something more than the mere historical fact that Job really lived. His name is introduced because of his peculiar character, and of the events that befel him, with his behaviour under them. Ewald has tried to separate what he supposes the basis of fact from the embellishments and colouring of the writer, and he arrives at four particulars; that there was such a man, with the specified name; that he had friends of the names attributed to them; that he and they really lived in the district mentioned; and that Job was afflicted with elephantiasis.[1] Now, if this were all, how could it have served the purpose of either Ezekiel or St. James to mention Job? Other men, whose unquestionable history is more largely developed, would have suited far better. Surely it is the Job delineated in what are called the embellishments and poetry of the writer, that the prophet and the apostle would place before their readers. It is not a man of whom nothing certain is known, and whose memory could be but a fancy portrait; it is not such a one that would be selected (in preference to the worthies of old time who through faith wrought righteousness and obtained promises) as one that God delighted to honour, and whose faith and patience believers in Christ were to follow. The reference to him would be nugatory, had not Job really held on through a long course of unexampled afflictions, maintaining, though with human infirmity, his hope in God, and ultimately commanded to intercede for those friends with whose arguings the Lord was provoked. The words of St. James's reference are very striking. It is "the patience of Job," of which he speaks, and "the end of the Lord," which he commemorates, that crowning blessing with which God doubled to his servant his original plenty. It is hard not to see in all this something more than the bare fact of Job's existence.

Professor Lee dwells strongly on the extreme circumstantiality of the details[2]; the description of Job, his family, his property, his country, his friends, with their names and special designations, the

[1] Das Buch Ijob erklärt, 1854. pp. 19—23. [2] Book of Job transl., 1837. Introd. pp. 8, 9.

genealogy of Elihu, the exact account of the feasting of his sons, the particular mention of the plunderers — these all, with a variety of other points of the like nature, mark rather the history than the parable. None of the parables of scripture, in fact, exhibit any such details; and the argument is therefore strong, that these details do not proceed from the imagination of the writer, but are all historically true.

Hengstenberg's reasoning upon the conversation between God and Satan in the prologue may be met by the following remarks of Caryl. "All this is here set forth and described unto us, after the manner of men, by an *anthropopathy;* which is when God expresses himself in his actions and dispensations with and toward the world, as if he were a man. So God doth here: he presents himself in this business after the manner of some great king, sitting upon his throne, having his servants attending him, and taking an account of them, what they have done, or giving instructions and commissions to them, what they shall do. This, I say, God doth here, after the manner of men; for otherwise we are not to conceive that God doth make certain days of session with his creatures, wherein he doth call the good and bad angels together, about the affairs of the world. We must not have such gross conceits of God; for he needs receive no information from them; neither doth he give them or Satan any formal commission; neither is Satan admitted into the presence of God, to come so near God at any time; neither is God moved at all by slanders of Satan, or by his accusations, to deliver up his servants and children into his hands for a moment; but only the scripture speaks thus to teach us how God carries himself in the affairs of the world, even as if he sat upon his throne, and called every creature before him, and gave each a direction what, and when, and where, to work, how far, and which way to move in every action."[1] It is worth remark that the descriptions objected to in the book of Job are almost exactly paralleled in other parts of scripture. Thus, this conversation with Satan very much resembles the address of Micaiah to Ahab (1 Kings xxii. 19—23.), in which he tells how a lying spirit offered to deceive the prophets of the idolatrous king. Nor is the account of the Lord speaking out of the whirlwind to Job dissimilar to the narrative of Elijah's sojourn in the desert, when, after the wind and the earthquake and the fire, the still small voice was heard (1 Kings xix. 11—18.); yet, we do not count the book of Kings the less real and historical for all this. And we are not to limit God's marvellous works to place or time.

The argument from the elaborate character of the speeches has been thus answered by Dr. Kitto. "Nothing is more remarkable among the Semitic nations of western Asia, even at this day, than the readiness of their resources, the prevalence of the poetical imagination and form of expression, and the facility with which the nature of this group of languages allows all high and animated discourse to fall into rhythmical forms of expression, while the language even of

[1] Caryl on Job, Annot. on i. 6., vol. i. pp. 78, 79.

common life and thought is replete with poetical sentiments and ideas."[1] It may be added that the remarkable performances of *Improvisatori*, even in Europe, should make us pause before pronouncing the speeches of Job and his friends impossible conversations.

III. Those who deny the existence of Job, and those who regard the book as having merely *some* foundation in fact, do not think it necessary to investigate the patriarch's age. But, if we believe that the book of Job contains the history of a real character, the next point to be considered is the age in which he lived—a question concerning which there has been great diversity of opinion, and a variety of puerile conjectures produced. One thing, however, is generally admitted with respect to the age of Job, viz. the remote antiquity of the period when he must have lived. Several, who contend for the late production of the *book* of Job, acquiesce in this particular. Grotius thinks the events of the history are such as cannot be placed later than the sojourning of the Israelites in the wilderness. Bishop Warburton, in like manner, admits them to bear the marks of high antiquity; and Michaelis confesses the manners to be perfectly Abrahamic, that is, such as were common to all the seed of Abraham, Israelites, Ishmaelites, and Idumæans.[2] The following are the principal circumstances from which the age of Job may be collected and ascertained[3]: —

1. The Usserian, or Bible chronology, dates the trial of Job about the year 1520 before the Christian era, twenty-nine years before the departure of the Israelites from Egypt; and that the book was composed before that event is evident from its total silence respecting the miracles which accompanied the exode; such as the passage of the Red Sea, the destruction of the Egyptians, the manna in the desert, &c.; all of which happened in the vicinity of Job's country, and were so apposite in the debate concerning the ways of Providence, that some notice could not but have been taken of them, if they had been coëval with Job.

2. That he lived before Abraham's migration to Canaan may also be inferred from his silence respecting the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other cities of the plain, which were still nearer to Idumæa, where the scene is laid.

3. The length of Job's life places him in the patriarchal times. He survived his trial one hundred and forty years (xlii. 16.), and was probably not less than sixty or seventy at that time; for we read that his seven sons were all grown up, and had been settled in their own houses for a considerable time (i. 4, 5.). He speaks of the "sins of his youth" (xiii. 26.), and of the prosperity of "his youth;" and yet Eliphaz addresses him as a novice: "With *us* are both the *very aged*, much elder than *thy father*" (xv. 10.).

4. That he did not live at an earlier period may be collected from

[1] Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, First week, Third day.

[2] Grotius, Præf. ad Job; Warburton, Divine Legation, book vi. sect. 2.; Michaelis, Notæ et Epimetra in Lowthii Prælectiones, p. 181.; Magee, vol. ii. p. 57.

[3] These observations are digested from the united remarks of Dr. Hales, in his Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 55—59., or pp. 53—57. (edit 1830.); and of archbishop Magee, in his Discourses, vol. ii. pp. 58—63.

an incidental observation of Bildad, who refers Job to their forefathers for instruction in wisdom, (viii. 8); assigning as a reason the comparative shortness of life, and consequent ignorance of the present generation (viii. 9.). But the "fathers of the former age," or grandfathers of the present, were the contemporaries of Peleg and Joktan, in the fifth generation after the deluge; and they might easily have learned wisdom from the fountain-head by conversing with Shem, or perhaps with Noah himself; whereas, in the seventh generation, the standard of human life was reduced to about two hundred years, which was a shadow compared with the longevity of Noah and his sons.

5. The general air of antiquity, which pervades the manners recorded in the poem, is a further evidence of its remote date. The manners and customs, indeed, critically correspond with that early period. Thus, Job speaks of the most ancient kind of writing, by *sculpture* (xix. 24.): his riches also are reckoned by his cattle (xlii. 12.).[1] Further, Job acted as high priest in his family, according to the patriarchal usage (Gen. viii. 20.); for the institution of an established priesthood does not appear to have taken place anywhere until the time of Abraham. Melchizedek king of Salem was a priest of the primitive order (Gen. xiv. 18.): such also was Jethro, in the vicinity of Idumæa (Exod. xviii. 12.). The first regular priesthood was probably instituted in Egypt; where Joseph was married to the daughter of the priest of On (Gen. xli. 45.).

6. The slavish homage of prostration to princes and great men, which prevailed in Egypt, Persia, and the East in general, and which still subsists there, was unknown in Arabia at that time. Though Job was one of the "greatest men of all the East," we do not find any such adoration paid to him by his contemporaries, in the zenith of his prosperity, among the marks of respect so minutely described (xxix. 8—10.). All this was highly respectful indeed, but still it was manly, and showed no cringing or servile adulation. With this description correspond the manners and conduct of the genuine Arabs of the present day, a majestic race, who were never conquered, and who have retained their primitive customs, features, and character, with scarcely any alteration.

7. The allusion made by Job to that species of idolatry alone, which by general consent is admitted to have been the most ancient, namely, Zabianism, or the worship of the sun and moon, and also to the exertion of the judicial authority against it (xxxi. 26—28.), is an additional and most complete proof of the high antiquity of the poem, as well as a decisive mark of the patriarchal age.[2]

["A very ingenious attempt has been made to fix the date of Job's trial by astronomical calculation, founded upon the mention of the constellations *Chimah* and *Chesil*, in chaps. ix. 9., and xxxviii. 31, 32. These are supposed to have been Taurus and Scorpio, of

[1] The word *kesitah*, translated *a piece of money* (xlii. 11.), there is good reason to understand as signifying a lamb. See archbishop Magee's critical note, Discourses, vol. ii. pp. 59—61. [Comp., however, Gesenius *in voc.*, who utterly rejects such a meaning. See, also, Carey, The Book of Job, translated, &c., note on xlii. 11.]

[2] Bishop Lowth, Lectures, vol. ii. p. 355. note.

which the principal stars are Aldebaran, the Bull's Eye; and Antares, the Scorpion's Heart. These were the cardinal constellations of spring and autumn in Job's time; knowing, therefore, the longitude of these stars, and calculating from the precession of the equinoxes, Dr. Hales, assisted by the calculations of the late bishop Brinkley, finds that this would carry us back to 2176 B.C., 184 years before the birth of Abraham, for the time when Taurus was the cardinal constellation of spring, and Scorpio of autumn. On the same datum, however, two learned Frenchmen, Gouget and Ducoutant had long before given the date of 2136 B.C."[1]

Exception may be taken against some of the arguments urged above. In particular, if according to the Usserian chronology the trial of Job is to be fixed at somewhat less than thirty years before the Exodus, it is evident that the book could not have been written till above a century after that event, unless we are to imagine the conclusion added afterwards. The silence, too, of Job and his friends as to certain facts is no conclusive proof that those facts had not occurred; and Dr. Hales' astronomical argument has not all the force he would ascribe to it. The constellations Chimah and Chesil are not *ascertained* to be Taurus and Scorpio; and, if they were, they would probably be regarded as the cardinal constellations of the respective seasons for a considerable period. It is therefore impossible to fix an exact date in this way. Still the probability is on the whole very strong that Job lived in patriarchal times.[2]]

IV. The country, in which the scene of this poem is laid, is stated (Job i. 1.) to be the land of Uz, which by some geographers has been placed in Sandy, and by others in Stony, Arabia. Bochart strenuously advocated the former opinion; in which he has been powerfully supported by Spanheim, Calmet, Carpzov, Heidegger, and some later writers: Michaelis, Ilgen, and Jahn, place the scene in the valley of Damascus; but bishop Lowth and archbishop Magee, Dr. Hales, Dr. Good, and some later critics and philologers, have shown that the scene is laid in Idumæa.

That the land of Uz, or *Gnutz* (Job i. 1.), is evidently Idumæa appears from Lam. iv. 21. Uz was the grandson of Seir the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21, 28.; 1 Chron. i. 38, 42.). Seir inhabited that mountainous tract which was called by his name antecedent to the time of Abraham; but, his posterity being expelled, it was occupied by the Idumæans (Deut. ii. 12.). Two other men are mentioned of the name of Uz; one the grandson of Shem, the other the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham; but whether any district was called after their name is not clear. Idumæa is a part of Arabia Petræa, situate on the southern extremity of the tribe of Judah (Numb. xxxiv. 3.; Josh. xv. 1, 21.): the land of Uz, therefore, appears to have been between Egypt and Philistia (Jer. xxv. 20.); where the order of the places seems to have been accurately observed in reviewing the different nations from Egypt to Babylon; and the

[1] Kitto, Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, First Week, Fifth Day; Comp. Hales, Analysis, vol. i. pp. 185—187., or pp. 55—57 (edit. 1830).

[2] See Carey, The Book of Job, translated, explained, and illustrated, &c., 1858, diss. ii. pp. 14—16.

same people seem again to be described in exactly the same situations (Jer. xlvi.—l.). Nor does the statement of the inspired writer, that Job *was the greatest of all the men of the East* (Job i. 3.), militate against the situation of the land of Uz.

The expression, *men of the East*, *children of the East*, or *Eastern people*, seems to have been the general appellation for that mingled race of people (as they are called, Jer. xxv. 20.) who inhabited the country between Egypt and the Euphrates, bordering upon Judæa from the south to the east; the Idumæans, the Amalekites, the Midianites, the Moabites, the Ammonites (see Judg. vi. 3. and Isai. xi. 14.); of these the Idumæans and Amalekites certainly possessed the southern parts (see Numb. xxxiv. 3., xiii. 29.; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, 10.). This appears to be the true state of the case: the whole region between Egypt and the Euphrates was called the East, at first in respect to Egypt (where the learned Joseph Mede thinks the Israelites acquired this mode of speaking[1]), and afterwards absolutely and without any relation to situation or circumstances (comp. Gen. xxv. 6.; 1 Kings iv. 30.). Thus Jehovah addresses the Babylonians: "Arise, ascend unto Kedar, and lay waste the children of the East" (Jer. xlix. 28.); notwithstanding these were really situated to the west of Babylon. Although Job, therefore, be accounted one of the orientals, it by no means follows, that his residence must be in Arabia Deserta.

Hence the history of an inhabitant of Idumæa is the subject of the poem which bears the name of Job; and all the persons introduced into it were Idumæans, dwelling in Idumæa, in other words, Edomite Arabs. These characters are, Job of the land of Uz; Eliphaz of Teman, a district of as much repute as Uz, and which, it appears from the joint testimony of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, and Obadiah[2], formed a principal part of Idumæa; Bildad of Shuah, who is always mentioned in conjunction with Sheba and Dedan, the first of whom was probably named after one of the brothers of Joktan, or Kahtan, and the last two from two of his sons; all of them being uniformly placed in the vicinity of Idumæa (Gen. xxv. 2, 3.; Jer. xlix. 8.); Zophar of Naama, a city importing pleasantness, which is also stated by Joshua (xv. 21, 41.) to have been situate in Idumæa, in a southern direction towards its coast, on the shores of the Red Sea; and Elihu of Buz, which, as the name of a place, occurs only once in sacred writ (Jer. xxv. 23.), but is there mentioned in conjunction with Teman and Dedan, and hence, necessarily, like them, a border city upon Uz or Idumæa. Allowing this to be correct, there is no difficulty in conceiving that hordes of nomadic Chaldeans as well as Sabeans, a people addicted to rapine, and roving about at immense distances for the sake of plunder, should have occasionally infested the defenceless country of Idumæa, and roved from the Euphrates even to Egypt.[3]

To the preceding considerations we may add that the contents

[1] Mede's Works, vol. ii. p. 580.
[2] Jer. xlix 7, 20.; Ezek. xxv. 13.; Amos i. 11, 12.; Obad. 8, 9.
[3] Bishop Lowth, Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 347—351.; Good, Introd. Diss. to Job, pp. ii.—xi.

of the book, and the customs which it introduces, agree with the opinion that Idumæa was the country of Job's friends. Idumæa, in the earliest ages, was distinguished for its wise men; and sentences of Arabian wisdom flow from the mouths of Job and his friends. The Jordan is represented as a principal stream, as it was to the Edomites; and chiefs, such as those of Edom, are frequently mentioned. The addition[1], which is found at the end of the Septuagint version, places Job's residence on the confines of Idumæa and Arabia.[2]

[Dr. Kitto, in a very interesting paper on the "land of Uz," comes to the conclusion that it was not Idumæa. Lam. iv. 21., though apparently favouring the Idumæan locality, is, when examined, not very consistent with such a theory. For the "daughter of Edom" is addressed as dwelling "in the land of Uz." If this Uz were a district of Edom, how could the whole be described as dwelling in a part? But, if we suppose Uz a province without their own boundaries, which the Edomites had occupied, the language is appropriate. Besides, Jer. xxv. 20, 21., Uz and Edom are distinguished. Hence, we are led back to the grandson of Shem. His father was Aram, who gave his name to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. Now Nahor had two sons, named Uz and Buz; an evidence that the name predominated in Mesopotamia. For Buz means "in Uz," that is, born there. In the book of Job, too, we find Uz and Buz in connection; for Job lived in Uz; and Elihu is described as a Buzite, and is evidently one who resided in the neighbourhood, not one who came from a distance to condole with Job. Col. Chesney derived grounds, from his expedition to the Euphrates, for adopting this opinion. He thinks that the land of Uz was in the neighbourhood of Orfah, where a brook and a well on the road to Diarbekir, with other localities, are "consecrated to the memory of the great patriarch." It must be admitted that Teman, the country of Eliphaz, was in Edom: still this fact presents no insuperable difficulty to the view here taken: a journey from Idumæa to Orfah might be made to comfort a great tribal chieftain; and that Job's friends lived at some distance is evident from the way in which their coming to him is mentioned (Job ii. 11.). Additional reasons for placing Uz in this situation (the ancient Osroene) may be found in the fact that the natural phenomena as described, and local allusions, suit far better to this than they do to a district of Edom, or the neighbourhood of Damascus. Job would also here be near, and exposed to the invasions of the Sabeans and Chaldeans (i. 15, 17).[3]]

V. The different parts of the book of Job are so closely connected together, that they cannot be detached from each other. The exordium prepares the reader for what follows, supplies us with the necessary notices concerning Job and his friends, unfolds the scope, and places the calamities full in our view as an object of attention. The epilogue, or conclusion, again, has reference to the exordium,

[1] See a translation of this addition in p. 692. note, *infra*.
[2] Prof. Turner's Trans. of Jahn, pp. 471, 472. note.
[3] Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, First Week, Sixth Day.

and relates the happy termination of Job's trials: the dialogues which intervene flow in regular order, except that there is no third speech of Zophar. Now, if any one of these parts were to be taken away, the poem would be extremely defective. Without the prologue the reader would be ignorant who Job was, who were his friends, and what was the cause of his being so grievously afflicted. Without the discourse of Elihu (xxxii.—xxxvii.), there would be an abrupt transition from the last words of Job, to the address of God, for which Elihu's discourse prepares the reader. And, without the epilogue, we should remain in ignorance of the subsequent condition of Job.

[Some critics have exercised their ingenuity in trying to discover portions of this book which they think they can prove additions or interpolations, not the work of the original author. Such additions they represent the introduction and the conclusion to be, chaps. i. ii., xlii. 7—17.; also xxvii. 7—xxviii. 28., xl. 15—xli. 26., besides the whole speech of Elihu, xxxii.—xxxvii. And some, as Magnus[1], would still further dismember the book.

The reasons adduced for believing the introduction and appendix to be spurious are that they are written in prose; that the word Jehovah is used in them, while other names of God, El, Eloah, &c. generally occur elsewhere; and that some circumstances narrated in them do not agree with the main portion of the book. These reasons are of no weight. There is a fitness in the narrative part of such a work being composed in prose. And, as to the use of the divine names, the selection was evidently made on principle. Where the author himself speaks, he uses Jehovah (xxxviii. 1., xl. 1, 3, 6., xlii. 1.). The speakers, who were not of the covenant people, and lived in patriarchal times, properly employ other names. Yet once (xii. 9.) we find Jehovah in a speech of Job, as also in his humble acknowledgment of submission in the prologue (i. 21.). The so-called discrepancies arise from misconception.[2] And, as above remarked, without the introduction and conclusion, the book would be really unintelligible, a kind of mutilated trunk.

With regard to chaps. xxvii., xxviii., Kennicott attributed xxvii. 13—23. to Zophar, because these verses seem to contradict what Job had formerly asserted. The opinions of other critics may be seen in Keil[3], and how Bernstein has pronounced against the genuineness of the whole section, xxvii. 7—xxviii. 28. But Keil shows the groundlessness of all such conjectures. Job does not retract what he had before said of the prosperity of the wicked; he merely limits his meaning, and allows that sometimes the guilty are punished. It might have been concluded that he denied that the wicked were ever punished: this misconception he desires to obviate. And, in xxviii., by the description of God's mysterious wisdom, he would show that the enigma of the distribution of happiness and misery among mankind remains still unsolved.

The grounds of objection to xl. 15—xli. 26. are that the descrip-

[1] Philol. Hist. Comm. zum B. Hiob, Hal. 1851. p. 8.
[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 125. pp. 416, 417.
[3] Ibid. pp. 417, 418.

tion of the behemoth and leviathan does not fall in with the train of thought in God's second speech, that there is a want of connection, and that the style is different. But, in order to substantiate these objections, it must be proved that one topic, and no more, is presented in each of Jehovah's speeches, his power in the first, his righteousness alone in the last. This cannot be done: there is no such exclusive separation made. And the style varies no further than suitability to the special subject requires.[1]

The suspicious circumstances as to the introducing of Elihu are said to be these. (1.) He is not mentioned in the introduction or conclusion. But neither is Jehovah mentioned in the prologue as likely to take part in the discussion. And there was no need to name him at the close. He deserved no reproof; and it would have accorded ill with the majestic simplicity of the work to pass an encomium upon him. (2.) The introducing of Elihu is further said to break the connection, interfere with the contrast which should stand out in broad relief between what Job and Jehovah say, and render the appearance of God superfluous, since Elihu would solve the difficulty, and God requires unconditional submission to his power and mysterious wisdom. But surely the connection is not interrupted: there is no necessity that xxxviii. 1. should immediately follow xxxi. 40. Elihu prepares the way for God's interposition.[2] Though justly correcting some of Job's assertions, he is not able to give that full explanation of God's dealings which would render unnecessary the authoritative words of the Deity himself. (3.) The style and language of Elihu's speech are said to differ from the rest. De Wette thinks proper to characterize it as weak, prolix, laboured, and obscure[3]; and a list of peculiar words and phrases is produced, and a deeper Aramæan colouring is said to prevail. But each speaker exhibits peculiarities; and, if Elihu was an Aramæan[4] (xxxii. 2.), the objections become really reasons for the genuineness of what is attributed to him. There are some other objections; but they are of a more trivial character—such as that Elihu addresses Job by name, which none of the other speakers do; also that Elihu misunderstood and perverted Job's meaning (xxxiv. 9., xxxv. 3.). But the expressions he had used in chap. xxi. fully justify Elihu's reproofs.[5]

We may therefore consider the book of Job as a complete production flowing from a single pen; and then it is a point of difficulty to determine in what age it was composed, and who was the author. That there can be little certainty here, is evident from the guesses which range over almost the whole period embraced by the bible history.]

Elihu, Job, Moses, Solomon, Isaiah, an anonymous writer in the reign of Manasseh, Ezekiel, and Ezra, have all been contended for. Dr. Lightfoot, from an erroneous version of xxxii. 16, 17., has conjectured that it is the production of Elihu; but the correct rendering

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 125. pp. 418, 419.
[2] Hävernick, Einleitung, § 299, III. pp. 369, &c.
[3] Einleitung, § 287.
[4] See before, p. 676.
[5] For a fuller examination of the question, see Keil, Einleitung, § 125. pp. 419, &c.; Hävernick, Einleitung, *ubi supra*.

of that passage refutes this notion[1]. Ilgen ascribes it probably to a descendant of Elihu. Luther, Grotius, and Doederlein, are disposed to regard it as the production of Solomon: Cellerier considers it as the production of an unknown author.[2] Professor Lee ascribes it to Job himself, with the exception of the introduction and concluding chapters.[3] Another and more generally received opinion attributes this book to Moses: this conjecture is founded on some apparently striking coincidences of sentiment[4], as well as from some marks of later date which are supposed to be discoverable in it. But, independently of the characters of antiquity already referred to, and which place the book of Job very many centuries before the time of Moses, the total absence of every the slightest allusion to the manners, customs, ceremonies, or history of the Israelites, is a direct evidence that the great legislator of the Hebrews was not, and could not have been, the author. To which may be added, that the style of Job (as bishop Lowth has remarked) is materially different from the poetical style of Moses; for it is much more compact, concise or condensed, more accurate in the poetical conformation of the sentences; as may be observed also in the prophecies of Balaam the Mesopotamian, a foreigner, indeed, with respect to the Israelites, but not unacquainted either with their language or with the worship of the true God.

Bishop Lowth favours the opinion of Schultens, Peters, and others (which is also adopted by bishop Tomline and Dr. Hales), who suppose Job himself, or some contemporary, to have been the author of this poem; and there seems to be no good reason for supposing that it was not written by Job himself.[5]

"But, whether we suppose Job the author of the book, or not, its great antiquity, and even its priority to the age of Moses, seems to stand on strong grounds. And, upon the whole, perhaps we may not unreasonably conjecture the history of the book to be this: The poem, being originally written either by Job, or some contemporary of his, and existing in the time of Moses, might fall into his hands, whilst residing in the land of Midian, or afterwards when in the neighbourhood of Idumæa, and might naturally be made use of by him, to represent to the Hebrews, either whilst repining under their Egyptian bondage, or murmuring at their long wanderings in the wilderness, the great duty of *submission to the will of God*. The encouragement which this book holds out, that every good man suffering patiently will finally be rewarded, rendered it a work peculiarly calculated to minister mingled comfort and rebuke to the distressed and discontented Israelites, and might, therefore, well have

[1] See Good's translation of Job, *in loc.* pp. 379—381. Bishop Lowth, lect. xxxii. vol. ii. pp. 352, 353.

[2] Introduction à la Lecture des Livres Saints, Ancien Testament, p. 499.

[3] Dr. Lee's hypothesis is examined at some length by the Rev. W. Ewing, in his Critical Observations on the Book of Job. London, 1844. 8vo.

[4] Dr. Good, who adopts this hypothesis, has collected these seeming coincidences, Introd. Diss. pp. lvi.—lxii. Archbishop Magee has examined and refuted at considerable length the arguments of Huet, Dr. Kennicott, Heath, bishop Warburton, and others, who have advocated the same notion. Discourses on the Atonement, vol. ii. pp. 63—80.

[5] See Peters, Critical Dissertation on Job, pp. 123, &c., or p. 119. (edit. 1757.)

been employed by Moses for this purpose. We may also suppose that Moses, in transcribing, might have made some small and unimportant alterations, which will sufficiently account for *occasional* and *partial* resemblances of expression between it and the Pentateuch, if any such there be.

"This hypothesis both furnishes a reasonable compromise between the opinions of the great critics, who are divided upon the point of Moses being the author, and supplies an answer to a question of no small difficulty, which hangs upon almost every other solution; namely, when, and wherefore, a book treating manifestly of the concerns of a stranger, and in no way connected with their affairs, was received by the Jews into their sacred canon. For, Moses having thus applied the book to their use, and sanctioned it by his authority, it would naturally have been enrolled among their sacred writings; and, from the antiquity of that enrolment, no record would consequently appear of its introduction."[1]

The poem of Job being thus early introduced into the sacred volume, we have abundant evidence of its subsequent recognition as a canonical and inspired book, in the circumstance of its being occasionally quoted or copied by almost every Hebrew writer who had an opportunity of referring to it, from the age of Moses to that of Malachi; especially by the Psalmist, by Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel (not to mention several of the apocryphal writers).[2] The reality of Job's person, we have already remarked[3], was particularly recognized by the prophet Ezekiel[4] (xiv. 14, 18, 20.), and, consequently, the reality and canonical authority of his book: a similar admission of it was made by the apostle James (v. 11.); and it is expressly cited by St. Paul (comp. 1 Cor. iii. 19. and Job v. 13.), who prefaces his quotation by the words, *It is written*, agreeably to the common form of quoting from other parts of Scripture. All these testimonies, direct and collateral, when taken together, afford such a body of convincing evidence as fully justifies the primitive

[1] Magee, Discourses, vol. ii. p. 82. This notion, archbishop Magee remarks, is not without support from many respectable authorities. The ancient commentator on Job, under the title of Origen, has handed down a piece of traditional history, which perfectly accords with it. See Patrick's Preface to Job. Many of the most respectable early writers seem to have adopted the same idea, as may be seen in Huet, Dem. Evang. p. 326., or pp. 177, 178. (edit. Par. 1679); and, with some slight variation, it has been followed by that learned author. Patrick also and Peters speak of it as a reasonable hypothesis, Crit. Diss. Pref. pp. xxxiv. xxxv. And it possesses this advantage, that it *solves all the phenomena*. Ibid. pp. 83, 84.

[2] Huet, Demonstr. Evang. tom. i. pp. 324, 325., or p. 179. (edit. Par. 1679), and Dr. Good, in the notes to his Version of Job, have pointed out numerous instances of passages thus directly copied or referred to.

[3] See p. 668. *supra.*

[4] As Job lived so many ages before the time of the prophet Ezekiel, "mere oral tradition of such a person could not have subsisted through so long a space of time, without appearing at last as uncertain or fabulous. There must, therefore, have been some history of Job in Ezekiel's time: no other history but that which we now have, and which has always had a place in the Hebrew code, was ever heard of or pretended. Therefore this must be the history of Job in Ezekiel's time, and which must have been generally known and read as true and authentic, and, consequently, must have been written near to (rather in) the age when the fact was transacted, and not in after-times, when its credibility would have been greatly diminished." Dr. Taylor, Scheme of Scripture Divinity, chap. 22. *in fine*, in Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts, vol. i. p. 93.

fathers and early councils in their reception of it as an inspired book, and — independently of its completing the Jewish and Christian canons of Scripture, by uniting as full an account as is necessary of the patriarchal dispensation, with the two other dispensations by which it was progressively succeeded — the enrolment of the history of Job in the sacred volume may have been designed as an intimation of the future admission of the Gentiles into the church of Christ.[1]

[Hengstenberg in his examination of the age of this book[2] endeavours to fix limits, earlier than which on the one hand and later on the other it is not to be supposed that it could have been written; and these limits he thinks are not before Samuel and David, nor after Isaiah. In support of the lower limit, he produces allusions from Ezek. xiv. 14—20.; Jer. xx. 14., where there is an imitation of Job's cursing the day of his birth, chap. iii.; also Lam. ii. 16. compared with Job xvi. 9, 10, 13., and Lam. iii. 7, 9. with Job xix. 8. In Isaiah the peculiar use of צבא, xl. 2. refers us to Job vii. 1. (comp. x. 17., xiv. 14.); and the *double* there spoken of alludes to the end of Job's history; see also Isai. lxi. 7. Isai. li. 9. depends on Job xxvi. 12, 13.; and xix. 5. agrees almost literally with Job xiv. 11. Further, part of Psal. cvii. 42. is very similar to Job v. 16. The language also is free from *those* Chaldaisms which are found in books written about the time of the exile. Such a book, too, so rich and animated, is not likely to have been produced at a period of national tribulation, when poetic power was declining. The arguments for the very early date of this book Hengstenberg considers insufficient. He accounts for there being no reference to the Mosaic legislation from the design of the book; its scene being without Palestine, and its characters being in the patriarchal age. The archaisms which are alleged in the language he attributes to the poetical form of the composition; they would be of weight only if it were written in prose. And it is manifest that we must distinguish between the antiquity of the events narrated and the date of the record. The author may throw himself, as it were, into the early times and manners he describes, and yet have written at a later period. Hengstenberg further supposes that a book of such reflecting character could hardly have been constructed in patriarchal times; and the idea of the Deity is, he thinks, more refined and developed than in the books of Moses. There are passages, moreover, in which the author alludes to the Psalms and Proverbs. Thus Psal. xxxix. is a text-book for the speeches of Job; and v. 13. of that Psalm has given rise to Job vii. 8, 19, 21., x. 20, 21., xiv. 6.: comp. also Job xv. 7. with Prov. viii. 25; Job xxi. 17. with Prov. xiii. 9.; &c. &c. Hengstenberg's conclusion is that we must be satisfied with the approximation reached by assigning the limits he has marked out; that any nearer identification of date is impossible. Keil agrees with him in repudiating a very early or very late period of composition, and is inclined, on the whole, to place it in Solomon's reign.[3] Dr. Kitto is of opinion that

[1] Gregor. Magn. Præfat. in Jobum.; Magee, vol. ii. p. 84.; Good's Job, p. lxiv.
[2] Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Job, the Book of.
[3] Einleitung, § 124.

Hengstenberg "stumbles in the attempt to prove that the book could not have been written before the age of Samuel and David."[1] His belief is that it must be assigned to Moses or to a yet earlier time. Mr. Carey, while inclining to believe it very ancient, sums up in the following words: "Whether Job himself was the compiler of the book, and when and by whom it was introduced into the Jewish canon of Scripture, whether by Moses after his sojourn in Midian, or by David after his victories over the Edomites, are questions about which I conceive it to be impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion."[2]

Critics have amused themselves with various hypotheses respecting the author. Some after the addition to the LXX. version, as Aben-ezra and others, have imagined the book a translation from an Aramæan or Arabic original. Herder and Ilgen maintain that the writer was an Idumæan: Niemayer calls him a Nahorite: Eichhorn supposes him a Hebrew who in the pre-Mosaic time lived in Idumæa: Hirzel from the knowledge evinced of Egyptian matters would have him an Egyptian; while Ewald thinks it enough to say that the section, chap. xl. 15—xli. 26., was written there: Stickel assigns him a residence in the south of Judea, where he would be in the way of seeing Temanite and Sabean caravans, and is inclined to fix on Tekoah for his city, because of some dialectical resemblances between him and the prophet Amos.[3] Such conjectures may entertain; but they do not edify, and prove by their variety that they are worthless.

It may be added that the difficulty about the reception into the canon of a book not written by a Hebrew is more specious than well-founded. It was not left to the taste or national prejudices of the Jews to settle what books were inspired and what were not. A higher influence was at work. And the guiding Spirit, who moved holy men of old to write, was well able to secure the acknowledgment of what he had done.]

VI. Concerning its species and structure there is a considerable diversity of opinion; some contending that it is an epic poem, while others maintain it to be a drama.

Stuss, Lichtenstein, and Ilgen on the continent, and Dr. Good in our own country, advocate the hypothesis that the book of Job is a regular epic. Ilgen contends that it is a regular epic, the subject of which is tried and victorious innocence; and that it possesses unity of action, delineation of character, plot, and catastrophe, not exactly, indeed, in the Grecian, but in the oriental style.[4] Dr. Good observes that, were it necessary to enter minutely into the question, this poem might easily be proved to possess all the more prominent features of an epic, as laid down by Aristotle himself, "such as unity, completion, and grandeur in its action; loftiness in its sentiments and language; multitude and variety in the passions which it deve-

[1] Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series. First Week, Fourth Day.
[2] The Book of Job, translated, explained, and illustrated, &c. 1858. diss. iv.
[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 124.; comp. Stickel, Das Buch Hiob, 1842. pp. 272, 276, 277.
[4] Ilgen, Jobi antiquissimi Carminis Hebraici Natura atque Virtutes, cap. 3. pp. 40—89.

lopes. Even the characters, though not numerous, are discriminated and well-supported; the milder and more modest temper of Eliphaz (comp. Job iv. 2, 3. with xv. 3.) is well contrasted with the forward and unrestrained violence of Bildad; the terseness and brevity of Zophar with the pent-up and overflowing fulness of Elihu: while in Job himself we perceive a dignity of mind that nothing can humiliate, a firmness that nothing can subdue, still habitually disclosing themselves amidst the mingled tumult of hope, fear, rage, tenderness, triumph, and despair, with which he is alternately distracted." Dr. Good regards this as showing that, so far as a single fact is possessed of authority, "mental taste, or the internal discernment of real beauty, is the same in all ages and nations, and that the rules of the Greek critic are deduced from a principle of universal impulse and operation."[1]

The dramatic form of this poem was strenuously affirmed by Calmet, Carpzov, and some other continental critics, and after them by Dr. Garnett, and bishop Warburton; who, in support of this opinion, adduced the metrical form of its style, excepting in the introduction, and conclusion, its sentiments, which are delivered, not only in verse, but in a kind of poetry animated by all the sublimity and floridness of description (whence he concludes this book to be a work of imagination), and, in short, the whole form of its composition. Bishop Lowth has appropriated two entire lectures[2] to an examination of this question; and, after inquiring whether the poem is possessed of any of the properties of the Greek drama, and considering a variety of circumstances which are here necessarily omitted, he affirms without hesitation that the poem of Job contains no plot or action whatever, not even of the most simple kind; that it uniformly exhibits one constant chain of things, without the smallest change of feature from beginning to end; and that it exhibits such a representation of manners, passions, and sentiments as might be naturally expected in such a situation. But, though the book of Job is by no means to be considered as a drama written with fictitious contrivance, or as resembling in its construction any of those much-admired productions of the Grecian dramatic poets which it preceded by so many centuries, yet, he concludes, it may still be represented as being so far dramatic, as the parties are introduced speaking with great fidelity of character, and as it deviates from strict historical accuracy for the sake of effect.

Bauer considers that the book of Job approximates most nearly to the *Mekámat* or moral discourses of the philosophical Arabian poets.[3] He has simply announced his hypothesis, without offering any reasons in its support; but the following considerations appear not unfavourable to the conjecture of Bauer. The Mekáma treats on every topic which presented itself to the mind of the poet, and, though some parts are prose, yet it is generally clothed in all the charms of poetry which the vivid imagination of the author could possibly bestow upon

[1] Introd. Diss. to Job, section 2.

[2] Lectt. xxxiii. and xxxiv.

[3] Bauer, Hermeneutica Sacra, pars ii. sect. iii. § 91. p. 386. The Arabic word Mekáma signifies an assembly and conversation, or discourse (D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 500.): the name is derived from the circumstance of these compositions being read at the meetings or conversazioni of eminent literary characters.

it. The subjects thus discussed, however, are principally ethical. The Arabs have several works of this description, which are of considerable antiquity; but the most celebrated is the collection of Mekámats, composed by the illustrious poet Hariri[1], which are read and admired to this day. Now, it will be recollected that the scene of the book of Job is laid in the land of Uz or Idumæa, in the Stony Arabia; the interlocutors are Edomite Arabs; the beginning and termination are evidently in prose, though the dialogue is metrical; the language is pure Hebrew, which we know for a considerable time was the common dialect of the Israelites, Idumæans, and Arabs, who were all descended from Abraham; the manners, customs, and allusions, too, which, it is well known, have not varied in any material degree, are supported by those of the modern Arabs. Since, then, the book of Job is allowed on all sides to be a poem, single and unparalleled in the sacred volume, may we not consider it as a prototype of the Mekáma of the Arabians? This conjecture, which is offered with deference to the names and sentiments of so many learned men, possesses at least one advantage: it furnishes a compromise between the opinions of the great critics who are divided in sentiment upon the class of poetry to which this book is to be referred, and perhaps reconciles difficulties which could not otherwise be solved respecting its real nature.

[Keil is inclined to class the book of Job among lyric poetry.[2] Something of this it may be said to contain; but certainly its general form is not lyric.]

The reader will now determine for himself to which class of poetry this divine book is to be referred. After all that has been said, it is, perhaps, of little consequence whether it be esteemed a didactic or an ethic, an epic or dramatic poem; provided a distinct and conspicuous station be assigned to it in the highest rank of Hebrew poesy; for not only is the poetry of the book of Job equal to that of any other of the sacred writings, but it is superior to them all, those of Isaiah alone excepted. As Isaiah, says Dr. Blair, is the most sublime, David the most pleasing and tender, so Job is the most descriptive of all the inspired poets. A peculiar glow of fancy and strength of description characterize this author. No writer whatever abounds so much in metaphors. He may be said not only to describe, but to render visible, whatever he treats of. Instances of this kind every where occur, but especially in the eighteenth and twentieth chapters, in which the condition of the wicked is delineated.[3]

VII. The subject of this book is the history of a real sufferer, the patriarch Job, who at the period in question was an emir, or Arab

[1] He composed his Mekáma, or Macamát, as D'Herbelot spells the word, at the request of Abu Shirvan Khaled, vizir of the Seljuk Sultan Mahmoud. It is esteemed a master-piece of Arabian poesy and eloquence, and consists of fifty discourses or declamatory conversations on various topics of morality; each of which derives its name from the place where it was recited. So highly were these productions of Hariri valued, that Zamakshari, the most learned of the Arabian grammarians, pronounced that they ought only to be written on silk. See, for an account of editions of this work, Schnurrer, Bibl. Arab. pp. 222, &c. An English translation of the whole, with annotations, was published by Prof. Preston, London, 1850.

[2] Einleitung, § 123. pp. 410.

[3] Blair's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 188.

prince of distinguished wealth, eminence, and authority, resident in the country of Uz or Idumæa. His three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, were also probably emirs of the cities or places whence they are denominated; but of Elihu, the fourth interlocutor in the poem, we have no notice whatever.[1] The principal object offered to our contemplation in this production is the example of a good man, eminent for his piety, and of approved integrity, suddenly precipitated from the summit of prosperity into the depths of misery and ruin; who, having been first bereaved of his possessions, and his children, is afterwards afflicted with the most excruciating anguish of a loathsome disease which entirely covers his body (i. ii.). He sustains all with the most complete resignation to the will of Providence: *In all this*, says the historian, *Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly* (i. 22.). And, after the second trial, *In all this did not Job sin with his lips* (ii. 10.). The author of the history remarks upon this circumstance a second time, in order to excite the observation of the reader, and to render him more attentive to what follows, which properly constitutes the true subject of the poem; namely, the conduct of Job with respect to his reverence for the Almighty, and the changes which accumulating misery might produce in his temper. Accordingly we find that another still more exquisite trial of his patience yet awaits him, which, indeed, he appears scarcely to have sustained with equal firmness, namely, the unjust suspicions and bitter reproaches of his friends, who had visited him on the pretence of affording consolation. Here commences the plot or action of the poem; for, when, after a long silence of all parties, the grief of Job breaks forth into passionate exclamations and a vehement execration of the day of his birth (iii.), the minds of his friends are suddenly exasperated, their intentions are changed, and their consolation, if indeed they originally intended any, is converted into contumely and reproof. Eliphaz, the first of these three singular comforters, censures his impatience, calls in question his integrity, by indirectly insinuating that God does not inflict such punishments upon the righteous, and, finally, admonishes him that the chastisement of God is not to be despised (iv. v.). The next of them, not less intemperate, takes it for granted that the children of Job had only received the

[1] From the circumstance of Eliphaz, Zophar, and Bildad being termed kings in the Septuagint version, some critics have supposed that they, as well as Job, were monarchs; but this conjecture is destitute of support. For, 1. Job is represented as losing not his kingdom, but his children, servants, and flocks; 2. He possessed no army or forces with which he could pursue the predatory Sabæans and Chaldæans; 3. Though his friends accused him of various crimes, and among others of harshly treating his servants, yet they nowhere charge him with tyranny towards his subjects; 4. Job gives an account of his private life and conduct towards his domestics, but is totally silent as to his conduct towards his subjects; lastly, when he does mention kings (iii. 14., xxix. 25.), he by no means places himself upon an equality with them. Hence we see the erroneousness of the appendix to the Septuagint version of Job, of which some notice is taken in p. 692, *infra*, and which makes him to be the same as Jobab king of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 33.). It is equally clear that Job was not subject to any sovereign; for neither he nor his friends make any mention of his allegiance to any king; on the contrary, when he entered the gate of the city where the magistrates sat in a judicial capacity, the first place was reserved to him, and his opinion was asked with the utmost deference. From all these circumstances, therefore, coupled with his extensive flocks and ample possessions, we conclude with Herder, Jahn, and Dr. Good, that he was emir, prince, or chief magistrate of the city of Uz.

reward due to their offences; and, with regard to himself, intimates that, if he be innocent, and will apply with proper humility to the divine mercy, he may be restored (viii.). The third upbraids him with arrogance, with vanity, and even with falsehood, because he has presumed to defend himself against the unjust accusations of his companions, and exhorts him to a sounder mode of reasoning, and a more holy life (xi.). They all, with a manifest though indirect allusion to Job, discourse very copiously concerning the divine judgments, which are always openly displayed against the wicked, and of the certain destruction of hypocritical pretenders to virtue and religion. In reply Job enumerates his sufferings, and complains bitterly of the inhumanity of his friends, and of the severity which he has experienced from the hand of God: he calls to witness both God and man, that he is unjustly oppressed: he intimates that he is weak in comparison with God, that the contention is, consequently, unequal, and that, be his cause ever so righteous, he cannot hope to prevail (vi. vii.). He expostulates with God himself still more vehemently, and with greater freedom, affirming that he does not discriminate characters, but equally afflicts the just and the unjust (ix. x.). The expostulations of Job serve only to irritate still more the resentment of his pretended friends: they reproach him in severer terms with pride, impiety, passion, and madness: they repeat the same arguments respecting the justice of God, the punishment of the wicked, and their certain destruction after short apparent prosperity. This sentiment they confidently pronounce to be confirmed both by their experience and by that of their fathers; and they maliciously exaggerate the ungrateful topic by the most splendid imagery and the most forcible language (xi.). On the part of Job, the general scope of the argument is much the same as before; but the expression is considerably heightened: it consists of appeals to the Almighty, asseverations of his own innocence, earnest expostulations, complaints of the cruelty of his friends, melancholy reflections on the vanity of human life, and upon his own severe misfortunes, ending in grief and desperation: he affirms, however, that he places his ultimate hope and confidence in God; and, the more vehemently his adversaries urge that the wicked only are objects of the divine wrath, and obnoxious to punishment, so much the more resolutely does Job assert their perpetual impunity, prosperity, and happiness, even to the end of their existence. The first of his opponents, Eliphaz, incensed by this assertion, descends directly to open crimination, he accuses Job of the most atrocious crimes, of rapine and oppression, inveighs against him as an impious pretender to virtue, and with a kind of sarcastic benevolence exhorts him to penitence. Vehemently affected with this reproof, Job, in a still more animated and confident strain, appeals to the tribunal of All-seeing Justice, and wishes it were only permitted him to plead his cause in the presence of God himself. He complains still more intemperately of the unequal treatment of Providence, exults in his own integrity, and then more tenaciously maintains his former opinion concerning the impunity of the wicked. To this another of the triumvirate, Bildad, replies by a masterly

though concise dissertation on the majesty and sanctity of the Divine Being, indirectly rebuking the presumption of Job, who has dared to question his decrees. In reply to Bildad, Job demonstrates himself no less expert at wielding the weapons of satire and ridicule than those of reason and argument; and, reverting to a more serious tone, he displays the infinite power and wisdom of God more copiously and more poetically than the former speaker (xxvi.). The third of the friends making no return, and the others remaining silent, Job at length opens the true sentiments of his heart concerning the fate of the wicked: he allows that their prosperity is unstable, and that they and their descendants shall at last experience on a sudden that God is the avenger of iniquity. In all this, however, he contends that the divine counsels do not admit of human investigation, but that the chief wisdom of man consists in the fear of God. He beautifully descants upon his former prosperity, and exhibits a striking contrast between it and his present affliction and debasement. Lastly, in answer to the crimination of Eliphaz, and the implications of the others, he relates the principal transactions of his past life: he asserts his integrity as displayed in all the duties of life, and in the sight of God and man, and again appeals to the justice and omniscience of God in attestation of his veracity (xxvii.—xxxi.).

If these circumstances were fairly collected from the general tenor and series of the work, as far as we are able to trace them through the plainer and more conspicuous passages, it will be no very difficult task to explain and define the subject of this part of the poem, which contains the dispute between Job and his friends. The argument seems chiefly to relate to the piety and integrity of Job, and turns upon this point, whether he, who by the divine providence and visitation is so severely punished and afflicted, ought to be accounted pious and innocent. This leads into a more extensive field of controversy, into a dispute, indeed, which less admits of any definition or limit, concerning the nature of the divine counsels, in the dispensations of happiness and misery in this life. The antagonists of Job in this dispute, observing him exposed to such severe visitations, conceiving that this affliction had fallen upon him not unmeritedly, accuse him of hypocrisy, and falsely ascribe to him the guilt of some atrocious but concealed offence. Job, on the contrary, conscious of no crime, and wounded by their unjust suspicions, defends his own innocence before God with rather more confidence than is commendable, and so strenuously contends for his own integrity, that he seems virtually to charge God himself with some degree of injustice.[1]

The argument of Job's friends may, in substance, be comprised in the following syllogism:

> *God, who is just, bestows blessings upon the godly, but afflicts the wicked;*
> But *Job is most heavily afflicted by God*;
> Therefore *Job is wicked, and deserves the punishment of his sins*; and therefore he is bound to *repent*, that is, *to confess and bewail his sins.*

To the major proposition Job replies that *God afflicts not only the wicked, but also the pious*, in order that their faith, patience, and other

[1] Lowth, Lectures, lect. xxxi vol. i. ii. pp. 371 - 378.

virtues, may be proved, and that the glory of God may become more conspicuously manifest in their wonderful deliverances. But, overwhelmed with grief and the cruel suspicions of his friends, he defends his cause with hard and sometimes impatient expressions.

This state of the controversy is clearly explained by what follows; for, when the three friends have ceased to dispute with Job, *because he seemeth just in his own eyes* (xxxii. 1.), that is, because he has uniformly contended that there was no wickedness in himself which could call down the heavy vengeance of God, Elihu comes forward, justly offended with both parties; with Job, *because he justified himself in preference to God* (xxxii. 2., comp. xxxv. 2., xl. 8.), that is, because he defended so vehemently the justice of his own cause, that he seemed in some measure to arraign the justice of God; against the three friends, because, *though they were unable to answer Job, they ceased not to condemn him* (xxxii. 3.), that is, they concluded that Job was impious while, nevertheless, they had nothing specific to object against his assertions of his own innocence, or upon which they might safely ground their accusation.

The conduct of Elihu evidently corresponds with this state of the controversy: he professes, after a slight prefatory mention of himself, to reason with Job, unbiassed equally by favour or resentment. He therefore reproves Job from his own mouth, because he had attributed too much to himself; because he had affirmed himself to be altogether free from guilt and depravity; because he had presumed to contend with God, and had not scrupled to insinuate that the Deity was hostile to him. He asserts that it is not necessary for God to explain and develope his counsels to men; that he nevertheless takes many occasions of admonishing them, not only by visions and revelations, but even by the visitations of his Providence, by sending calamities and diseases upon them, to repress their arrogance and reform their obduracy. He next rebukes Job, because he had pronounced himself upright, and affirmed that God had acted inimically, if not unjustly, towards him, which he proves to be no less improper than indecent. In the third place, he objects to Job that, from the miseries of the good and the prosperity of the wicked, he has falsely and perversely concluded, that there was no advantage to be derived from the practice of virtue. On the contrary, he affirms that, when the afflictions of the just continue, it is because they do not place a proper confidence in God, ask relief at his hands, patiently expect it, nor demean themselves before him with becoming humility and submission. This observation alone, he adds very properly, is at once a sufficient reproof of the contumacy of Job, and a full refutation of the unjust suspicions of his friends (xxxv. 4.). Lastly, he explains the purposes of the Deity, in chastening men; which are in general to prove and to amend them, to repress their arrogance, to afford him an opportunity of exemplifying his justice upon the obstinate and rebellious, and of showing favour to the humble and obedient. He supposes God to have acted in this manner towards Job: on that account he exhorts him to humble himself before his righteous Judge, to beware of appearing obstinate or contumacious in his sight, and of

relapsing into a repetition of his sin. He entreats him, from the contemplation of the divine power and majesty, to endeavour to retain a proper reverence for the Almighty. To these frequently intermitted and often repeated admonitions of Elihu, Job makes no return.

The address of God himself follows that of Elihu, in which, disdaining to descend to any particular explication of his divine counsels, but instancing some of the stupendous effects of his infinite power, he insists upon the same topics which Elihu had before touched upon. In the first place, having reproved the temerity of Job, he convicts him of ignorance, in being unable to comprehend the works of this creation, which were obvious to every eye; the nature and structure of the earth, the sea, the light, and the animal kingdom. He then demonstrates his weakness, by challenging him to prove his own power by emulating any single exertion of the divine energy, and then referring him to one or two of the brute creation, with which he is unable to contend; how much less, therefore, with the Omnipotent Creator and Lord of all things, who is or can be accountable to no being whatever (xli. 2, 3.)[1]!

The scope of this speech is to humble Job, and to teach others by his example to acquiesce in the dispensations of Jehovah, from an unbounded confidence in his equity, wisdom, and goodness; an end this, which (bishop Stock truly remarks) is, indeed, worthy of the interposition of the Deity. The method pursued in the speech to accomplish its design is a series of questions and descriptions, relative to natural things, admirably fitted to convince this complainant, and all others, of their incapacity to judge of God's moral administration, and of the danger of striving with their Maker. Nothing can equal, much less surpass, the sublimity of this divine address (xxxviii. —xli.).

On the conclusion of the speech of Jehovah, Job humbles himself before God, acknowledging his own ignorance and imbecility, and "repents in dust and ashes." He then offers sacrifice for his friends, and is restored to redoubled prosperity, honour, and comfort.

From a due consideration of all these circumstances, bishop Lowth concludes that the principal object of the poem is this third and last trial of Job from the injustice and unkindness of his accusing friends; the consequence of which is, in the first place, the anger, indignation, and contumacy of Job, and, afterwards, his composure, submission, and penitence. The design of the poem is, therefore, to teach men, that, having a due respect to the corruption, infirmity, and ignorance of human nature, as well as to the infinite wisdom and majesty of God, they are to reject all confidence in their own strength, in their own righteousness, and to preserve on all occasions an unwavering and unsullied faith, and to submit with becoming reverence to his decrees. It is, however to be carefully observed that the subject of the dispute between Job and his friends differs from the subject of the poem in general; and that the end of the poetical part differs from the design of the narrative at large. For, the bishop remarks,

[1] Lowth, Lectures, lect. xxxii. vol. ii. pp. 378—385.

although the design and subject of the poem be exactly as they are above defined, it may, nevertheless, be granted that the whole history, taken together, contains an example of patience, together with its reward; and he considers much of the perplexity in which the subject has been involved as arising principally from this point not having been treated with sufficient distinctness by the learned.

[Hengstenberg argues that "the object of the book is the solution of the question, how the afflictions of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked can be consistent with God's justice. But it should be observed," he goes on, "that the direct problem exclusively refers to the first point; the second being only incidentally discussed on occasion of the leading theme. If this is overlooked, the author would appear to have solved only one half of his problem: the case from which the whole discussion proceeds has reference merely to the leading problem." Hengstenberg, further, considers those in error who regard the doctrine of retribution after death as alone calculated to lead to a solution of this problem. God's righteousness must be manifested in this world as well as in another; and his moral government is always in exercise, and is not to be supposed inactive now, to wake up hereafter. These, then, are positions which must be laid down, in order to show how in the book generally, and mainly in Elihu's speeches, a right solution is obtained: "(1.) Calamity is the only way that leads to the kingdom of God. Even the comparatively-righteous are not without sin; which can be eradicated only by afflictions. *Via crucis est via salutis.* He who repents will attain to a clearer insight into the otherwise-obscure ways of God. The afflictions of the pious issue at once from God's justice and love. To him who entertains a proper sense of the sinfulness of man, no calamity appears so great as not to be deserved as a punishment, or useful as a corrective. (2.) Calamity, as the veiled grace of God, is with the pious never alone; but manifest proofs of the divine favour accompany or follow it. Though sunk in misery, they still are happier than the wicked; and, when it has attained its object, it is terminated by the Lord. The nature of acts of grace differs according to the quality of those on whom they are conferred. The consolations offered in the Old Testament are, agreeably to the weaker judgment of its professors, derived chiefly from external circumstances; while in the New Testament they are mainly spiritual, without, however, excluding the leading external helps. This difference is not essential, nor is any other; the *restitutio in integrum* being in the Old Testament principally confined to this life, while in the New Testament the eye is directed beyond the limits of this world."[1]

Dr. Kitto, in a valuable paper, on the Design of the Book of Job[2], takes substantially the same view, and shows how the subject is of general practical utility. It "appears to be one that comes home to men's business and bosoms. Even under the light of Christianity there are, perhaps, few who have not at particular seasons felt the strife between faith in the perfect government of the world, and the

[1] Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Job, the Book of.
[2] Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, First Week, First Day.

various feelings excited in the mind by what they have experienced of human suffering."[1]]

Moldenhawer and some other critics have considered the passage in Job xix. 25—27. as a prediction of the Messiah. It cannot, however, be clearly shown that this book contains any prophecies, strictly so called; because the passages which might be adduced as prophetical may also be considered as a profession of faith in a promised Redeemer, and concerning a future resurrection. A learned commentator of the present day has remarked, that there are but few parts of the Old Testament which declare more explicitly the grand outlines of revealed truth, nay even of evangelical doctrine; so that they who speak of it as consisting chiefly of *natural religion* seem entirely to have mistaken its scope.[2]

"The character of each person is well sustained through the whole book: Job, everywhere consistent, pious, conscious of his own uprightness, but depressed by misery, weighed down by disease, and irritated by the clamorous accusations of his friends, is hurried on to make some rash assertions. Confident in his own innocence, his appeals to God are sometimes too bold, and his attacks upon his friends too harsh, but he always ends in complaints, and excuses his vehemence on account of the magnitude of his calamity. His *friends*, all sincere worshippers of the true God, and earnest advocates of virtue, agree in the opinion that divine justice invariably punishes the wicked, and rewards the good with present happiness. They endeavour to prove this by appeals to more ancient revelations, to the opinions of those who had lived in former times, and to experience, apprehensive lest the contrary assertion of Job should injure morals and religion. They all speak of angels. Nevertheless, they differ from each other in many other matters. Eliphaz is superior to the others in discernment and in delicacy. He begins by addressing Job mildly, and it is not until irritated by contradiction that he reckons him among the wicked. Bildad, less discerning and less polished, breaks out at first in accusations against Job, and increases in vehemence: in the end, however, he is reduced to a mere repetition of his former arguments. Zophar is inferior to his companions in both these respects: at first, his discourse is characterized by rusticity; his second address adds but little to the first; and in the third dialogue he has no reply to make. Elihu manifests a degree of veneration for Job and his friends, but speaks like an inflated youth, wishing to conceal his self-sufficiency under the appearance of modesty.[3] God is introduced in all his majesty, speaking from a tempestuous cloud in the style of one with whose honour it is not consistent to render an account of his government, and to settle the agitated question, which is above the reach of human intellect. He, therefore, merely

[1] Discussions on the problem of this book will be found in Hävernick, Einleitung §§ 289—291. III. pp. 300—325.; where, as well as in Hengstenberg's article, the notion of Ewald, that the book was intended to unfold the doctrine of the soul's immortality, is examined and disproved. Comp. Keil, Einleitung, § 122. pp. 406—409.

[2] Scott's Preface to Job.

[3] This is an erroneous view of Elihu; as may be gathered from what has been before said.

silences the disputants. The *feelings* of the interlocutors, as is natural, become warm in the progress of the controversy, and each speaker returns to the stage, with an increased degree of eagerness."[1]

VIII. At the end of the Septuagint version of this book, after the account of Job's death (xlii. 16.), there is the following addition: Γέγραπται δὲ πάλιν ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτὸν μεθ' ὧν ἀνίστησιν ὁ Κύριος: *But it is written that he shall rise again along with those whom the Lord raiseth up.* Where it was so written concerning Job is not easily to be found, unless in his own celebrated confession, *I know that my* REDEEMER *liveth,* &c. (xix. 25—27.). The remark, however, is so far of importance as it proves the popular belief of the doctrine *before* the coming of Christ, a belief, to which this inestimable book, we may rest assured, contributed not a little.[2] To this additional passage there is also annexed in the Septuagint version a subscription or appendix, containing a brief genealogical account of the patriarch, derived from an old Syriac version[3], and identifying him with Jobab, king of the Edomites, and, consequently, making him nearly contemporary with Moses. This subscription was received and credited by the pseudo-Aristeas, Philo, and Polyhistor: it was also believed in the time of Origen, and is preserved by Theodotion at the end of his version of the book of Job.

This genealogy is received by Calmet and Herder[4] as genuine, but it is manifestly spurious.

IX. The preceding view of the scope and argument will convey to the reader an accurate idea of this very ancient but in many passages confessedly-obscure poem. There are many useful hints for the right understanding of its contents in the rules laid down by Dr. John Taylor. But for these the student must be referred to Dr. Taylor's work.[5]

X. Nothing, perhaps, has contributed more to render the poem of Job obscure, than the common division into chapters and verses; by

[1] Prof. Turner's translation of Jahn's Introduction, p. 463.

[2] Dr. Hales, Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 102, or pp. 91, 92. (edit. 1830).

[3] This subscription is also found in the Arabic version, where it is less circumstantial, and in the old Latin Vulgate translation of Job. The following version is given from the Septuagint in bishop Walton's Polyglott, vol. iii. p. 86.: "This is translated out of a book in the Syrian language; for he dwelt in the land of Ausitis, on the confines of Idumæa and Arabia. His first name was Jobab; and, having married an Arabian woman, he had by her a son whose name was Ennon. Now he himself was the son of Zave, one of the sons of Esau; so that he was the fifth in descent from Abraham. Now these were the kings who reigned in Edom; over which country he also bare rule. The first was Balak the son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dannaba; and, after Balak, Jobab, who is called Job; and, after him, Ason, who was general over the region of Thæmanitis (Teman); and, after him, Adad, the son of Barad, who smote Madiam in the land of Moab; and the name of his city was Gethaim. And the friends who came to Job were Eliphaz of the sons of Esau, king of the Thæmanites; Baldad, the sovereign of the Saucheans (Shuhites); and Sophar (Zophar), the king of the Minains" (Naamathites).

[4] Calmet's Dictionary, vol. i. art. Job; Herder on Hebrew Poetry in M. R. (O. S.) vol. lxxx. p. 644.

[5] Scheme of Scripture Divinity, chap. xxiii. in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. i. pp. 97, 98. Dr. Taylor of Norwich was an eminent divine of the last century; who was distinguished for his command of temper, benevolent feeling, and deep acquaintance with the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. His Scheme of Divinity, it is deeply to be regretted, was Arian, and, therefore, cannot be recommended to students, indiscriminately.

which not only the unity of the general subject, but frequently that of a single paragraph or clause, is broken. The commentators, critics, and analysts, indeed, are not agreed as to the exact number of parts of which it consists: thus Heidegger and the elder Carpzov institute two leading divisions, with a multitude of subdivisions: Van Til divides it into four leading parts; Moldenhawer into three; and Mr. Noyes into three, with a number of subordinate heads[1]: Dr. Good divides it into six books or parts; and Dr. Hales into five parts, independently of the exordium and conclusion; but, as these are requisite to the unity of the book, it does not appear that they should be excluded from the arrangement. The poem, then, may be conveniently divided into six parts: the first of these contains the exordium or narrative part (i. ii.); the second comprises the *first* debate or dialogue of Job and his friends (iii.—xiv.); the third includes the *second* series of debate or controversy (xv.—xxi.); the fourth comprehends the *third* series of controversy (xxii.—xxxi.); in the fifth part Elihu sums up the argument (xxxii.—xxxvii.); and in the sixth part Jehovah determines the controversy; Job humbles himself, is accepted, and restored to health and prosperity (xxxiii.—xlii.).

PART I. *The exordium, containing the narration of Job's circumstances, and trials* (i. ii.); *which is written in prose.*

1. The situation and circumstances of Job (i. 1—6.).

2. The *first* trial of Job by Satan, with divine permission, in the loss of his property and children; the integrity of Job declared (i. 7—22.).

3. The *second* trial of Job by Satan, in the severe affliction of his person (ii. 1—10.), and the visit of his friends to console him (11—13.).

PART II. *The* first *dialogue or controversy between Job and his friends* (iii.—xiv.).

1. The complaint of Job on his calamitous situation, which is the groundwork of the following arguments (iii.).

2. The speech of Eliphaz, in which he reproves the impatience of Job, and insinuates that his sufferings were the punishment of some secret iniquity (iv. v.).

3. Job's reply, in which he apologizes for the intemperance of his grief by the magnitude of his calamities, prays for speedy death, accuses his friends of cruelty, and expostulates with God, whose mercy he supplicates (vi. vii.).

4. The argument of Eliphaz resumed by Bildad, who reproves Job with still greater acrimony, and accuses him of irreligion and impiety (viii.).

5. Job's rejoinder, in which, while he acknowledges the justice and sovereignty of God, he argues that his afflictions are no proof of his wickedness, and in despair again wishes for death (ix. x.). This passionate reply calls forth,

6. Zophar, who prosecutes the argument begun by Eliphaz, and continued by Bildad, with still greater severity, and exhorts him to repentance, as the only means by which to recover his former prosperity (xi.).

7. The answer of Job, who retorts on his friends, censuring their pre-

[1] See the Synopsis prefixed to his Amended Version of the Book of Job: (Cambridge, North Am. 1827.)

tensions to superior knowledge, and charging them with false and partial pleading against him, and appeals to God, professing his hope in a future resurrection (xii.—xiv.).

PART III. *The* second *dialogue or controversy* (xv.—xxi.); *in which we have,*

1. The argument renewed, nearly in the same manner as it had been commenced by Eliphaz, who accuses Job of impiety in justifying himself (xv.).

2. Job's reply, who complains of the increasing unkindness of his friends, protests his innocency, and looks to death as his last resource (xvi. xvii.).

3. Bildad, going over his former line of argument, with increased asperity, applies it to Job, whose aggravated sufferings, he urges, are justly inflicted upon him (xviii.).

4. Job's appeal to the sympathy of his friends, and from them to God: professing his faith in a future resurrection, he cautions his friends to cease from their invectives, lest God should chastise them (xix.).

5. Job's appeal is retorted upon himself by Zophar (xx.); to whom he replies by discussing at large the conduct of God's providence, in order to evince the fallacy of Zophar's argument of the short-lived triumph of the wicked (xxi.).

PART IV. *The* third *debate or controversy* (xxii.—xxxi.); *in which,*

1. Eliphaz resumes the charge, representing Job's vindication and appeal as displeasing to God; contends that certain and utter ruin is the uniform lot of the wicked, as was evinced in the destruction of the old world by the deluge; and concludes with renewed exhortation to repentance and prayer (xxii.).

2. In reply, Job ardently desires to plead his cause before God, whose omnipresence he delineates in sublime language, urging that his sufferings were designed as trials of his faith and integrity; and he shows in various instances that the wicked frequently escape punishment in this life (xxiii. xxiv.).

3. The rejoinder of Bildad, who repeats his former proposition, that, since no man is without sin in the sight of God, consequently Job cannot be justified in his sight (xxv.).

4. The answer of Job, who, having reproved the harsh conduct of Bildad, re-vindicates his own conduct with great animation, reviews his character in the relative situations of life, as a husband, as a master, and as a magistrate, and concludes by repeating his ardent wish for an immediate trial with his calumniator before the tribunal of God (xxvi.—xxxi.).

PART V. *Contains the summing up of the whole argument by Elihu; who, having condemned the conduct of all the disputants, whose reasonings were not calculated to produce conviction* (xxxii.), *proceeds to contest some of Job's positions, and to show that God frequently afflicts the children of men for the best of purposes, and that in every instance our duty is submission. He concludes with a grand description of the omnipotence of the Creator* (xxxiii.—xxxvii.).

PART VI. *The termination of the controversy, and the restoration of Job to his former prosperity* (xxxviii.—xlii.); *containing,*

1. The appearance of Jehovah to pronounce judgment; who addresses Job, out of a whirlwind, in a most sublime speech. In it are illustrated

the omnipotence of God, and man's utter ignorance of his ways, and works of creation and providence (xxxviii.—xli.).

2. The submission of Job, which is accepted, his restoration to his former prosperity, and the increase of his substance to double (xlii. 1—10.).

3. A more particular account of Job's restoration and prosperity (xlii. 11—17.).[1]

XI. Independently of the important instruction and benefit which may be derived from a devout perusal of the book of Job, this divine poem is of no small value, as transmitting to us a faithful delineation of the patriarchal doctrines of religion; that confirms and illustrates the notices of that religion contained in the book of Genesis, an outline of which has been given in a former volume.[2] On this account, we shall take a brief retrospect of the patriarchal creed; more especially as some very learned men have denied that it contained any reference either to fallen angelic spirits, or to a future resurrection of the body from the grave, and consequently to a future state of existence.

The two grand articles of patriarchal faith, from the earliest days, according to St. Paul (Heb. xi. 6.), were, 1. *That there is a God,* and, 2. *That he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* These articles are particularly contained in Job's declaration,

> I know that my Redeemer liveth,
> And that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth.

But there are several other important points of doctrine either directly stated, or which may be legitimately inferred from different parts of this book: they may be reduced to the following nine articles:—

1. *The creation of the world by one supreme, omnipresent, and eternal Being,* of boundless wisdom, irresistible power, indescribable glory, inflexible justice, and infinite goodness. This first great principle of what is usually called natural religion is laid down throughout the whole book as an incontestable truth; but it is particularly illustrated in the speech of Jehovah himself in Job xxxviii.—xli.

2. *The government of the world by the perpetual and superintending providence of God.* This article of the patriarchal creed is particularly noticed in Job i. 9, 21., ii. 10., v. 8—27., ix. 4—13., and in almost every other chapter of the book: in every instance, this doctrine is proposed, not as a matter of nice speculation, but as laying mankind under the most powerful obligations to fear and serve, to submit to and trust in their Creator, Lord, and Ruler.

3. *That the providential government of the Almighty is carried on by the ministration of a heavenly hierarchy* (i. 6, 7., iv. 18, 19., v. 1., xxxiii. 22, 23.), which is composed of various ranks and orders, possessing different names, dignities, and offices.[3]

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[1] Dr. Hales is of opinion that the last six verses of this chapter, 11—17. (which particularize the increase of Job's family, the names of his daughters, who, according to primitive usage, were made co-heiresses with their brothers, together with the number of years during which he survived his trial) form an appendix; which was probably added in later times from tradition, either by Moses, who resided so long in his neighbourhood, or by Samuel, or by the person (whoever he was) that introduced the book into the sacred canon. Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 101., or p 91. (edit. 1830.).

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 335—337.

[3] As *obedim*, servants; *malachim*, angels; *melizim*, intercessors; *memitim*, destinies or destroyers; *alep*, the miliad or thousand; *kedosim*, SANCTI, the heavenly SAINTS or hosts

4. *An apostasy or defection in some rank or order of these powers* (iv. 18., xv. 15.); of which Satan seems to have been one, and perhaps chief (i. 6—12., ii. 2—7.).

5. *The good and evil powers or principles, equally formed by the Creator,* and hence equally denominated "sons of God;" both of them employed by him in the administration of his providence; and both amenable to him at stated courts, held for the purpose of receiving an account of their respective missions (i. 6, 7., ii. 1.).[1]

6. *That Zabianism, or the idolatrous worship of the stars, was a judicial offence, cognizable by the pelilim* or judges; who were arbitrators, consisting of the heads of tribes or families, appointed by common consent to try offences against the community, and to award summary justice.[2] Such was the case of the Trans-jordanite tribes, who were suspected of apostasy, and were threatened with extirpation by the heads of the ten tribes on the western side of Jordan (Josh. xxii. 16—22.).[3]

7. *Original sin, or "that corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam."*[4] "It is certain," as bishop Burnet has well remarked, "that in Scripture this general corruption of our nature is often mentioned[5];" and it is not to be supposed that this article of doctrine, however repugnant to the pride of man, should be omitted in the book of Job. Accordingly we find it expressly asserted in chap. xiv. 4., xv. 14—16., and xxv. 4.

8. *The propitiation of the Creator in the case of human transgressions by sacrifices* (i. 5., xlii. 8.), *and the mediation and intercession of a righteous person* (xlii. 8, 9.). In his intercession for his friends, Job is generally regarded as a type of him "who ever liveth to make intercession" for transgressors. If any evidence were wanting to prove sacrifices of divine institution, the declaration in xlii. 8. alone would be sufficient.[6]

9. *That there will be a day of future resurrection* (xiv. 7—11. with vv. 12—15. of the same chapter), judgment (xix. 25—29.), and retribution to all mankind (xxvii. 8., xxxi. 13, 14.).[7]

The passage, in which Job expresses his firm faith in a Redeemer (xix. 25—29.), has been greatly contested among critics; some of whom refer it simply to his deliverance from his temporal distresses, maintaining that it has no allusion whatever to a future state; while others understand it in the contrary sense, and consider it a noble confession of faith in the Redeemer. The latter opinion has been ably advocated by Pfeiffer, the elder Schultens, Michaelis, Velthusen, Rosenmüller, Dr. Good, and the Rev. Drs. Hales and J. P. Smith. The following is Dr. Hales's version of this passage:

generally. Good, Introd. Diss. to his Version of Job, p. lxv. See iv. 18., xxxiii. 22, 23., v. 1., xv. 15. of his translation, compared with p. lxxiv. of his Dissertation, and his notes on the passages cited.

[1] Good, Introd. Diss. p. lxv.

[2] Job xxxi. 26—28. Dr. Hales, to whose researches we are indebted for the sixth article of the patriarchal creed, translates the 28th verse thus:—

> Even this would be a *judicial crime*,
> *For I should have lied unto* GOD ABOVE.

[3] Dr. Hales, Analysis, vol. ii. book i. pp. 105, 106, or p. 96. (edit. 1830).

[4] Article ix. of the Confession of the Anglican church.

[5] Burnet on Art. ix. p. 139.

[6] Archbp. Magee has collected all the evidence on this important subject with great ability, Discourses on the Atonement, vol. ii. part i. pp. 25—46.

[7] See also Carey, The Book of Job, Diss. v. pp. 21—30.

I know that my REDEEMER [*is*] living,
And that at the last [*day*]
He will arise [*in judgment*] upon dust [*mankind*].
And, after my skin be mangled thus,
Yet even from my flesh shall I see God:
Whom I shall see for me [*on my side*],
And mine eyes shall behold him not estranged;
[*Though*] my reins be [*now*] consumed within me.

—— But ye should say, "Why persecute we him [*further*]?"
Since the strength of the argument is found in me,
Fear ye for yourselves, from the face of the *sword;*
For [divine] wrath [punisheth] iniquities [with] *the sword;*
That ye may know there is a judgment.[1]

Nor was the morality of Job less excellent than his theology. He expresses his undeviating obedience to the laws of God, and his delight therein: see xxiii. 11, 12.

From this and other passages, Dr. Hales with great probability thinks it evident that there was some collection of certain precepts, or rules of religion and morality, in use among the patriarchs: such were the precepts of the Noachidæ or sons of Noah; and there is great reason to believe, that the substance at least of the decalogue, given at Sinai, was of primitive institution. Comp. Gen. ix. 1—6. How well the venerable patriarch observed the duties of morality will be manifest to every one who will take the trouble of perusing chap. xxix. 11—17. and xxxi. 6—22.

There is a remarkable reference in the book of Job, to the former destruction of the world by water, and to its final dissolution by fire; which was prophesied by Enoch before the deluge; whence it must have been known to Noah, and no doubt transmitted by him to his family; and so might be communicated to Job and his friends. It occurs in the last speech of Eliphaz, the most intelligent of the three. See xxii. 15—20.

As if Noah had said, Though this judgment by water, however universal, may not so thoroughly purge the earth, as that iniquity shall not spring up again, and wicked men abound; yet know that a final judgment by fire will utterly consume the remnant of such sinners as shall then be found alive, along with the earth itself.[2]

SECTION II.

ON THE BOOK OF PSALMS.

I. *General title of this book.*—II. *Structure of the psalms.*—III. *Their canonical authority.*—IV. *Authors to whom they are ascribed.*—1. *Moses.*—2. *David.*—3. *Asaph.*—4. *The sons of Korah, Jeduthun,*

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[1] Dr. Hales, Analysis, vol. ii. pp. 83—86. or pp. 76—78. (edit. 1830). For the very elaborate notes with which he has supported and vindicated his translation, we must refer the reader to his work. Other illustrations of this passage may be seen in Pfeiffer, Dubia Vexata Scripturæ, Centuria iii. No. 39. Op. tom. i. pp. 269—271.; and Dr. Smith, Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. pp. 199—211. In Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, there is a good illustration of Job xix. 25—29. [Comp. Kitto, Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, Sixth Week, Second Day; Carey, The Book of Job, pp. 95, 264—271.]

[2] Dr. Hales, Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 111, 112., or pp. 98—101. (edit. 1830.)

Heman, and Ethan.—5. *Solomon.*—6. *Anonymous psalms.*—V. *Chronological arrangement of the psalms by Calmet.*—VI. *Collection of the psalms into a volume.*—VII. *The inscriptions or titles prefixed to the different psalms.*—VIII. *Probable meaning of the word* Selah.—IX. *Scope of the book of psalms.*—X. *Imprecatory psalms.*—XI. *Rules for better understanding the psalms.*—XII. *A table of the psalms classed according to their several subject*

I. THIS book is entitled in the Hebrew סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים, that is, the *Book of Hymns* or *Praises;* because the greater part of them treat of the praises of God; while the remainder consist either of the complaints of an afflicted soul, or of penitential effusions, or of the prayers of a heart overwhelmed with grief. In the Roman edition of the Septuagint version, printed in 1587, which professes to follow the Vatican manuscript, this book is simply denominated ΨΑΛΜΟΙ, the *Psalms;* and in the Alexandrian manuscript, preserved in the British Museum, it is entitled ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΕΤ' ΩΔΑΙΣ, the *Psalter with Odes*, or hymns.[1] The Syriac version, in bishop Walton's Polyglott, denominates it the *Book of Psalms of David, the king and prophet;* and the Arabic version commences with the *first Book of Psalms of David the prophet, king of the sons of Israel.*

II. Augusti, De Wette, and some other German critics, have termed the book of Psalms the Hebrew anthology, that is, a collection of the lyric, moral, historical, and elegiac poetry of the Hebrews. This book presents every possible variety of Hebrew poetry. All the psalms, indeed, may be termed poems of the lyric kind, that is, adapted to music, but with great variety in the style of composition. Thus some are simply odes. "An ode is a dignified sort of song, narrative of the facts, either of public history, or private life, in a highly-adorned and figured style. But the figure in the psalms is that which is peculiar to the Hebrew language, in which the figure gives its meaning with as much perspicuity as the plainest speech."[2] Others, again, are *ethic* or *didactic*, "delivering grave maxims of life, or the precepts of religion, in solemn, but for the most part simple, strains." To this class we may refer the hundred and nineteenth, and the other *alphabetical psalms*, which are so called because the initial letters of each line or stanza follow the order of the alphabet.

[1] These odes or hymns, which are thirteen in number, are printed in Dr. Grabe's edition of the Septuagint: they are thus entitled:—

1. The Ode of Moses in Exodus (xv. 1. &c.).
2. The Ode of Moses in Deuteronomy (xxxii. 1. &c.).
3. The Prayer of Hannah, the mother of Samuel (1 Sam. ii. 1. &c.).
4. The Prayer of Isaiah (*in the margin*, of Hezekiah), Isai. xxvi. 9. &c.
5. The Prayer of Jonah (Jonah ii. 3. &c.).
6. The Prayer of Habakkuk (Sept. Ambakoum), Hab. iii. 2. &c.
7. The Prayer of Hezekiah (Isai. xxxviii. 10. &c.).
8. The Prayer of Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. according to some copies, but one of the apocryphal pieces in our bibles).
9. The Prayer of Azariah (Dan. iii. 26. &c.).
10. The Hymn of our fathers (Dan. iii. v. 52. &c.).
11. The Prayer of Mary, the mother of God (Luke i. 46. &c.).
12. The Prayer of Simeon (Luke ii. 29. &c.).
13. A Morning Hymn, the first part of which nearly corresponds with the sublime hymn in the post-communion service of the church of England.

[2] Bishop Horsley, translation of the Psalms, vol i. pp. xiv. xv.

Nearly one-seventh part of the Psalms is composed of *elegiac* or pathetic compositions on mournful subjects. Some are *enigmatic*, delivering the doctrines of religion in enigmata, sentences contrived to strike the imagination forcibly, and yet easy to be understood; while a few may be referred to the class of *idyls*, or short pastoral poems. But the greater part, according to bishop Horsley, is a sort of dramatic ode, consisting of dialogues between certain persons sustaining certain characters. "In these dialogue-psalms the persons are frequently the psalmist himself, or the chorus of priests and Levites, or the leader of the Levitical band, opening the ode with a proem declarative of the subject, and very often closing the whole with a solemn admonition drawn from what the other persons say. The other persons are Jehovah, sometimes as one, sometimes as another of the three persons; Christ in his incarnate state, sometimes before, sometimes after his resurrection; the human soul of Christ, as distinguished from the divine essence. Christ, in his incarnate state, is personated sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a king, sometimes as a conqueror; and, in those psalms in which he is introduced as a conqueror, the resemblance is very remarkable between this conqueror in the book of Psalms, and the warrior on the white horse in the book of Revelation, who goes forth with a crown on his head and a bow in his hand, conquering and to conquer. And the conquest in the Psalms is followed, like the conquest in the Revelation, by the marriage of the conqueror. These are circumstances of similitude, which to any one versed in the prophetic style, prove beyond a doubt that the mystical conqueror is the same personage in both."[2]

III. The right of the book of Psalms to a place in the sacred canon has never been disputed: they are frequently alluded to in the Old Testament, and are often cited by our Lord and his apostles as the work of the Holy Spirit. They are generally termed the Psalms of David; that Hebrew monarch being their chief author. Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Euthymius[3], and others of the ancient fathers, indeed, were of opinion that he was their sole author; but they were opposed by Hilary, and Athanasius (or the author of the Synopsis attributed to him), Jerome, Eusebius[4], and other fathers of equal eminence. And indeed this notion is manifestly erroneous; for an attentive examination of the psalms will immediately prove them to be the compositions of various authors, in various ages, some much more ancient than the time of David, some of a much later age; and others were evidently composed during the Babylonish captivity.

[1] The alphabetical psalms are xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii. cxix. and cxlv. On the peculiar structure of the Hebrew alphabetical poems, see pp. 375, 376, *supra*.

[2] Bishop Horsley's Psalms, vol. i. pp. xv. xvi. [Horsley's notion that most of the psalms are dialogue-odes is, to say the least, exaggerated.]

[3] Chrysostom, in Psal. i. [possibly spurious]; Ambrose, Præfat. in Psal. i.; Augustine, de Civitate Dei, lib. xvii. c. 14.; Theodoret, Præf. in Psal.; Cassiodorus, Proleg. in Psal.; Euthymius, Præf. in Psal.; Philastrius, Hæres. 102 post Christ.; Huet, Dem. Ev. tom. i. prop. iv. p. 330., or p. 182. (edit. 1679).

[4] Hilarius, Proleg. in Psal. et Tractat. in Psal. cxxxi.; Athanasius, Synopsis; Hieronymus, Epist. ad Sophronium; Eusebius Cæsariensis, Præf. in Psalmos, pp. 7, 8. et in Inscrip. Psal. p. 2. et in Psal. xli. lx. lxii.; Calmet, Præf. Générale sur les Pseaumes. Comm. tom. iv. pp. iv—vi.; Huet, *ut supra*. See Carpzov, Introd. ad. Libr. Canon. V. T. pars. ii. p. 92.

Some modern commentators have even referred a few to the time of the Maccabees; but for this opinion, as we shall show in a subsequent page[1], there does not appear to be any foundation. Altogether they embrace a period of about nine hundred years.

The earliest composer of sacred hymns unquestionably was Moses (Exod. xv.); the next, who are mentioned in the Scriptures, are Deborah (Judg. v.) and Hannah (1 Sam. ii.); but it was David himself, an admirable composer and performer in music (1 Sam. xvi. 18.; Amos vi. 5.), who gave a regular and noble form to the musical part of the Jewish service, and carried divine poetry and psalmody to perfection; and therefore he is called the sweet psalmist of Israel (2 Sam. xxiii. 1.). He, doubtless by divine authority, appointed the singing of psalms by a select company of skilful persons, in the solemn worship of the tabernacle (1 Chron. vi. 31., xvi. 4—8.)[2]; which Solomon continued in the first temple (2 Chron. v. 12, 13.); and it was re-established by Ezra, as soon as the foundation of the second temple was laid (Ezra iii. 10, 11.). Hence the Jews became well acquainted with these songs of Sion, and, having committed them to memory, were celebrated for their melodious singing among the neighbouring countries (Psal. cxxxvii. 3.). The continuance of this branch of divine worship is confirmed by the practice of our Lord, and the instructions of St. Paul (Matt. xxvi. 30.; Mark xiv. 26.; Eph. v. 19.; Col. iii. 16.; compared with Rev. v. 9., xiv. 1, 2, 3.); and the practice of divine psalmody has subsisted through every succeeding age to our own time, not more to the delight than to the edification of the church of Christ. "There are, indeed, at this time" (to use the words of a sensible writer[3]), "very few professing Christians who do not adopt these sacred hymns in their public and private devotions, either by reading them, composing them as anthems, or singing poetical translations and imitations of them. In this particular there ever has existed, and there still exists, a wonderful communion of saints. The language in which Moses, and David, and Solomon, Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun, worshipped God, is applicable to Christian believers. They worship the same God, through the same adorable Redeemer; they give thanks for similar mercies, and mourn under similar trials; they are looking for the same blessed hope of their calling, even everlasting life and salvation, through the prevailing intercession of the Messiah. The ancient believers, indeed, worshipped him as about to appear: we adore him as having actually appeared, and put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. They saw, as through a glass darkly; but we face to face."

IV. The Jewish writers ascribe the book of psalms to *ten* different authors[4], viz. Adam, to whom they ascribe the ninety-second psalm;

[1] See pp. 706, 707. *infra.*

[2] On the subject of Jewish psalmody, much curious information is collected in The Temple Music; or, an Essay concerning the Method of singing the Psalms of David in the Temple, before the Babylonish Captivity. By Arthur Bedford. London, 1706. The song of Deborah is minutely examined in the Bibliotheca Sacra, July 1855, pp. 597—642.

[3] The editor of the 4to. Bible of 1810, with the notes of several of the venerable reformers.

[4] Francisc. Junius, Proleg. ad Librum Psalmorum, § 2.

Melchizedek; Abraham, whom they call Ethan, and give to him the eighty-ninth psalm; Moses, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and the three sons of Korah; and they make David to be merely the collector of them into one volume or book. But this opinion is evidently fabulous; for, 1. The ninety-second psalm, which is ascribed to Adam, appears from its internal structure and style to be of a later date, though no author is mentioned in its title or inscription: besides, if Adam had left any sacred odes, it is more than probable that some notice would have been taken of them in the book of Genesis, which is totally silent concerning any such compositions. 2. That the hundred and tenth psalm, which is attributed to Melchizedek, was certainly written by David, is evident, not only from the title which claims him for its author, but also from its style and manner, which correspond with the acknowledged productions of the royal prophet; and especially from the testimony of Jesus Christ and his apostle Peter (Matt. xxii. 43—45.; Mark xii. 36.; Luke xx. 42.; Acts ii. 34.). And, 3. It is most certain that David was the author of very many psalms, not merely of those which have his name in their respective tities, but likewise of several others, to which his name is not prefixed, especially of Psalms ii. and xcv.; as we are assured by the inspired apostles (Acts iv. 25, 26; Heb. iv. 7.). To make David, therefore, merely the collector and editor of those divine compositions is alike contradictory to the clearest evidence, derived from the book of Psalms itself, and from the testimony of the inspired writers of the New Testament, as well as contrary to the whole current of antiquity.

A careful investigation of these divine odes will enable us to form a better opinion concerning their respective authors, whom the modern Jews, and all modern commentators, understand to be Moses, David, Solomon, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, Jeduthun, and the three sons of Korah. Other authors have been conjectured by some eminent critics, whose hypotheses will presently be noticed.

1. To Moses the talmudical writers ascribe *ten* psalms, viz. from xc. to xcix. inclusive. The ninetieth psalm, in the Hebrew manuscripts, is inscribed with his name; and, from its general coincidence in style and manner with his sacred hymns in Exod. xv. and Deut. xxxii. it is generally and in all probability with justice considered as the composition of the great lawgiver of the Jews. [Kennicott's objection that the length of life in the time of Moses was above four-score years, is not well-founded. The whole generation of the Israelites perished at a comparatively-early age in the wilderness; so that, when they entered Palestine, few of them were sixty; and it does not appear that in general after that time the duration of life was beyond the modern standard.[1]] The other nine psalms, xci. to xcix., are attributed to Moses by the Jews, by virtue of a canon of criticism which *they* have established, namely, that all anonymous psalms are to be referred to that author whose name occurred in the title last preceding them.[2] But for this rule no

[1] Comp. Hävernick, Einleitung, § 285. III. p. 150.
[2] This opinion is very ancient; it was adopted by Origen, Select. in Psalmos, Op.

foundation whatever exists: it is certain that the ninety-ninth psalm could *not have been written* by Moses, for in the sixth verse mention is made of the prophet *Samuel*, who was not born till two hundred and ninety-five or six years *after* the death of Moses. [Hibbard assigns also Psal. xci. to Moses;[1] but Keil places it with the following to c. in the time between Solomon and the captivity.[2]]

2. The name of David is prefixed to seventy-one psalms in the Hebrew copies, to which the Septuagint version adds eleven others; but it is evident, from the style and subject-matter of the latter, that many of them cannot be the composition of David, particularly the hundred and second, which is in no respect whatever applicable to him, but from its subject-matter must be referred to some pious Jew who composed it after the return from the Babylonish captivity, while the temple was in ruins, and the country in a state of desolation. The hundred and thirty-eighth psalm, also, though attributed in the Septuagint to David, could not have been written by him; for reference is made in it to the *temple*, which was not erected till after his death by Solomon. [This is an insufficient objection: הֵיכָל is sometimes used of the sacred tabernacle before the building of the temple, as in 1 Sam. i. 9., iii. 3.; Psal. v. 8.] On the contrary, some of the psalms thus ascribed to David in the Septuagint version are unquestionably his, as well as some which are anonymous: of the former class is the ninety-fifth, and of the latter the second psalm, both of which are cited as David's psalms by the inspired writers of the New Testament. Comp. Acts iv. 25—28., xiii. 33; Heb. iii. 7—11., iv. 7—13.

Many of the psalms, which bear the royal prophet's name, were composed on occasion of remarkable circumstances in his life, his dangers, his afflictions, his deliverances. Some writers are disposed to see a reference to Messiah in all that was expressed by David. Thus Horsley says, "Of those which relate to the public history of the natural Israel, there are few in which the fortunes of the mystical Israel are not adumbrated; and, of those which allude to the life of David, there are none in which the Son of David is not the principal and immediate subject. David's complaints against his enemies are Messiah's complaints, first of the unbelieving Jews, then of the heathen persecutors, and the apostate faction in later ages. David's afflictions are Messiah's sufferings. David's penitential supplications are Messiah's under the burden of the imputed guilt of man. David's songs of triumph and thanksgiving are Messiah's songs of triumph and thanksgiving for his victory over sin, and death, and hell. In a word, there is not a page in this book of Psalms, in which the pious reader will not find his Saviour, if he reads with a view of finding him."[3] [This will be thought by most an extreme view. It is true that many things which happened to David had a

tom. ii. p. 514. (edit. Benedict.), and by Jerome, Epist. cxxxix ad Cyprianum, p. 388. (edit. Plantin.), who says it was derived from a tradition recorded by Iullus, or Huillus, patriarch of the Jews. Advers. Ruffin. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 235.; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, tom. i. p. xii.

[1] The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, New York, 1857, part i. sect. ii.

[2] Einleitung, § 115.

[3] Bishop Horsley's Psalms, vol. i. pp. x. xi.

deep significance, and were again represented more completely in David's greater Son; so that there was much written of him in the Psalms as well as in the prophets; but care must be taken not to press a general truth too far.]

From the variety of circumstances and situations in which David was placed at different times, and the various affections which consequently were called into exercise, we may readily conceive that his style is exceedingly various. The remark, indeed, is applicable to the entire book of Psalms, but eminently so to the odes of David. Some of David's psalms possess great sublimity, as the eighteenth and twenty-fourth; but softness, tenderness, and pathos, are their prevailing characteristics.

[To David are ascribed seventy-three psalms (not seventy-four, as De Wette and Tholuck state; nor seventy-one, as most others have counted)," iii.—ix., xi.—xxxii., xxxiv.—xli., li.—lxv., lxviii.—lxx., lxxxvi., ci., ciii., cviii.—cx., cxxii., cxxiv., cxxxi., cxxxiii., cxxxviii.—cxlv., "and at least eleven others in the LXX., namely, xxxiii., xliii., xci., xciv.—xcix., civ., cxxxvii., to which may be added Psal. x.; as it forms part of Psal. ix. in that version."[1] Critics vary much in the number of psalms of which David actually was the author. For, while several of those to which his name is prefixed are not really from his pen, both the style and also the circumstances alluded to betraying a later date, others which are anonymous must be attributed to him. Calmet's arrangement assigns him forty-five psalms: Rosenmüller and Eichhorn allow him seventy-one; while Hengstenberg says, "David is the author of eighty psalms;" and Hibbard ascribes to him eighty-four. The grounds on which these conclusions are formed are of course very uncertain. Thus Psal. xiv. is generally denied to be David's, because of the expression, "When the Lord bringeth back the captivity of his people;" which is said clearly to point to the time of the Babylonish exile; and Tholuck can find no better way of getting over the difficulty than to suppose that v. 7. is a liturgical addition, yet בְּשׁוּב יְהוָֹה שְׁבוּת עַמּוֹ can by no means necessarily refer to the return from Babylon. The very same words occur in Job xlii. 10.; where the meaning is only deliverance from affliction.]

3. With the name of Asaph, a very celebrated Levite, and chief of the choirs of Israel in the time of David (1 Chron. xvi. 4, 5.), twelve psalms are inscribed, viz. l., lxxiii.—lxxxiii. But the seventy-fourth and seventy-ninth psalms evidently cannot be his, because they deplore the overthrow of Jerusalem and the conflagration of the temple, and in point of style approach nearest to the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Either, therefore, they are erroneously ascribed to him, or were composed by another Asaph, who lived during the captivity. The subjects of Asaph's psalms are doctrinal or preceptive: their style, though less sweet than that of David, is much more vehement, and little inferior to the grandest parts of the prophecies of Isaiah and Habakkuk. The fiftieth psalm, in particular, is charac-

[1] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Psalms, Book of.

terized by such a deep vein of thought and lofty tone of sentiment as place him in the number of poets of the highest order. In Asaph the poet and the philosopher were combined. "He was," says Eichhorn, "one of those ancient wise men, who felt the insufficiency of external religious usages, and urged the necessity of cultivating virtue and purity of mind." It may be well said of him, as of the scribe in the New Testament, that *he was not far from the kingdom of God.*[1]

[Of the twelve psalms that bear the name of Asaph, Keil specifies only seven, viz. l., lxxiii., lxxvii., lxxviii., lxxx.—lxxxii., that properly belong to him; and other writers would still further reduce the list. Keil places lxxxiii. in the time of Jehoshaphat, lxxv. and lxxvi. in the Assyrian period under Hezekiah, lxxiv. and lxxix. at the beginning of the Babylonish captivity. He accounts for these bearing the name of Asaph by the supposition that they were composed by some descendants of his family, who were also sacred minstrels, and of whom perhaps one or another might inherit their celebrated ancestor's name.[2] This is of course possible; but it is no more than a guess. Hibbard inclines to the same view, and observes that the family of Asaph are prominently mentioned as musicians in later times, 2 Chron. xx. 14.; Neh. vii. 44. He imagines that some of the anonymous psalms proceeded from the same source, and says of the Asaphic poems in general that "they mostly belong to the later periods of the kingdom of Judah, or to the times of the captivity."[3]]

4. Eleven psalms, viz. xlii., xliv.—xlix., lxxxiv., lxxxv., lxxxvii., and lxxxviii., are inscribed, "For the sons of Korah:" but who these persons were is not altogether certain; and such is the uncertainty of the prepositional prefix, that the most eminent critics have not been able to decide whether these psalms were written *by* them, or were composed *for* them, and to be performed by them with music in the temple. Professor Stuart thinks it probable that they were the descendants of Korah, who perished in the rebellion (Numb. xvi.). It is certain that all his children did not perish with him (Numb. xxvi. 11.): it is certain also that some of their descendants were among those who presided over the tabernacle music (1 Chron. vi. 22, 37.). In 1 Chron. ix. 19. we find Shallum, a descendant of Korah, mentioned as one of the overseers of the tabernacle, and it appears that he belonged to a family called *Korahites.* These last are mentioned also in 1 Chron. xxvi. 1., and 2 Chron. xx. 19., as being among those engaged in sacred music. Hence it would appear that there were men of eminence among the Korahites, in the time of David and Solomon; and the probability is that the psalms above enumerated, which bear their names, belong to them as authors.

[1] Noyes's translation of the Psalms, p. xiii., or p. 22. (edit. 1846).

[2] Einleitung, § 114. p. 398.; See also Hävernick, Einleitung, § 286. III. p. 214.; who tries to meet the objection taken from the fact that certain psalms are ascribed to the *sons* of Korah, and that, therefore, we might expect to find those of a later date, ascribed to Asaph, noted as by the sons of Asaph. Asaph's name was affixed, Hävernick says, because he was peculiarly distinguished, more than Heman the chief of the Korahites.

[3] The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, part. i. sect. ii.

In style they differ very sensibly from the compositions of David; and they are some of the most exquisite of all the lyric compositions which the book of Psalms contains. The title was, probably, affixed by some editor of a later age, who knew only the general report that the psalms in question belonged to the sons of Korah, and could obtain nothing certain as to the individuals who were their respective authors.[1]

[Of the psalms attributed to the sons of Korah, Keil assigns xlii., xliv., and lxxxiv. to the time of David; xlv. to that of Solomon, xlvii. and xlviii., to Jehoshaphat's reign; xlvi. and lxxxvii. to the days of Hezekiah. In xlix. and lxxxv. he can find no historical allusion to indicate the date. Psal. lxxxviii. he attributes according to its title to Heman the Ezrahite, that is the descendant of Zerah of the tribe of Judah, who was incorporated among the Levites, and became a leader of the singers[2] (1 Chron. ii. 6., vi. 33.). This however, is very uncertain: the Heman of 1 Kings iv. 31., and 1 Chron. ii. 6., may be a different man from the one of that name in 1 Chron. vi. 33., and xxv. 1. &c. Hengstenberg is inclined to imagine that Heman and Ethan were Levites by descent, but reckoned in the family of Zerah as having dwelt among them. To Ethan, supposed by some to be the same with Jeduthun[3], is ascribed Psal. lxxxix. If the name be rightly given, it can hardly be the Ethan of 1 Chron. vi. 42., xv. 17.; as this psalm is evidently of the time of the captivity. Keil, however, supposes that it describes the circumstances of Absalom's rebellion. And so Hävernick, who argues the matter at length.[4]]

5. It is highly probable that many of the psalms were composed during the reign of Solomon, who, we learn from 1 Kings iv. 32. "wrote a thousand and five songs," or poems.

There are only two psalms, however, which bear his name, viz. the seventy-second, and the hundred and twenty-seventh psalms. The title of the former may be translated *for* as well as *of* Solomon; and, indeed, it is evident, from considering its style and subject-matter, that it could not have been composed by him. But, as he was inaugurated just before David's death, it was, in all probability, one of David's latest odes. The hundred and twenty-seventh psalm is most likely Solomon's, composed at the time of his nuptials: it strongly and beautifully expresses a sense of dependence upon Jehovah for every blessing, especially a numerous offspring, which we know was an object of the most ardent desire to the Israelites. [If Psal. cxxvii. was Solomon's, it was probably written on occasion of building the temple. Hibbard assigns cxxviii. also to him.]

6. Besides the preceding, there are upwards of thirty psalms which in the Hebrew Bibles are altogether anonymous; although the Septuagint version gives names to some of them, chiefly, it should seem, upon conjecture, for which there is little or no foundation.

[1] Stuart's Hebrew Chrestomathy, p. 206. [2] Einleitung, § 114.
[3] So Hävernick, Einleitung § 286. III. pp. 243, 244. Comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 41, 42., xxv. 1, 3. with xv. 17, 19.
[4] Pp. 244—247.

Thus the Alexandrian Greek translators ascribe the hundred and thirty-seventh psalm to Jeremiah; who could not have written it, for he died before the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, which joyous event is most pleasingly commemorated in that ode. In like manner the hundred and forty-sixth and hundred and forty-seventh psalms are attributed by them to the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, for no other reason, it should seem, than because Psal. cxlvi. 7—10. treats of the deliverance of the captives and those who were oppressed, and cxlvii. of the restoration of the Jewish church. Psalms ii. and xcv. however, as we have already remarked[1], though anonymous, are ascribed by the inspired apostles to David. Some modern critics have imagined that there are a few of the untitled psalms which were composed so lately as the time of the Maccabees. Thus Rudinger assigns to that period Psalms i., xliv., xlvi., lxix., and cviii.; Herman Vonder Hardt, Psal. cxix.; and Venema, Psalms lxxxv., xciii., and cviii.[2] This late date, however, is impossible; the canon of the Old Testament scriptures being closed by Ezra, nearly three centuries before the time of the Maccabees. But "whether David, or any other prophet, was employed as the instrument of communicating to the church such or such a particular psalm, is a question which, if it cannot always be satisfactorily answered, needs not disquiet our minds. When we discern, in an epistle, the well-known hand of a friend, we are not solicitous about the pen with which it was written."[3]

[Keil arranges the fifty anonymous psalms in the following way. To the time of David belong i., ii., x., xxxiii., xliii.; to the Assyrian period lxvi.: lxvii. he thinks indicated by no chronological mark: lxxi. is after David's time; while xci.—c. belong to the period between Solomon and the captivity; cii. to the last days of the exile; civ—cvi. somewhat later: cvii. was very likely written for the first celebration of the feast of tabernacles after the return from Babylon (Ezra iii. 1. &c.): cxi.—cxvi. belong also to the early days after the return; cxvii., cxviii. to the laying of the foundation-stone of the new temple: cxix. proceeds from Ezra. Of the ten anonymous songs of degrees, Keil thinks cxx., cxxi., cxxiii., cxxv., cxxvi., cxxviii. —cxxx., cxxxiv. post-exilian; though cxxviii., cxxx., and cxxxiv. have no historical reference; while cxxxii. exhibits no certain mark to show whether it was composed before or after the captivity. Of the rest, cxxxv., and cxxxvi., must follow cxv., and cxviii.: cxxxvii. is of the time of Darius Hystaspes, after the second taking of Babylon; cxlvi. a summary of the Davidic and exile psalms; and, finally, cxlvii. —cl., are very likely from the same hand, celebrating the completion of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah.[4]

Hibbard's arrangement differs in many particulars. Thus he considers Psal. x. as written when the Jews had received the decree of

[1] See pp. 701, 702. *supra.*

[2] Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, Prolegom. cap. 2. pp. xi.—xix. He adopts the untenable hypothesis of Rudinger.

[3] Bishop Horne, Commentary on the Psalms, vol. i. Pref. p. v.

[4] Einleitung, § 115. pp. 390, 391: comp. Hävernick, Einleitung, § 287. III. pp. 248, &c

Haman.[1] It may be observed here, that this author (after Augusti), imagines that Psal. xlv. was composed, probably by Mordecai, to celebrate Esther's marriage with Xerxes. The conjecture is not a happy one, hardly more so than that of Von Lengerke, who thinks it an epithalamium on Ahab's marriage with Jezebel.

The opinion of the best critics is decidedly against the bringing down of any of the psalms to the late date of the Maccabean times. The psalms were distributed, as will be afterwards observed, into five books; which were collected gradually, the earlier psalms being arranged in the earlier books. Now it is not easy to see how Maccabean productions, if there were any, should get into the earlier books, in which we find some of those ascribed to this late period. It is equally strange that wrong titles should be prefixed to compositions produced a little while before. Besides, the language does not betray so late an origin. The supposition cannot, therefore, be admitted.[2]]

V. The following chronological arrangement of the Psalms, after a careful and judicious examination, has been adopted by Calmet[3], who has further specified the probable occasions on which they were composed:—

1. *Psalms of which the date is uncertain.* These are nine in number; viz.

Psal. i. This is a preface to the whole book, and is by some ascribed to David, by others to Ezra, who is supposed to have collected the psalms into a volume.

Psal. v. The expressions of a devout person amid the corrupt manners of the age. An evening prayer.

Psal. viii. The prerogatives of man; and the glory of Jesus Christ.

Psal. xix. A beautiful eulogy on the law of God. A psalm of praise to the Creator, arising from a consideration of his works, as displayed in the creation, in the heavens, and in the stars.

Psal. lxxxi. This psalm, which is attributed to Asaph, was sung in the temple, at the feast of trumpets, held in the beginning of the civil year of the Jews, and also at the feast of tabernacles.

Psal. xci. This moral psalm, though assigned to Moses, was in all probability composed during or after the captivity. It treats on the happiness of those who place their whole confidence in God.

Psal. cx. The advent, kingdom, and generation of the Messiah; composed by David.

Psal. cxxxix. A psalm of praise to God for his all-seeing providence and infinite wisdom.

Psal. cxlv. A psalm of thanksgiving.

2. *Psalms composed by David during the persecution of Saul.* These are seventeen; namely,

[1] The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, pp. 544. &c.

[2] See Stuart, Crit. Hist. of Old Test. Canon (edit. Davidson), sect. v. pp. 126, 7.; De Wette, Einleitung, § 270.; Keil, Einleitung, § 115, and authors there referred to.

[3] Commentaire Littéral, tom. iv. pp. lxii.—lxvi. As some of the psalms in the Vulgate Latin version, which was used by Calmet, are divided and numbered in a different manner from that in which they appear in our bibles, we have adapted the references to the psalms to the authorized English version.

Psal. xi. David, being entreated by his friends to withdraw from the court of Saul, professes his confidence in God.

Psal. xxxi. David, proscribed by Saul, is forced to withdraw from his court.

Psal. xxxiv. Composed by David, when, at the court of Achish king of Gath, he counterfeited madness, and was permitted to depart.

Psal. lvi. Composed in the cave of Adullam, after David's escape from Achish.

Psal. xvi. David persecuted by Saul, and obliged to take refuge among the Moabites and Philistines.

Psal. liv. David pursued by Saul in the desert of Ziph, whence Saul was obliged to withdraw and repel the Philistines. David's thanksgiving for his deliverance.

Psal. lii. Composed by David after Saul had sacked the city of Nob, and put the priests and all their families to the sword.

Psal. cix. Composed during Saul's unjust persecution of David. The person against whom this psalm was directed was most probably Doeg. Bishop Horsley considers it as a prophetic malediction against the Jewish nation.

Psal. xvii. A prayer of David during Saul's bitterest persecution of him.

Psal. xxii. David, persecuted by Saul, personates the Messiah, persecuted and put to death by the Jews.

Psal. xxxv. Composed about the same time, and under the same persecution.

Psal. lvii. David, in the cave of En-gedi, implores divine protection, in sure prospect of which he breaks forth into grateful praise (1 Sam. xxiv. 1.).

Psal. lviii. A continuation of the same subject. Complaints against Saul's wicked counsellors.

Psal. cxlii. David in the cave of En-gedi.

Psal. cxl. cxli. David, under severe persecution, implores help of God.

Psal. vii. David violently persecuted by Saul.

3. *Psalms composed by David at the beginning of his reign, and after the death of Saul.* Of this class there are sixteen; viz.

Psal. ii. Written by David, after he had fixed the seat of his government at Jerusalem, notwithstanding the malignant opposition of his enemies. It is a most noble prediction of the kingdom of the Messiah.

Psal. lxviii. Composed on occasion of conducting the ark from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem.

Psal. ix. and xxiv. Sung by David on the removal of the ark from the house of Obed-edom to Mount Sion.

Psal. ci. David describes the manner in which he guided his people in justice and equity.

Psal. xxix. A solemn thanksgiving for the rain that fell after David had avenged the Gibeonites on the house of Saul, by whom they had been unjustly persecuted. 2 Sam. xxi. &c.

Psal. xx. Composed by David when he was on the point of marching against the Ammonites and Syrians who had leagued together against him. 2 Sam. x.

Psal. xxi. A continuation of the preceding subject. David's thanksgiving for his victory over the Ammonites.

Psal. vi. xxxviii. and xxxix. Composed by David during sickness: although no notice is taken of this sickness in the history of David, yet it is the opinion of almost every commentator that these psalms refer to some dangerous illness from which his recovery was long doubtful.

Psal. xl. xli. Psalms of thanksgiving for his recovery from sickness.

Psal. li. xxxii. and xxxiii. were all composed by David after Nathan had convinced him of his sin with Bathsheba.[1]

4. *Psalms during the rebellion of Absalom.* This class comprises eight psalms; viz.

Psal. iii. iv. lv. Composed when David was driven from Jerusalem by Absalom.

Psal. lxii. David professes his trust in God during the unnatural persecution of his son.

Psal. lxx. lxxi. A prayer of David when pursued by Absalom.

Psal. cxliii. Written during the war with Absalom.

Psal. cxliv. A thanksgiving for his victories over Absalom, Sheba, and other rebels. 2 Sam. xviii. 20.

5. *The psalms written between the death of Absalom and the captivity* are ten in number; viz.

Psal. xviii. David's solemn thanksgiving for all the blessings he had received from God. Comp. 2 Sam. xxii.

Psal. xxx. Composed on occasion of dedicating the altar on the threshing-floor of Araunah. 2 Sam. xxiv. 25.

Psal. xlv. Composed on the marriage of Solomon with a king's daughter. It is throughout prophetical of the victorious Messiah.

Psal. lxxii. David's prayer for Solomon on his accession to the throne. A prophecy of the Messiah.

Psal. lxxviii. Composed on occasion of Asa's victory over the forces of the king of Israel. See 2 Chron. xvi. 4, 6.

Psal. lxxxii. Instructions given to the judges, during the reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah. See 2 Chron. xix. 5, 6.

Psal. lxxxiii. A triumphal ode, composed on occasion of Jehoshaphat's victory over the Ammonites, Moabites, and other enemies. See 2 Chron. xx. 1., &c.

Psal. lxxvi. Composed after the destruction of Sennacherib's army. See 2 Chron. xxxii.

Psal. lxxiv. and lxxix. Lamentations for the desolation of the temple of Jerusalem: it was most probably composed at the beginning of the captivity.

6. *Psalms composed during the captivity;* the authors of which are unknown. Calmet ascribes them chiefly to the descendants of Asaph and Korah.

Their subjects are wholly of a mournful nature, lamenting the captivity, imploring deliverance, and complaining of the oppression of the Babylonians. These psalms, forty in number, are as follow: x. xii. xiii. xiv. xv. xxv. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. xxxvi. xxxvii. xlii. xliii. xliv. xlix. l. liii. lx. lxiv. lxix. lxxiii. lxxv. lxxvii. lxxx. lxxxiv. lxxxvi. lxxxviii. lxxxix. xc. xcii. xciii. xciv. xcv. cxix. cxx. cxxi. cxxiii. cxxx. cxxxi. cxxxii.

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[1] Dr. Hales refers to this period psalm ciii., which is a psalm of thanksgiving. He considers it as David's eucharistical ode, after God had pardoned his great sin. Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 376, 377, or pp. 342, 343 (edit. 1830). [Doubts have been entertained as to Psal. li. Certainly vv. 18, 19. are perplexing; and Tholuck's notion that they are a late appendix is most unsatisfactory. It is true that we find Solomon (1 Kings x. 15.) building or perhaps re-building the walls of Jerusalem; but the prayer, li. 18., would seem rather to denote a time when Jerusalem was waste, as at and after the captivity. And yet the earlier part of this psalm is peculiarly apposite to David's repentance after his great sin.]

7. *Psalms composed after Cyrus issued his edict, allowing the Jews to return from their captivity.*

This class consists of thanksgiving odes for their release, and also on occasion of dedicating the walls of the city, as well as of the second temple They abound with the most lively expressions of devotion and gratitude, and amount to fifty; viz. cxxii. lxi. lxiii. cxxiv. xxiii. lxxxvii. lxxxv. xlvi. xlvii. xlviii. xcvi.—c. cii.—cviii. cxi.—cxvii. cxxvi. cxxxiii.—cxxxvii. cxlix. cl. cxlvi. cxlvii. cxlviii. lix. lxv. lxvi. lxvii. cxviii. cxxv. cxxvii. cxxviii. cxxix. cxxxviii.

According to this distribution of Calmet, only forty-five of these psalms were composed by David.

VI. At what time and by whom the book of Psalms was collected into one volume, we have no certain information. Many are of opinion that David collected such as were extant in his time into a book for the use of the national worship: this is not unlikely; but it is manifest that such a collection could not include *all* the psalms, because many of David's odes are scattered throughout the entire series. Some have ascribed the general collection to the friends or servants of Hezekiah before the captivity; but this could only apply to the psalms *then* extant; for we read that Hezekiah caused the *words* or psalms of David to be sung in the temple when he restored the worship of Jehovah there (2 Chron. xxix. 25—30.): the collection by the men of Hezekiah could not comprise any that were composed either under or subsequent to the captivity. That the psalms were collected together at different times and by different persons is very evident from an examination of their contents. Accordingly, in the Masoretic copies (and also in the Syriac version) they are divided into five books; viz.

1. The first book is entitled סֵפֶר אֶחָד: it comprises Psalms i. to xli., and concludes thus: *Blessed* be *the* LORD *God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen and Amen* (xli. 13.). It is worthy of remark, that the titles of all these psalms (excepting i. ii.[1] x. xxxiii.) ascribe them to David: hence it has been supposed that this first book of psalms was collected by the Hebrew monarch.

2. The second book is termed סֵפֶר שֵׁנִי: it includes Psalms xlii. to lxxii. and ends: *Blessed* be the LORD *God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things. And blessed* be *his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled* with *his glory. Amen and Amen. The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended* (lxxii. 18—20.). From this termination of the second book of psalms, some have conjectured that David also collected it, as nineteen out of the thirty-one bear his name; but it is more likely that the concluding sentence of Psal. lxxii. simply means the psalms of David in that book, because several of his compositions are to be found in the following books or collections.

3. The third book is called סֵפֶר שְׁלִישִׁי: it comprehends Psalms lxxiii. to lxxxix., which is thus concluded: *Blessed* be *the* LORD

[1] The second psalm, however, as before observed, is expressly declared to be David's in Acts iv. 25, 26.

for evermore. Amen and Amen (lxxxix. 52.). Of the seventeen psalms included in this book, one only is ascribed to David; one to Heman; and one to Ethan; three of the others are directed to the sons of Korah, without specifying the author's name; and eleven bear the name of Asaph, who has been supposed to be the collector of this book.

4. The fourth book is inscribed סֵפֶר רְבִיעִי, and also contains seventeen psalms, viz. from xc. to cvi. This book concludes with the following doxology: *Blessed be the* LORD *God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting; and let all the people say, Amen. Praise ye the* LORD (cvi. 48.). One of these psalms is ascribed to Moses; and two have the name of David in their title. The rest have no authors' names, or titles prefixed to them. The collector of this book is unknown.

5. The fifth and last book is called סֵפֶר חֲמִישִׁי, and consists of forty-four psalms, viz. from Psal. cvii. to the end of cl. It terminates the whole book of Psalms thus: *Let everything that hath breath praise the* LORD. *Praise ye the* LORD (cl. 6.). Of these forty-four psalms, fifteen are ascribed to David: the rest have for the most part no titles at all, and are anonymous. This book is supposed to have been collected in the time of Judas Maccabæus, but by whom we cannot conjecture.[1]

[It would seem impossible to come to any satisfactory conclusion as to the principle which governed the arrangement of the psalms; yet we can hardly suppose that the collectors, one or more, proceeded at random. The difference in the use of the divine names is remarkable. It appears that Jehovah occurs 272 times in the first book, Elohim (used absolutely) 15 times; in the second book, Jehovah 30 times, Elohim 164 times; in the third, Jehovah 44 times, Elohim 43 times; in the fourth and fifth books taken together, Jehovah 339 times, and Elohim 7 times. There are several theories to account for this diversity. De Wette would attribute it to the different ages of the psalms: Delitzsch thinks it was in imitation of the Pentateuch: Keil fancies it was intended to counteract the mischief that might flow in from the neighbouring heathen worshipping local gods, whence the Israelites might learn to regard Jehovah as merely a national deity.[2] But not one of these hypotheses is satisfactory. Still some hint may be gathered hence for the distribution of the psalms. Keil supposes that it was made by a single person, and on principles like the following. In the first three books the compositions of David and his contemporaries found their place; viz. in the first, the Davidic Jehovah-psalms; in the second, the Elohim-psalms of the Korahites, Asaph, David, Solomon, and an anonymous writer; in the third, the other psalms of Asaph, and the Korahites, partly mixed, and partly purely Jehovist. Within these three books a certain order of arrangement is observed; and psalms are placed together as composed on the like occasion, or having

[1] Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, Proleg. pp. xx.—xxiv. cap. 3. de Psalmorum Collectione, Partitione, et Numero; Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, p. 166.

[2] Keil, Einleitung. § 116.

a common title, or as evincing certain other points of agreement. The rest of the collection is also made on a chronological principle: that by Moses (xc.) standing first; then a decade of anonymous psalms xci.—c. from Solomon's time to the exile; then several others, ci.—cxix., extending from the exile to Ezra's time; next the pilgrim-songs, cxx.—cxxxiv.; and then the closing group of temple and Hallelujah psalms, cxxxv.—cl.; the last three groups including some by David, which had served as patterns to later poets, or had some peculiar prophetic reference to the future struggles and victories of God's kingdom.[1]

This theory is ingenious; but it will scarcely bear the test of strict examination. It does not account for our finding the same psalm, or portions of the same, preserved in more than one book. It is more probable that the collections were formed gradually, and by different hands; but at what times is a question. Some have supposed that the first book was not made up till after the Babylonish captivity, because it includes Psal. xiv. (which is repeated with little more variation than in the name of God, Psal. liii.). But, as before shown, the argument is not conclusive for the late date of this psalm.[2] And, if the first book were not collected till after the exile, so short an interval would remain for the rest, that we might almost as well allow that one person alone made the distribution. It is impossible to notice here all the theories which have been devised: much must necessarily be left in uncertainty.]

This division of the Psalms into five books was in existence before the Septuagint Greek version was executed.[3] But, whatever subordinate divisions may have existed, it is certain that the Psalms composed but one book in the canon; for they are cited by our Lord collectively as the *Psalms* (Luke xxiv. 44.), and also as *the Book of Psalms* (Luke xx. 42.); by which last title they are cited by St. Peter in Acts i. 20.; and they are reckoned as only one book in all subsequent enumerations of the Scriptures, both by Jews and Christians.

[Different classifications have been proposed, such as De Wette's·

I. Hymns to God.
II. National psalms.
III. Psalms of Zion and of the temple.
IV. Psalms relating to the king.
V. Psalms of supplication and complaint.
VI. Religious and moral psalms.

Under most of these heads are several subdivisions.[4]

[1] Keil, *ubi supra.* Comp Hävernick, Einleitung, § 288. III. pp. 271, &c.

[2] See before, p. 703. There is perhaps too great a tendency to post-date psalms. Thus, in spite of the authority of 1 Chron. xvi., some will have the psalm there recorded (cv. with some additions) much later than the time of David, because a doxology is subjoined similar to those which close more than one of the five books. Surely such a reason is of little weight.

[3] Eusebius and Theodoret, in their respective Prefaces to the Book of Psalms, consider this book as ranking next in priority to the Pentateuch; on which account it was divided into five parts or books, like the writings of Moses.

[4] Einleitung, § 267.

In reference to the degree of inspiration and kind of composition, the same critic has another classification; as

I. Hymns and odes.
II. Poems.
III. Elegies.
IV. Didactic psalms.[1]

Hengstenberg, who is followed by Keil, proposes a simpler and better division:

I. Psalms of praise and thanksgiving; as viii. xviii. xix. xxiii. xxix., &c.

II. Psalms expressive of penitence, sorrow, and complaint; as iii.—vi., &c.

III. Didactic psalms, as i. xiv. xv. xxxii. xxxvii., &c.[2]]

The number of the canonical psalms is one hundred and fifty; but in the Septuagint version, as well as in the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic translations, there is extant another which is numbered cli. Its subject is the combat of David with Goliath (related in 1 Sam. xvii.); but it is evidently spurious, for, besides that it possesses not a particle of David's genius and style, it never was extant in the Hebrew, and has been uniformly rejected by the fathers, and by every council that has been held in the Christian church. It is certainly very ancient, as it is found in the Codex Alexandrinus.[3]

Although the number of the psalms has thus been ascertained and fixed, yet, between the Hebrew originals and the Greek and Vulgate Latin versions, there is considerable diversity in the arrangement and distribution. In the latter, for instance, what is numbered as the *ninth* psalm forms two distinct psalms, namely, ix. and x. in the Hebrew; the tenth psalm commencing at verse 22. of the Greek and Latin translations; so that, from this place to the hundred and thirteenth psalm *inclusive*, the quotations and numbers of the Hebrew are different from these versions. Again, Psalms cxiv. and cxv. of the Hebrew form but one psalm in the Greek and Latin, in which the hundred and sixteenth psalm is divided into two. In the Greek and Latin copies also, the hundred and forty-seventh psalm is

[1] Einleitung, § 267. [2] Keil, Einleitung, § 112.

[3] The following is a translation of this pretended psalm, from the Septuagint, made as complete as possible by Dr. A. Clarke, from the different versions. See his Commentary on Psal. cli.

"*A psalm in the hand-writing of David, beyond the number of the psalms, composed by David, when he fought in single combat with Goliath.*"

"1. I was the least among my brethren, and the youngest in my father's house; and I "kept also my father's sheep. 2. My hands made the organ; and my fingers jointed the "psaltery. 3. And who told it to my Lord? [*Arab.* And who is he who taught me?] "The Lord himself: he is my master, and the hearer of all that call upon him. 4. He "sent his angel, and took me away from my father's sheep, and anointed me with the oil "of his anointing." [*Others have* the oil of his mercy.] 5. "My brethren were taller "and more beautiful than I: nevertheless, the Lord delighted not in them. 6. I went "out to meet the Philistine; and he cursed me by his idols. 7. [In the strength of the "Lord I cast three stones at him. *I smote* him in the forehead, and felled him to the "earth. *Arab.*] 8. And I drew out his own sword from its sheath, and cut off his head, "and took away the reproach from the children of Israel."—How vapid! How unlike the songs of Sion, composed by the sweet psalmist of Israel!

divided into two, thus completing the number of one hundred and fifty. The protestant churches, and our authorized English version, adhere to the Hebrew notation, which has been invariably followed in the present work.

[It may be observed, that some critics following the LXX. would unite Psalms ix. and x.; also xlii. and xliii.: for this last there is the authority of thirty-seven codices collected by Kennicott and De Rossi. Again, Psal. xix. is by some divided into two, at the end of v. 6.; as also xxiv., which is similarly cut at v. 6.[1]]

The following table exhibits at one view the different numerations in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint version:—

Psalms i.—viii. in the Hebrew are	Psalms i.—viii. in LXX.
Psalms ix. x.	Psal. ix. in LXX.
Psalms xi.—cxiii. . . .	Psalms x.—cxii. in LXX.
Psalms cxiv. cxv. . . .	Psal. cxiii. in LXX.
Psal. cxvi.	Psalms cxiv. cxv. in LXX.
Psalms cxvii.—cxlvi. . .	Psalms cxvi.—cxlv. in LXX.
Psal. cxlvii.	Psalms cxlvi. cxlvii. in LXX.
Psalms cxlviii.—cl. . .	Psalms cxlviii.—cl. in LXX.
To which is added . .	Psal. cli. in LXX.

VII. To most of the psalms[2] are prefixed inscriptions or titles; concerning the import of which expositors and interpreters are by no means agreed. Some hold them in the profoundest reverence, considering them as an original part of these divine odes, and absolutely necessary to the right understanding of them; while others regard the titles as subsequent additions, and of no importance whatever. In one thing only are they all unanimous, namely, in the obscurity of these titles.

That *all* the inscriptions of the psalms are canonical and inspired, we have no authority to affirm. Augustine, Hilary, Theodoret, Cassiodorus, and many other ancient fathers, admit that they have no relation to the body of the psalm, and that they contribute nothing to the sense. The Septuagint and other Greek versions have added titles to some of the psalms, which have none in the Hebrew: the protestant and Romish churches have determined nothing concerning them. If the titles of the psalms had been esteemed canonical, would it have been permitted to alter them, to suppress them, or to add to them? Which of the commentators, Jewish or Christian, Roman-catholic or protestant, thinks it incumbent upon him to follow the title of the psalm in his commentary? And yet both Jews and Christians receive the book of Psalms as an integral part of holy writ. Although, therefore, many of the titles pre-

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 112.

[2] The number of psalms without titles in the Hebrew Scriptures is twenty-four, viz. i. ii. x. xxxiii. xliii. lxxi. xci. xciii. to xcvii. inclusive, xcix. civ. cv. cvii. cxiv. to cxix. inclusive, cxxxvi. and cxxxvii.; by the talmudical writers they are termed *orphan psalms.* The untitled psalms in our English version amount to thirty-four; but many of these are Hallelujah psalms, which have lost their inscriptions, because the venerable translators have rendered the Hebrew word Hallelujah by the expression "Praise the Lord," which they have made a part of the psalm, though in the Septuagint version it stands as a distinct title.

fixed to the psalms are of very questionable authority, as not being extant in Hebrew manuscripts, and some of them are undoubtedly not of equal antiquity with the text, being, in all probability, conjectural additions, made by the collectors of the psalms, at different periods, who undertook to supply the deficiency of titles from their own judgment or fancy, without a due regard to manuscripts, yet we have no reason to suppose that very many of them are not canonical parts of the psalms; because they are perfectly in unison with the oriental manner of giving titles to books and poems.

[Clauss, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, and some other modern critics, maintain that the titles are original portions of the psalms. They appeal to the custom among Hebrew and Arabic poets of prefixing their names. Numb. xxiv. 3.; 2 Sam. i. 17, 18.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 1.; Isai. xxxviii. 9.; Hab. iii. 1., are the scripture examples most to be relied on. It is also urged that many are without titles, and it is hence inferred that no one presumed in later times to make such additions. Had they been afterwards prefixed, it is said, there would have been greater uniformity. Besides, no musical notes are attached to any psalms, except to those of David and his singers, and they became in later times unintelligible. Also the contents of the psalms furnish an additional proof. The notes find often independent corroboration in the historical books, and agree well with the subject-matter.[1]

These arguments, however, are not conclusive; and the inscriptions are of hardly greater authority than the subscriptions to the apostolical epistles. In some of the old translations the titles vary; as in the Greek and Syriac versions; the Hebrew inscription, as in Psal. xxvii., being sometimes changed, and headings being sometimes added, as in xciii—xcvii., where in the original there are none. As to the want of uniformity, it is not likely that all the titles proceeded from one hand: they might be affixed at different times, and, as in some cases there would be no reasonable ground for devising a proper title, none was given. Besides, it is well-nigh demonstrable that occasionally they are wrongly given, that they do not always agree with the subject-matter of the psalm, and that the name of an author is prefixed to a composition which could not have proceeded from his pen. It is but an evasion to maintain that later additions have been made to such psalms.[2] These and other similar considerations show that the authority of the titles is very doubtful. They ought not needlessly to be cast aside; but implicit dependence is by no means to be placed upon them.]

It is well known that the seven poems, composed in Arabic by as many of the most excellent Arabian bards (which, from being originally suspended around the caaba or temple at Mecca, were called *Moallakāt*, or *suspended*), were called *al Modhadhebat*, or the golden verses, because they were written in characters of gold on Egyptian papyrus.

Might not the six psalms which bear the title of *Michtam*, or

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 113.
[2] See Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Psalms, Book of.

golden[1], be so called on account of their having been on some occasion or other written in letters of gold and hung up in the sanctuary? [A more probable explanation of the word is that, by the interchange of ם and ב, it is equivalent to מִכְתָּב, a writing, which is found prefixed to Hezekiah's lamentation or prayer, Isai. xxxviii. 9.; Hengstenberg, however, objects to this.] D'Herbelot, to whom we are indebted for the preceding fact, also relates that Sherfeddin al Baussiri, an Arabian poet, called one of his poems, in praise of Mohammed (who, he affirmed, had cured him of a paralytic disorder in his sleep), *The Habit of a Derveesh;* and, because he is there celebrated for having (as it is pretended) given sight to a blind person, this poem is also intitled by its author *The Bright Star.*[2] D'Herbelot further tells us that a collection of moral essays was named *The Garden of Anemonies.*

The ancient Jewish taste, Mr. Harmer remarks, may reasonably be supposed to have been of the same kind; and agreeable to this is the explanation given by some learned men of David's commanding the *bow* to be taught the children of Israel (2 Sam. i. 18.); which, they apprehend, did not relate to the use of that weapon in war, but to the hymn which he composed on occasion of the death of Saul and Jonathan; and from which they think that he intitled this elegy the *Bow.* The twenty-second psalm might in like manner be called *The Hind of the Morning (Aijeleth Shahar);* the fifty-sixth, *The Dumb in distant Places (Joneth-elem-rechokim);* the sixtieth, *The Lily of the Testimony (Shoshan-eduth);* the eightieth, *The Lilies of the Testimony (Shoshannim-eduth),* in the plural number; and the forty-fifth, simply *The Lilies (Shoshannim).* That these appellations do not denote musical instruments, Mr. Harmer is of opinion, is evident from the names of trumpet, timbrel, harp, psaltery, and other instruments with which psalms were sung, being *absent* from those titles. If they signified tunes (as he is disposed to think), they must signify the tunes to which such songs or hymns were sung as were distinguished by these names; and so the inquiry will terminate in this point, whether the psalms to which these titles are affixed were called by these names, or whether they were some other psalms or songs, to the tune of which these were to be sung. Now, as we do not find the bow referred to, nor the same name twice made use of, so far as our information goes, it seems most probable that these are the names of the very psalms to which they are prefixed.[3]

Besides the psalms whose titles have thus been considered and explained, there are *forty-five* called *Mismor* or *psalms;* viz. iii. iv.

[1] Psalms xvi. lvi. lvii. lviii. lix. lx. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 624.

[2] D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. i. pp. 383. 415. It were easy to multiply examples of this kind from the works of oriental writers. Thus the *Gulis-tān, Bed of Roses,* or *Flower Garden* of the Persian poet Sady, which has been translated into English by Mr. Gladwin; and the *Bahar Danush,* or *Garden of Knowledge,* of the Persian bard Einaut-Oollah, by Mr. Scott. Dr. A. Clarke has collected some additional instances in his Commentary on the Bible. See Psalm xxii. Title.

[3] Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 141—146. (edit. 1816).

v. vi. viii. ix. xii. xiii. xv. xix. xx. xxi. xxii. xxiii. xxiv. xxix. xxxi. xxxvii. xxxix. xl. xli. xlvii. xlix. l. li. lxii. lxiii. lxiv. lxxiii. lxxv. lxxvii. lxxix. lxxx. lxxxii. lxxxiv. lxxxv. xcviii. c. ci. cix. cx. cxxix. cxl. cxli. and cxlii. One is called *Shir*, or *song* viz. xlvi.; eight are called *Mismor-Shir*, or *psalm songs;* viz. xxx. lxv. lxvii. lxviii. lxxv. lxxvi. lxxxvii. and xcii.; and five are called *Shir-Mismor*, or *song-psalms*, xlviii. lxvi. lxxxiii. lxxxviii. and cviii. In what respects these titles differed, it is now impossible to ascertain, as rabbi Kimchi, one of the most learned Jews, ingenuously acknowledges; but we may infer that they combined both music and singing, which are indicated by the respective words psalm and song, with some modifications. In the Septuagint version these are called *a psalm of an ode*, and *an ode of a psalm*. *Five* are called *Tephillah*, or *prayers*, namely, xvii. lxxxvi. xc. cii. and cxlii.; and the hundred and forty-fifth psalm is called *Tehillah*, or *praise*. So excellent, indeed, was this composition always accounted, that the title of the whole Book of Psalms, *Sepher Tehillim*, or the Book of Praises, was taken from it. It is wholly filled with the praises of God, expressed with such admirable devotion that the ancient Jews used to say, "He could not fail of being an inhabitant of the heavenly Canaan, who repeated this psalm three times a day."[1]

Fifteen psalms, cxx. to cxxxiv., are intitled *Shir-Hammaaloth*, [in cxxi. the word is לַמַּעֲלוֹת,] literally *Songs of the Steps* (in our English version, Songs of Degrees); or, as Bishop Lowth terms them, *Odes of Ascension*.[2] They are supposed to have derived this name from their being sung, when the people *came up* either to worship in Jerusalem, at the annual festivals, or perhaps from the Babylonish captivity. In Ezra vii. 9. the *return* from captivity is certainly called *the ascension or coming up from Babylon*. The hundred and twenty-sixth psalm favours the latter hypothesis; but, as some of these odes were composed *before* the captivity, the title may refer to either of these occasions, when the Jews *went up* to Jerusalem, which, it will be recollected, stood on a steep *rocky ascent*, in large companies, after the oriental manner, and perhaps beguiled their way by singing these psalms. For such an occasion, Jahn remarks, the appellation of ascensions was singularly adapted, as the inhabitants of the East, when speaking of a journey to the metropolis of their country, delight to use the word *ascend*.[3]

[It is difficult to explain why these fifteen psalms bear their title. A variety of reasons have been supposed. The Jews believe that they were sung by the Levites on the fifteen steps which separated the men's court from the women's in the temple. Gesenius suggested that there was a kind of progression in the thought and phraseology;

[1] Bishop Patrick, *in loc.* And therefore he thinks it was composed alphabetically, *i.e.* every verse beginning with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet, in order that it might be the more readily committed to memory.

[2] Bishop Lowth, Prælect. xxv. *in fine*.

[3] Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 471, 472. Calmet and Dr. T. A. Clarisse are of opinion that the whole of the psalms of Ascensions were sung at the time of the return from the captivity. Dissert. sur les Pseaumes quinze graduels. Dissert. tom. ii. part ii. pp. 323, 324.; Clarisse, Psalmi Quindecim Hammaäloth, p. 23.

the last member of a verse, or part of it, being taken up, repeated, and amplified in the next verse: thus,—

"I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills
From whence cometh *my help*.
My help cometh from the Lord,
Which made heaven and earth."

Psal. cxxi. 1, 2.

But this structure cannot be detected in all of them. Hengstenberg supposes that they were "pilgrim-songs," chanted by those who went up to Jerusalem at the solemn feasts. Hävernick and Keil agree in this notion.[1] A writer in the Journal of Sacred Literature[2] examines the arguments for it with minute care, and concludes that they are insufficient for the following reasons: "1. מַעֲלָה means properly a step, and is *never* used to designate the annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem. 2. The שִׁירֵי הַמַּעֲלוֹת are in reality not characterized by sufficient prominent reference to pilgrimages. 3. Had pilgrim-songs been really required as such, there are many much more suitable for the purpose than those actually employed. 4. The *tone* of those adapted for pilgrim-songs is different from that of the great majority of the שִׁירֵי הַמַּעֲלוֹת. 5. The attempt to destroy the individuality of these psalms[3] is a procedure in itself questionable, and in the present case not allowable."

This writer himself propounds a very ingenious theory. He observes, as Hengstenberg had pointed out, that these psalms are systematically arranged, being grouped around Psal. cxxvii., composed by Solomon, which furnishes a key-note with which the rest are in unison. "Every note of joy and of sorrow, of hope and of fear, and of confidence in God," he thinks, "has its echo in the book of Nehemiah." He then examines each several psalm, and shows a striking coincidence of thought, in many cases a verbal resemblance, to what we read in Nehemiah of that pious ruler's labour in re-building the walls of Jerusalem. Thus, take as an example Psal. cxx.: v. 1. is illustrated by Neh. ii. 17., also i. 3—11., ix. 37. In vv. 2, 3. the lying lips, &c., accurately describe Sanballat and other foes, Neh. ii. 19., vi. 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13. V. 7., the psalmist was for peace; Nehemiah's enemies were always picking quarrels, Neh. ii. 19., iv. 7, 8., vi. 12. The writer, further, connects these psalms with the steps which, from the natural position of Jerusalem and the temple, he supposes must have been of frequent occurrence there. Pious Jews would often be likely to repeat Psal. cxxvii., as they paced the numerous stairs belonging to the temple. And he observes upon the extreme appositeness of Psal. cxxi. to this idea. For the full elucidation of his theory, the student must be referred to the original paper; the conclusion only can be added here: "We have tried to point out a minute correspondence between the whole of the 'Songs of Degrees,' and the book of Nehemiah, regarding the latter

[1] Hävernick, Einleitung, § 281. III. pp. 91—94.; where several hypotheses are discussed.

[2] Oct. 1854, pp. 39—53.

[3] Hengstenberg has endeavoured to show that, being for pilgrims of successive generations, these psalms must have a general character with no individual reference.

in fact as the prose notes explanatory of the former. This brought us in sight of the two-fold object of the collection, viz. (1.) an *historical memorial* of an important part of the national history of the Jews; and (2.) the position which the songs occupied in the temple-service rendered them instrumental in keeping up a *perpetual thanksgiving* to God for his goodness in regard to that national era."

This writer has manifested great ability; but it is hard to decide among the various hypotheses propounded: none of them will command general assent.[1]]

To ten psalms, viz. cvi. cxi. cxii. cxiii. cxxxv. cxlvi. to cl. inclusive, is prefixed the title Hallelujah, which, as already intimated, forms part of the first verse in our English translation, and is rendered, *Praise the Lord.*

The title *Maschil* is prefixed to Psalms xxxii. xlii. xliv. xlv. lii. liii. liv. lv. lxxiv. lxxviii. lxxxviii. lxxxix. and cxlii.; and, as it is evidently derived from the Hebrew root שָׂכַל, to be wise, to behave wisely or prudently, Calmet thinks it merely signifies to give instruction, and that the psalms to which it is prefixed are peculiarly adapted to that purpose: Rosenmüller coincides with him, as far as his remark applies to Psal. xxxii., but rather thinks it a generic name for a particular kind of poem. [It probably simply means a poem: we find it in the text Psal. xlvii. 7. Heb. 8.]

It only remains that we briefly notice these psalms whose titles are generally considered as names either of musical instruments or of tunes.

1. The first of these is *Neginoth*, (בִּנְגִינוֹת, or עַל נְגִינַת), which is prefixed to Psalms iv. vi. liv. lv. lxi. lxvii. lxxvi.: it signifies stringed instruments of music to be played on by the fingers [with an instrumental accompaniment]. Calmet proposes to translate the titles of those psalms where *Neginoth* is to be found, in the following manner, *A Psalm of David, to the master of music who presides over the stringed instruments.*

2. *Nehiloth*, which is in the title of Psal. v., is supposed to have been a wind instrument; but whether of the organ kind as Rosenmüller thinks, or of the flute kind as Calmet supposes, it is now impossible to determine.

3. *Sheminith* (Psalms vi. and xii.) may have been an octochord, or harp of eight strings: from its being united with the Neginoth in the title of Psal. vi., it is supposed to have been an accompaniment to the latter instrument. [Or it may refer to the time, upon the eighth or octave.]

4. *Shiggaion* (Psal. vii.), according to Houbigant, Parkhurst, and others, means a wandering song; so called because it was composed by David when a fugitive from the persecution of Saul. But Calmet says that it signifies a song of consolation in distress, synonymous with an *elegy:* with him coincide Dr. Kennicott and Rosenmüller, who derive the word from an Arabic root, importing that the writer

[1] Comp. Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Psalms, Book of; Hibbard, The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, Introd. pp. 40—42.

of this psalm was overwhelmed with sorrow at the time he composed it.

5. *Gittith* (Psalms viii. lxxxi. lxxxiv.), according to rabbi Jarchi, signifies a musical instrument brought from Gath; but, as the original Hebrew denotes *wine-presses*, Calmet thinks that it probably is an air or song which was sung at the time of vintage. Rosenmüller prefers the former derivation: both, however, may be true. The instrument might have been used by the people of Gath, and from them it might have been adopted by the Jews, with whom it afterwards became a favourite instrument during the festivity of the vintage. [Perhaps the air, light and joyous, rather than an instrument, is meant.]

6. For *Muthlabben*, which appears in the title of Psal. ix., upwards of twenty manuscripts of Dr. Kennicott's collation, and more than forty of De Rossi's, read *almuth*, which signifies virgins. Calmet thinks that a chorus of virgins is intended, and that Le Ben, that is *to Ben*, refers to Ben or Benaiah, who was their precentor, and who is mentioned in 1 Chron. xv. 18, 20.

7. *Mahalath* (Psal. liii.) denotes a dance, such as was used at some peculiar festivals (comp. Exod. xv. 20.; Judg. xxi. 21.; 1 Sam. xviii. 6.). According to Calmet, the title of this ode is, "An instructive psalm of David for the chief master of dancing; or, for the chorus of singers and dancers." *Mahalath-Leannoth* (Psal. lxxxix.) probably means a responsive psalm of the same description.[1]

[The title לַמְנַצֵּחַ is prefixed to many (55) psalms. It is doubtless the participle of נָצַח, to oversee, or preside over, which occurs 1 Chron. xv. 21. in a musical sense. Hence it appears to designate the chief musician. And the prefix לְ, though it frequently denotes authorship, can hardly do so here. Accordingly we are to understand not a designation of the author of the musical accompaniment (or of the psalm), but the giving of the poem out to the chief musician. "The word is sometimes inserted with the name of the author, as 'To the chief musician: a psalm of David,' xi. xiii. xiv. xviii.—xxi. xxxi. xxxvi. xl. xli. xlii. xliv. xlvii. xlix. li. lii. lxiv.—lxvi. lxviii. lxx. lxxxv. cix. cxxxix. cxl. Sometimes it is put with the name of the instrument; as 'To the chief musician on Neginoth,' iv. vi. liv. lv. lxvii. lxxvi.; 'upon Gittith,' viii. lxxxi. lxxxiv.; 'upon Shoshannim,' xlv. lxix. lxxx.; 'upon Nehiloth,' v.; 'upon Mahalath,' liii. Or with the first words of the song or melody in which the song is to be sung: see xxii. lvi.—lix. lxxv. Or finally, with a word marking the tone or key, whether lower or higher, as 'To the chief musician upon Alamoth,' xlvi.; 'upon the Sheminith,' xii. Sometimes the name of the chief musician himself is inserted, as 'To the chief musician, to Jeduthun,' xxxix. lxii. lxxvii."[2] Hävernick may be referred to for a detailed

[1] Calmet, Commentaire Littérale, tom. iv. pp. xi.—xiv. liii liv.; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, tom. i. cap. 4: De Psalmorum Inscriptionibus, et Explicatio Dictionum in Psalmorum Titulis obviarum, Proleg. pp. xxv.—lviii. [Comp. Keil, Einleitung, § 113. pp. 384, 385.; Hibbard, The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, Introd. sect. iv. pp. 29—45.]

[2] Hibbard, The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, Introd. sect. iv. p. 23.

examination of the places where לַמְנַצֵּחַ occurs, with the expressions conjoined with it.[1] אַל תַּשְׁחֵת, "destroy not," an accompaniment of לַמְנַצֵּחַ in Psalms lvii. lviii. lix. lxxv., has been supposed by Hengstenberg to refer to the subject of the psalm. Hävernick, however, allowing that this may possibly be the case with Psalms lvii. and lix., considers the notion altogether inapplicable to lviii. lxxv.

לְהַזְכִּיר and לְלַמֵּד are found respectively in Psalms xxxviii. and lxx. and in lx. The first, signifying *for remembrance*, was most probably intended to suggest the recollection of God's mercy[2]; the latter, *to teach*, might intend that the psalm should be committed to memory. Comp. Deut. xxxi. 19.; 2 Sam. i. 18.]

VIII. Of the word Selah, which occurs seventy-one times in the book of Psalms, and three times in the prophecy of Habakkuk, it is not easy to determine the meaning: in the Septuagint it occurs still more frequently, being placed where it is not in the Hebrew original, and rendered by διάψαλμα, which signifies a rest or pause, or, according to Suidas, a change of the song or modulation. Some imagine that it directed the time of the music, and was perhaps equivalent to our word *slow*, or, according to some of our provincial dialects, *slaw;* which, in a rapid pronunciation, might easily be taken for Selah. Dr. Wall conjectures that it is a note, directing that the last words to which it is added should be repeated by the chorus, and observes that it is always put after some remarkable or pathetic clause. Parkhurst and others are of opinion that it was intended to direct the reader's particular attention to the passage; others, that it marks a new sense or change of the metre. Jerome says that Selah connects what follows with what went before, and further expresses that the words to which it is affixed are of eternal moment; that is, are not applicable to any particular person or temporary circumstances, but ought to be remembered by all men, and for ever; whence the Chaldee paraphrast renders it "for ever." Aquila, Symmachus, Geier, Forster, Buxtorf, and others, are of opinion that Selah has no signification, but that it is a note of the ancient music, the use of which is now lost. Aben Ezra says that it is like the conclusion of a prayer, answering nearly to amen. Meibomius, and after him Jahn, think that it means a repeat, and that it is equivalent to the Italian *Da Capo.* Calmet is of opinion that the ancient Hebrew musicians sometimes put Selah in the margin of their psalters, to show where a musical pause was to be made, and where the tune ended; as in the copies of the Gospels[3], solemnly read in the early ages of the Christian church, the Greek word τέλος, or the Latin word *finis*, was written in the margin, to mark where the deacon was to *end* the lesson; the divisions of chapters and verses being unknown at that time; or else he thinks, the ancient Hebrews sang nearly in the same manner as the modern Arabians do[4], with

[1] Einleitung, § 283. III. pp. 109—120.
[2] Hibbard, however, supposes that the person to be put in remembrance is not the psalmist, but God, who appeared to have forgotten him. p. 32.
[3] Simon, Histoire Critique du Texte Nouv. Test. chap. xxxiii. p. 429.
[4] D'Arvieux's Travels in Arabia the Desart, p. 52. English translation. 1718. 12mo.

long pauses, ending all at once, and beginning all at once; and therefore it was necessary, in the public services, to mark in the margin of the psalm as well the place of the pause as the end, in order that the whole choir might suspend their voices, or re-commence their singing at the same time. Rosenmüller, after Herder and A. F. Pfeiffer, declares in favour of Selah being a rest or pause, for the vocal performers, during which the musical instruments only were to be heard. Mr. Hewlett thinks it resembled our concluding symphonies. The sentiment of rabbi Kimchi has been adopted by Grotius and others. That eminent Jewish teacher says that Selah is both a musical note and a note of emphasis in the sense, by which we are called to observe something more than usually remarkable. It is derived from the Hebrew word סָלַל, which signifies *he raised* or *elevated*, and denotes the elevation of the voice in singing, and at the same time the lifting up of the heart, the serious considering and meditating upon the thing that is spoken.

That this word was of use in music and singing is evident from the manner in which, we have already remarked, it was rendered by the Septuagint translators; and that it is also a mark of observation and meditation, may be inferred from its being joined in Psal. ix. 16. with the word *Higgaion*, which signifies meditation. Now, though in some passages Selah may appear to be used where there is no emphatic word or sense, yet it may be applied not only to the immediately-preceding word or verse, but also to the whole series of verses or periods to which it is subjoined. And, if it be thus considered, we shall find that it is used with great propriety, viz. to point out to us something well worthy of our most attentive observation; and that it calls upon us to revolve in our minds, with great seriousness, the matter placed before us.[1]

[Sommer has minutely investigated the meaning of Selah. And Keil has adopted and illustrated his opinion. They suppose it denotes the falling in of the sound of the priests' trumpets into the Levites' psalm-singing and playing on stringed instruments. It occurs

[1] Calmet, Dissertation sur Sela, Commentaire, tom. iv. pp. xvi.—xviii.; Hewlett on Psal. iii.; 2. Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, Proleg. tom. i. pp. lix.—lxii.; Dr. John Edwards, on the Authority, Style, and Perfection of Scripture, vol. iii. p. 373.; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. p. 471.; Biel and Schleusner, Lexicon in LXX, voce Διάψαλμα In addition to the observations already offered, it may be stated that Professor Wilson has announced the following ingenious conjecture respecting the derivation and import of the word Selah: The root of the word, he remarks, appears evidently to lie in the two first letters סל, which are in contraction for סלל, *to raise, to exalt, to magnify.* The ה he considers as an abbreviation for ויה; so that the word סלה is a contracted form of סלויה, *celebrate ye Jehovah*, or *exalt the Lord*, viz. in songs of praise accompanied with musical instruments, and is nearly of the same import with הללויה, in our characters *Hallelujah*, in Greek letters Ἀλληλούια, that is, Praise ye the Lord. This conjecture receives strong confirmation from the latter part of the fourth verse of Psal. lxviii. which is thus translated, *Extol him that rideth upon the heavens by the name* JAH. It is highly probable that the meaning here assigned to Selah is the true one, as it corresponds to the dignity and chief end of devotional music, in which the singers and players were frequently reminded of the sacred intention of their solemn prayers, praises, and adoration. All were designed to magnify the name, the nature, the perfections, excellences, and works of Jehovah the only true God. In this sublime exercise the church on earth are fellow-worshippers, in perfect concord with the church in heaven. See Rev. xix. 1—3. Wilson's Elements of Hebrew Grammar, pp. 315, 316 (4th edit.).

therefore where very warm emotions have been expressed.[1] Hengstenberg objects to this view. הִגָּיוֹן, joined with Selah, Psal. ix. 17., is supposed by Gesenius to signify a *louder strain;* whilst Keil believes that it means *piano.*]

IX. "The hearts of the pious in all ages have felt the value of the psalms as helps to devotion; and many have laboured for expressions, in which to set forth their praise." All the fathers of the church are unanimously eloquent in their commendation of the psalms. Athanasius styles them an epitome of the whole scriptures; Basil, a compendium of all theology; Luther, a little bible, and the summary of the Old Testament; and Melanchthon, the most elegant writing in the whole world. How highly the Psalter was valued subsequently to the reformation, we may easily conceive by the very numerous editions of it which were executed in the infancy of printing, and by the number of commentators who have undertaken to illustrate its sacred pages. Carpzov, who wrote a century ago, enumerates upwards of one hundred and sixty; and of the subsequent modern expositors of this book it would perhaps be difficult to procure a correct account. "The psalms," as their best interpreter in our language has remarked, with equal piety and beauty[2], "are an epitome of the bible, adapted to the purposes of devotion. They treat occasionally of the creation and formation of the world; the dispensations of providence, and the economy of grace; the transactions of the patriarchs; the exodus of the children of Israel; their journey through the wilderness, and settlement in Canaan; their law, priesthood, and ritual; the exploits of their great men, wrought through faith; their sins and captivities; their repentances and restorations; the sufferings and victories of David; the peaceful and happy reign of Solomon; the advent of Messiah, with its effects and consequences; his incarnation, birth, life, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, kingdom, and priesthood; the effusion of the Spirit; the conversion of the nations; the rejection of the Jews; the establishment, increase, and perpetuity of the Christian church; the end of the world; the general judgment: the condemnation of the wicked, and the final triumph of the righteous with their Lord and King. These are the subjects here presented to our meditations. . . In the language of this divine book, therefore, the prayers and praises of the church have been offered up to the throne of grace, from age to age. And it appears to have been the manual of the Son of God, in the days of his flesh; who, at the conclusion of his last supper, is generally supposed, and that upon good grounds, to have sung an hymn taken from it[3]; who pronounced, on the cross, the beginning of the twenty-second psalm, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' and expired, with a part of the thirty-first psalm in his mouth, 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit.' Thus he, who had not the Spirit by measure, in whom were hidden all the treasures of wisdom and know-

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 113. p. 385.; and in Hävernick, Einleitung, § 283. III. pp. 122, &c.
[2] The late bishop Horne.
[3] See Matt. xxvi. 30.: the hymn usually sung by the Jews, upon that occasion, was "the great Hallel," consisting of the psalms from the cxiiith to the cxviiith inclusive.

ledge, and who spake as never man spake, yet chose to conclude his life, to solace himself in his greatest agony, and at last to breathe out his soul, in the psalmist's form of words, rather than his own. No tongue of man or angel, as Dr. Hammond justly observes, can convey a higher idea of any book, and of their felicity who use it aright."[1]

The number of psalms, which are *throughout* more eminently and directly prophetical of the Messiah, is indeed comparatively small; but the passages of *particular* psalms which are predictive of him in various ways are very numerous, no part of the Old Testament being cited in the New so frequently as this book.[2] That those psalms which were composed by David himself were prophetic, we have David's own authority; "which," bishop Horsley remarks, "may be allowed to overpower a host of modern expositors. For thus king David, at the close of his life, describes himself and his sacred songs: *David the son of Jesse said, and the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel, said, The Spirit of Jehovah spake by me; and his word was in my tongue* (2 Sam. xxiii. 1, 2.). It was the word, therefore, of Jehovah's Spirit which was uttered by David's tongue. But, it should seem, the Spirit of Jehovah would not be wanting to enable a mere man to make complaint of *his own enemies*, to describe *his own sufferings just as he felt them*, and *his own escapes just as they happened.* But the Spirit of Jehovah described, by David's utterance, what was known to that Spirit only, and what that Spirit only could describe. So that, if David be allowed to have had any knowledge of the true subject of his own compositions, it was nothing in his own life, but something put into his mind by the Holy Spirit of God; and the misapplication of the psalms to the literal David has done more mischief than the misapplication of any other parts of the scriptures, among those who profess the belief of the Christian religion."[3]

For a table of those portions of the Psalms which are strictly prophetical of the Messiah, see before, p. 189.: comp. pp. 190, 192, 195.

[X. The question of what are called the imprecatory psalms is exceedingly perplexing. It must be approached with diffidence, and discussed with moderation. A decided position must indeed be taken against those who, imputing most unjustifiable feelings to the psalmists, attack, in consequence, the authority of the holy book, and hence, by implication, charge either God with cruel injustice, or those who profess to be his messengers with shameless imposture. But there is much variety of opinion among such as reverence the bible: nor is this wonderful. Earnest men with every desire patiently to investigate, and candidly to accept the truth, have always, such is the fallibility of human judgment, given patent proof of discordancy. There has been no unfairness, there has been no rejection of facts; and yet they have not agreed. Surely each

[1] Bishop Horne on the Psalms, vol. i. Preface, pp. i.—iv.: comp. Hooker, Eccl. Polity, book v. sect. 37.

[2] See Hibbard, The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, Introd. sect. x. pp. 122—130.

[3] Bishop Horsley's Psalms, vol. i. pp. xiii. xiv. Calmet has a very fine passage on the scope of the book of Psalms, as pointing to the Messiah. See his Commentaire, vol. iv. pp vi. viii., or Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 197—199.

should distrust himself, and forbear dogmatically to censure those who may not exactly think with him.

It has been sometimes urged that there is a fault in our translation, that the expressions are not to be interpreted as wishes, but as prophetical declarations of what should befall the wicked. But this argument is insufficient. If in some cases they might be so modified, it is evident, on all grammatical principles, that in many more the words are absolutely intractable. See for example Psal. cxxxvii. 7--9.[1]

It has again been argued that the dispensation of the law was imperfect, that principles were acted on, and moral feelings indulged by it, which the purer spirit of the gospel condemned and removed. It must certainly be conceded that the elder church saw dimly many truths which stand out to us in the clear light of day. Hence the holiest servants of God did not comprehend fully many of the graces which are now to adorn the believer. They died in faith; but the object of their faith lay in shadow: they had hope to cheer them; but it did not yet enter into that within the veil, and was vague and undefined. It is no wonder if their love was comparatively chilled and contracted. But this fails to solve the difficulty. It is one thing for men to fall short: it is another for God to sanction the imperfection. Carnal revenge has always been odious in his sight; and that man has surely not read the Jewish law aright, who has not discovered that its provisions went to curb such evil tempers. And with such effect, that, even in the apostate kingdom of the ten tribes, ruled by a race of ungodly monarchs, still the principles of the holy law had not been altogether worn out, and the Israelitish sovereigns were noted among the heathen as "merciful kings" (1 Kings xx. 31.). It is beside the mark to allege that retaliation was prescribed, Exod. xxi. 23—25., or to rely upon the licence given to the avenger of blood, Numb. xxxv. 19.: these had to do with judicial processes.[2] The law of retaliation simply prescribed the punishment which, after a proper investigation, was to be inflicted on an offender; judges who were to determine this being distinctly named, Exod. xxi. 22. And, as to the case of the avenger of blood, the most careful provision was made for protecting an innocent homicide from the hasty wrath of the relatives of the deceased (see Deut. xix. 4—7.). If an avenger did kill a manslayer, it was therefore only under circumstances which he could justify to the authorities else; he would himself suffer punishment: just as among ourselves there are cases in which a person is held blameless for taking the law into his own hands; but they must be cases, the necessity of which he can prove before a proper tribunal. And, when our Lord referred to the law of retaliation (Matt. v. 38, 39.), it is enough to say, and requires not a special proof here, that he did not touch the question of the civil

[1] See, however, Prof. Lee, who says, "David is not uttering imprecations, but strongly inculcating the moral law and its consequences." Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, serm. i. p. xlix. note. Lee considers the expressions used as signifying merely, Regard the thing as done, look on it as fulfilled.

[2] See above p. 419.

administration of justice, but was correcting the notions of those who would translate a judicial enactment into the usages of private life.

Sin has been in all ages utterly displeasing to the Holy One; and he has taken care so to mark it. It is not likely, therefore, that in his word he would enshrine utterances, the spirit of which we are now to condemn; it is not likely that he would allow compositions, which Christianity is to repudiate, to have a place among the songs of Zion. For, observe, if the imprecations cannot be justified, it is not merely something inadequate, but something positively wrong that is in the psalms: we might expect that the mystery of godliness would not be fully developed in them; we are startled at the large development of evil.

The matter is yet more entangled when we find, as is not unfrequently the case, prayers for the destruction of enemies in the very closest contact with the most devotional expressions. Take for example Psal. v. 7—10.: "But as for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy; and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple. Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness because of mine enemies; make thy way straight before my face. For there is no faithfulness in their mouth: their inward part is very wickedness: their throat is an open sepulchre: they flatter with their tongue. Destroy thou them, O God;" &c. It is clear that it is no solution of the difficulty to say that the imprecatory passages are recorded in scripture, just as the speeches of Satan, the falsehood of Gehazi, or the unsound arguments of Job's friends. The circumstances are quite dissimilar.

It is hard, then, to believe that the psalmists spoke as blamable men, actuated by unholy passions; so that we are to set ourselves as judges over the scripture, and try to discover by the light of one part of it what is objectionable in another; and the more so, because it will be seen that even the New Testament writers must come more or less under the same censure.

Another mode of explanation has therefore been adopted. Thus a writer in Dr. Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature[1] says that these psalms "in reality are not opposed to the spirit of the gospel, or to that love of enemies which Christ enjoined. Resentment against evil-doers is so far from being sinful, that we find it exemplified in the meek and spotless Redeemer himself (see Mark iii. 5.). If the emotion and its utterance were essentially sinful, how could Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 22.) wish the enemy of Christ to be accursed (ἀνάθεμα), or say of his own enemy, Alexander the coppersmith, 'The Lord reward him according to his works' (2 Tim. iv. 14.); and, especially, how could the spirits of the just in heaven call on God for vengeance (Rev. vi. 10.)?" This view has been supported with much force of reasoning by Prof. B. B. Edwards.[2] It was adopted by Dr. Kitto, who acknowledges that for a considerable time he adhered to the theory previously mentioned, but felt convinced after mature consideration that it was untenable.[3]

[1] Art Psalms, Book of. [2] Bibliotheca Sacra, Feb. 1844.
[3] Daily Bible Illustrations, Second Series, Tenth Week, Second and Third Days.

Some at least of the imprecatory psalms were written by David. If we look at his character by the light of history, we shall see that he was not naturally revengeful, but rather of a forgiving temper. It is true that once, provoked by Nabal's churlishness, he was about to destroy his house. But this was a hasty resolution from which he was easily dissuaded by Abigail; and, when he had had a little time for reflection, he thanked God that he had not been let to indulge his passion (1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33.). Remarkable instances there are of his placability. Twice he had his enemy Saul in his power and spared him (1 Sam. xxiv. 1—7., xxvi. 5—12.): he would not allow vengeance to be taken on Shimei (2 Sam. xvi. 5—13., xix. 23.): after Absalom's atrocious conduct he desired to have his life preserved (2 Sam. xviii. 5.). Now it is absolutely inconceivable that a man, in his ordinary behaviour free from rancour, should be possessed with a revengeful temper just when he was engaged in solemn prayer and praise to God. There would be the remarkable phenomenon of the fountain only when under a certain divine influence pouring forth sweet water and bitter, the mouth uttering at once—for we have seen how close the juxta-position sometimes is—both blessing and cursing.

But David is not a singular example. To pass over what might be produced from several of the prophets, apostles, we find, uttered similar expressions. Some of these have already been referred to. And more might easily be produced, *e.g.* Gal. i. 9., v. 12. Distinctions have indeed been made: Paul did not, it is said, describe with such circumstantiality the mischief which he wished to befall his enemies. It is true: he did not, like a poet, amplify his utterance; but there it stands, concentrated and full of force, a serious solemn wish that the troublers of the church should be cut off, that those who loved not the Lord Jesus should be accursed, that Alexander who had opposed him (Tischendorf retains the optative) should be rewarded according to his works. So plain is the matter, that Mr. Macnaught actually brings it as a proof against Paul's inspiration, that he was vindictive, that he was in moral fault.[1] And, as to Rev. vi. 10., the force of the passage is not taken off by its being said to be symbolical. Doubtless symbolism is used, but some truth is signified by it; and that truth is just what we find in Psal. lviii. 10.: "The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance."

A burning indignation against atrocious crimes and an instinctive desire that the offender should undergo condign punishment, Dr. Kitto has endeavoured to show, must be perfectly justifiable. And Mr. Hibbard illustrates this principle by the following narrative: "I happened to be reading one of the imprecatory psalms; and, as I paused to make a remark, my little boy, a lad of ten years, asked me with some earnestness, 'Father, do you think it right for a good man to pray for the destruction of his enemies like that?' and at the same time referred me to Christ as praying for his enemies. I paused a moment, to know how to shape the reply so as to fully meet and

[1] The Doctrine of Inspiration, (2nd edit.) book i. chap. iv. p. 47.

satisfy his enquiry, and then said, 'My son, if an assassin should enter the house by night, and murder your mother, and then escape, and the sheriff and citizens were all out in pursuit, trying to catch him, would you not pray to God that they might succeed and arrest him, and that he might be brought to justice?' 'O yes,' said he, 'but I never saw it so before. I did not know that that was the meaning of these psalms.' 'Yes,' said I, 'my son, the men against whom David prays were bloody men, men of falsehood and crime, enemies to the peace of society, seeking his own life; and, unless they were arrested and their wicked devices defeated, many innocent persons must suffer.' The explanation perfectly satisfied his mind."[1]

Sin is an infinite evil. It is so viewed now by a holy God; who, though he has given the most astonishing proof of pity for a lost world, and is ready with boundless love to receive those that approach him by faith in Christ, and to blot out their transgressions, will yet in awful justice take vengeance on those that have impenitently rejected him. And the sinners he has saved will see that his glory shines in this his just indignation, and they will have been taught to hate sin as he hates it. It is hard, while human affections influence us, to understand this; nor shall we perfectly understand it till the earthly shall have passed away, and every feeling shall be absorbed in love to God, and adoration and joy in what he has done. His justice will be rejoiced in.

Now, if God was to give anything like a true copy of his character in his word, these features must not be left out. The utterances of his servants must declare them. Vengeful expressions may be sinful or not, according to the spirit which prompts them. If they are the selfish ebullitions of a man's own temper, they are to be condemned; not so when they are the expressions of enlightened zeal for God's glory. Flowing from David the private individual, we might object to them: in David the inspired man they are the denunciations of God's deserved wrath.[2] In no other way so well could it be shown that the impenitent sinner will be driven to shame and everlasting contempt, that he must become for ever the object of unutterable loathing to the universe.

"We believe that we have now," says Dr. Owen in an able paper on this subject[3], in which he adopts the view just given and meets the objections to it, "referred to the principal objections brought against these portions of God's word. However we may have relieved the minds of others, by the mode in which we have disposed of these objections, we certainly feel ourselves confirmed in the great truth of the plenary inspiration of the bible, and more and more op-

[1] The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, part i. sect. ix. p. 120.

[2] "If he (David) spoke of his own mind and heart, and mingled up his imprecations, as we sometimes find them, with the highest strains of devotional feeling, this certainly was very strange. It was unaccountable. But, when we regard him as an inspired prophet of God, standing in the place of God, the visible head of the theocracy under God, and denouncing, by divine inspiration, the judgments of God against the enemies of his church and people, the case assumes a very different aspect. The mystery of it is in great measure removed." Prof. Pond in Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan. 1858, pp. 51, 52.

[3] Bibliotheca Sacra, July 1856.

posed to all attempts to remove difficulties, by adopting low theories of inspiration, or frittering down God's word in order to make its truths less offensive to the unregenerate heart. When rightly interpreted, the facts of revelation are harmonious, consistent, rational, defensible. The closer we adhere to them, and the more childlike the spirit with which we receive them, the more luminous and heavenly do they appear. But, if, from habits of vain speculation, and an affectation of superior shrewdness and discernment in finding difficulties, we come to regard the sacred page with distrust as to its divine origin, and a distaste for its great fundamental truths, we may rest assured that we shall involve ourselves in doubts and perplexities, whence nothing but the grace of God, in subduing our pride and in imparting to us a teachable spirit, can extricate us."[1]]

XI. The book of Psalms, being composed in Hebrew verse, must generally be studied and investigated agreeably to the structure of Hebrew poetry; but, in addition to the remarks already offered on this subject[2], there are a few directions more particularly applicable to these songs of Sion, which will enable the reader to enter more fully into their force and meaning.

1. *Investigate the argument of each psalm.*
2. *With this view, examine the historical origin of the psalm, or the circumstances that led the sacred poet to compose it.*
3. *Ascertain the author of the psalm.*
4. *Attend to the choral structure of the psalm.*

XII. We shall conclude this section with the following common but very useful

TABLE OF THE PSALMS,

classed according to their several subjects, and adapted to the purposes of private devotion.

I. *Prayers.*

1. Prayers for pardon of sin, Psalms vi. xxv. xxxviii. li. cxxx. Psalms styled penitential, vi. xxii. xxxviii. li. cii. cxxx. cxliii.
2. Prayers composed when the psalmist was deprived of an opportunity of the public exercise of religion, Psalms xlii. xliii. lxiii. lxxxiv.
3. Prayers in which the psalmist seems extremely dejected, though not totally deprived of consolation, under his afflictions, Psalms xiii. xxii. lxix. lxxvii. lxxxviii. cxliii.
4. Prayers in which the psalmist asks help of God, in consideration of his own integrity, and the uprightness of his cause, Psalms vii. xvii. xxvi. xxxv.
5. Prayers expressing the firmest trust and confidence in God under afflictions, Psalms iii. xvi. xxvii. xxxi. liv. lvi. lvii. lxi. lxii. lxxi. lxxxvi.
6. Prayers composed when the people of God were under affliction or persecution, Psalms xliv. lx. lxxiv. lxxix. lxxx. lxxxiii. lxxxix. xciv. cii. cxxiii. cxxxvii.
7. The following are likewise prayers in time of trouble and affliction, Psalms iv. v. xi. xxviii. xli. lv. lix. lxiv. lxx. cix. cxx. cxl. cxli. cxliii.
8. Prayers of intercession, Psalms xx. lxvii. cxxii. cxxxii. cxliv.

II. *Psalms of thanksgiving.*

1. Thanksgivings for mercies vouchsafed to particular persons, Psalms ix. xviii. xxii. xxx. xxxiv. xl. lxxv. ciii. cviii. cxvi. cxviii. cxxxviii. cxliv.
2. Thanksgivings for mercies vouchsafed to the Israelites in general, Psalms xlvi. xlviii. lxv. lxvi. lxviii. lxxvi. lxxxi. lxxxv. xcviii cv. cxxiv. cxxvi. cxxix. cxxxv. cxxxvi. cxlix.

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[1] Comp. some valuable remarks by Dr. Vaughan, Brit. Quart. Rev. Oct. 1857.
[2] See p. 377. *supra*.

III. *Psalms of praise and adoration, displaying the attributes of God.*

1. General acknowledgements of God's goodness and mercy, and particularly his care and protection of good men, Psalms xxiii. xxxiv. xxxvi. xci. c. ciii. cvii. cxvii. cxxi. cxlv. cxlvi.

2. Psalms displaying the power, majesty, glory, and other attributes of the Divine Being, Psalms viii. xix. xxiv. xxix. xxxiii. xlvii. l. lxv. lxvi. lxxvi. lxxvii. xciii. xcv. xcvi. xcvii. xcix. civ. cxi. cxiii. cxiv. cxv. cxxxiv. cxxxix. cxlvii. cxlviii. cl.

IV. *Instructive psalms.*

1. The different characters of good and bad men, the happiness of the one and the misery of the other, are represented in the following psalms: i. v. vii. ix. x. xi. xii. xiv. xv. xvii. xxiv. xxv. xxxii. xxxiv. xxxvi. xxxvii. l. lii. liii. lviii. lxxii. lxxv. lxxxiv. xci. xcii. xciv. cxii. cxix. cxxi. cxxv. cxxvii. cxxviii. cxxxiii.
2. The excellence of God's laws, Psalms xix. cxix.
3. The vanity of human life, Psalms xxxix. xlix xc.
4. Advice to magistrates, Psalms lxxxii. ci.
5. The virtue of humility, Psalms cxxxi.

V. *Psalms more eminently and directly prophetical.*

Psalms ii. xvi. xxii. xl. xlv. lxviii. lxxii. lxxxvii. cx. cxviii.

VI. *Historical psalms.*

Psalms lxxviii. cv. cvi.

SECTION III.

ON THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

I. *Title, author, and canonical authority.*—II. *Scope.*—III. *Synopsis of its contents.*—IV. *Observations on its style, use, and importance.*—*Notice of the description of wisdom in* chap. viii.

I. [The Hebrew name of this book is מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, *Proverbs of Solomon*, or in an abbreviated form מִשְׁלֵי. It is also styled in the Baba Bathra סֵפֶר חָכְמָה. Hence by the Christian fathers it is not unfrequently called *σοφία*, or *ἡ πανάρετος σοφία*, appellations given also to the apocryphal books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, and supposed to have originated among the Egyptian Jews.[1] We hence find this book in Melito's catalogue (Eus. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. 26.), *Σολομῶντος Παροιμίαι ἣ καὶ Σοφία.*] The book of Proverbs has always been ascribed to Solomon, whose name it bears, though, from the frequent repetition of the same sentences, as well as from some variations in style which have been discovered, doubts have been entertained whether he was the author of every maxim it comprises. "The latter part of it, from the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter, forming evidently an appendix, was collected after his death, and added to what appears to have been more immediately arranged by himself."[2] The proverbs in the thirtieth chapter are expressly called *The words of Agur the son of Jakeh;* and the thirty-first chapter is intitled *The words of king Lemuel.* It seems certain that the collec-

[1] See Hävernick, Einleitung, § 301. III. pp. 384—387.
[2] Extract from Dr. Mason Good's unpublished translation of the Book of Proverbs, in Dr. Gregory's Memoirs of his Life, p. 289.

tion called the Proverbs of Solomon was arranged in the order in which we now have it, by different hands; but it is not therefore to be concluded that they are not the productions of Solomon, who, we are informed, spoke [1] no less than three thousand proverbs (1 Kings iv. 32.). As it is nowhere said that Solomon himself made a collection of proverbs and sentences, the general opinion is that several persons made a collection of them, perhaps as they were uttered by him. Hezekiah, among others, as mentioned in the twenty-fifth chapter: Agur, Isaiah, and Ezra might have done the same. The Jewish writers affirm that Solomon wrote the Canticles, or Song bearing his name, in his youth, the Proverbs in his riper years, and Ecclesiastes in his old age.

Michaelis has observed that the book of Proverbs is frequently cited by the apostles, who considered it as a treasure of revealed morality, whence Christians were to derive their rules of conduct; and the canonical authority of no book of the Old Testament is so well ratified by the evidence of quotations as that of the Proverbs [2]: whence he justly infers that every commentator on the Greek Testament ought to be intimately acquainted with the Septuagint version of the book of Proverbs, and that every Christian divine should consider it as the chief source of scriptural morality.[3]

II. The Scope of this book is "to instruct men in the deepest mysteries of true wisdom and understanding, the height and perfection of which is the true knowledge of the divine will, and the sincere fear of the Lord (Prov. i. 2—7., ix. 10.)."[4] To this end, the book is filled with the choicest sententious aphorisms, infinitely surpassing all the ethical sayings of the ancient sages, and comprising in themselves distinct doctrines, duties, &c., of piety towards God, of equity and benevolence towards man, and of sobriety and temperance; together with precepts for the right education of children, and for the relative situations of subjects, magistrates, and sovereigns.

III. The book of Proverbs is divided by Moldenhawer and Hei-

[1] It is not said that these proverbs were *written* compositions, but simply that Solomon *spake* them. Hence Holden thinks it not improbable that the Hebrew monarch spoke them in assemblies collected for the purpose of hearing him discourse. Attempt to illustrate the Book of Ecclesiastes, pp. xliv., xlv.

[2] Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 207, 208.

[3] The following table of the quotations from the Book of Proverbs in the New Testament is given from Moldenhawer, Introductio in Libros Canonicos Vet. et Nov. Test. p. 93.; and from Carpzov, Introductio ad Libros Canonicos Vet. Test. p. 184.

Prov. i. 16.	cited in	Rom. iii. 10, 15.
Prov. iii. 7.		Rom. xii. 16.
Prov. iii. 11, 12.		Heb. xii. 5, 6.; Rev. iii. 19.
Prov. iii. 34.		James iv. 6.
Prov. x. 12.		1 Pet. iv. 8.
Prov. xi. 31.		1 Pet. iv. 18.
Prov. xvii. 13.		Rom. xii. 17.; 1 Thess. v. 15.; 1 Pet. iii. 9.
Prov. xvii. 27.		James i. 19.
Prov. xx. 9.		1 John i. 8.
Prov. xx. 20.		Matt. xv. 4.; Mark vii. 10.
Prov. xx. 22.		Rom. xii. 17.
Prov. xxv. 21, 22.		Rom. xii. 20.
Prov. xxvi. 11.		2 Pet. ii. 22.
Prov. xxvii. 1.		James iv. 13, 14,

[4] Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, p. 600

degger (whose arrangement was followed in former editions of this work) into five parts; but Dr. J. M. Good has divided it into four distinct parts, "each of which," he observes, "is distinguished both by an obvious introduction and a change of style and manner, though its real method and arrangement seem, hitherto, to have escaped the attention of our commentators and interpreters."[1]

PART I. *The proem or exordium* (i.—ix.).

In this part heavenly wisdom and the true knowledge of God are set forth with great copiousness and variety of expression, as the only source and foundation of true virtue and happiness. This portion of the book of Proverbs, says bishop Lowth, "is varied, elegant, sublime, and truly poetical: the order of the subject is, in general, excellently preserved; and the parts are very aptly connected. It is embellished with many beautiful descriptions and personifications: the diction is polished, and abounds with all the ornaments of poetry, so that it scarcely yields in elegance and splendour to any of the sacred writings."[2]

PART II. *To which is prefixed the title of The Proverbs of Solomon, comprises short sententious declarations for the use of persons who have advanced from youth to manhood* (x.—xxii. 16.).

These sententious declarations are generally unconnected, although sometimes a connection with the preceding sentence may be discovered. They treat on the various duties of man towards God, and towards his fellow-men in every station of life.[3]

PART III. *Contains a miscellaneous collection of proverbs, principally relating to rich men and nobles* (xxii. 17—xxiv.).

PART IV. *An appendix, consisting of various parabolic compositions* (xxv.—xxxi.).

1. A collection of Solomon's proverbs, which (as the title shows, xxv. 1.) was made by the learned under the reign of Hezekiah (xxv.—xxix.). The proverbs in this section are unconnected; and some of them are repetitions of the moral aphorisms which are delivered in the former part of the book.

2. The ethical precepts delivered by "Agur the son of Jakeh" to his friends Ithiel and Ucal.

That Agur, Jakeh, Ithiel, and Ucal, are proper names, admits of no contradiction. Jerome mistook the proper name Agur for an appellative, and in the Latin Vulgate has translated the expression thus, without any meaning: "Verba Congregantis, filii Vomentis," which, in the Anglo-Romish version from the Vulgate, is with equal unintelligibility rendered, "The words of Gatherer, the son of Vomiter." Some are of opinion, that, by Jakeh, David is meant, and by Agur, Solomon; and some fanciful expositors think that Ithiel and Ucal mean Christ; but these hypotheses are refuted by Holden.[4] The same close observation of nature, and sententious form, which characterize the precepts of Solomon, are to be found in the proverbs of Agur, whose admirable prayer (xxx. 7—9.) will ever be justly admired for its piety, and for the contented spirit which it

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[1] Dissertations on the Book of Proverbs, in Dr. Gregory's Memoirs of Dr. Good, pp. 292, 293.

[2] Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, by Dr. Gregory, vol. ii. p. 164.

[3] See Gregory's Memoirs of Dr. Good, p. 298. In pp. 299—303. Dr. G. has elucidated the beautiful changes of style in the second part of the book of Proverbs.

[4] Translation of the Book of Proverbs, pp. xvii.—xxv. 366, 367.

breathes. It exactly corresponds with the petition in the Lord's prayer: *Give us this day* τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον—not *our daily* bread—but *bread or food sufficient for us.*[1]

3. Contains the admonitions given to King Lemuel[2] by his mother, a queen (xxxi. 1—9.).

These admonitory verses "are an inimitable production, as well in respect to their actual materials, as the delicacy with which they are selected. . . . The description, though strictly in consonance with the domestic economy of the highest sphere of life, in the early period referred to, and especially in the East, is of universal application, and cannot be studied too closely."[3]

4. The description of a virtuous woman, xxxi. 10—31.; where the initial letters of the verses follow the order of the Hebrew alphabet.

[The general title and preface (i. 1—7.) no doubt belong to the book as a whole. But it is questioned whether the portion i.—ix. is the production of Solomon. For we have a new title, x. 1.; which might seem to be unnecessary if there was not a change of authorship. Perhaps, however, the different form of composition of the succeeding portion sufficiently accounts for the fresh inscription. De Wette thinks that the tone of i.—ix. is more like that of a teacher of youth, a prophet or priest, than of a king; and refers to v. 10., vi. 26—31., as indicating a private man instead of a public character.[4] Arguments of this kind are not of much weight. It is admitted that Solomon himself did not collect the book into its present form. It was probably formed by degrees: we should hardly else have found the proverbs which Hezekiah's men copied out, xxv. 1., &c., placed as an appendix. This seems to pre-suppose that there was a former compilation; which must have been made between the time of Solomon and that of Hezekiah, a period of somewhat more than 250 years. If within this time the collection began to be formed, it is reasonable to suppose that Solomon's longer and more connected admonitions might be placed before his briefer maxims: it is not reasonable to imagine that a book, which bore generally Solomon's name, would be made to begin with teachings from another hand. It is urged, however, that chaps. i.—ix. differ in style from the succeeding chapters, and within themselves, being unconnected paragraphs. Besides, the poetical power is greater in the first part than elsewhere in the book: the verses also are synonymous parallels, while afterwards antithetic parallels prevail; the different use, too, of the names of Deity indicates a different authorship. Are these reasons sufficient to overthrow the reasonable presumption that Solomon was the author of the whole of i.—xxix.?

It must be allowed that the parts contained in i.—ix. are not very closely connected, that a subject is taken up, laid down, and taken up again; but why should this militate against the whole being from one author—and that author Solomon? Examples of similar want

[1] Translation of the Book of Proverbs, p. 372.

[2] Some critics have conjectured that Lemuel is another name for Solomon; but this hypothesis is satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Holden, in his Attempt towards an Improved Translation of the Book of Proverbs, Preliminary Dissertation, pp. xviii.—xxv.

[3] Dr. Good's Dissertation on the Book of Proverbs, in Dr. Gregory's Memoirs of his Life, p. 305.

[4] Einleitung, § 281. See Kitto's Cycl. of Bib. Lit. art. Proverbs, The Book of.

of connection occur frequently in literature, and are not thought any strong proof that one man was not the author of an entire book. Unless we are to imagine that Solomon sat down to write at once a series of instructions on one particular topic, the objection is unsatisfactory. The portions were composed at different times, according to occasion, and were collected, not, it has been just admitted, by Solomon himself, but by some compiler after him. That greater poetical power should be evinced here is natural. Set any poet to write a connected paragraph, descriptive of wisdom, for example (see iii. 13—20., viii. 1—36.), longer or shorter, and then to enclose pregnant thoughts or maxims in brief sentences, and see where his poetical power will most develope itself. As to a difference in the kinds of parallelism, it was to be expected: a discourse must necessarily furnish scope for synonymous or gradational expressions, a series of short maxims for antithetic ones.[1] And with respect to the use of God's names, from which it has been said that chap. ii. proceeds from an Elohist, the whole objection is visionary. Four times alone from i. to xxix. 27. does Elohim occur; first, in chap. ii. 5., where Jehovah had immediately preceded, and where consequently the repetition of that word would have been peculiarly awkward; secondly, in chap. ii. 17., where Elohim must be used, because a suffix was to be attached: "her Jehovah" would have been insufferable; thirdly, in chap. iii. 4., where there is the antithesis of "God and man;" fourthly, in xxv. 2., where there is a similar antithesis, more prominent in the original כְּבֹד אֱלֹהִים, and כְּבֹד מְלָכִים, than in our translation, "the glory of God," "the honour of kings." It would take some ingenuity to make a repectable argument out of these facts; as also out of the assertion that the address "my son" occurs frequently in i.—ix., and but once, xix. 27., in the second part.[2] Of course.

Keil exhibits a number of words and phrases frequently used in chaps. i.—xxix., and rarely, or (some of them) nowhere else occurring. For these the student may consult his book.[3] They furnish a strong proof that the whole proceeded from one hand.

The third part, xxii. 17.—xxiv., it is thought by some, is not the production of Solomon. The style changes again: the parallelism differs or almost disappears: the address "my son" frequently recurs; and in xxii. 17. and xxiv. 23. a difference of authorship is indicated, as if these were the words, not of an individual, but of "the wise" (plur.). These reasons have weight; and it is more reasonable to imagine that the instructions of other sages might be appended to the collections of Solomon, than prefixed, as in i.—ix. Whether, however, the reasons are altogether conclusive, critics will not be likely to agree. Keil ascribes this part as well as the former to the Israelitish monarch.[4]

As to xxv.—xxix., the men of Hezekiah were not the first to commit these proverbs to writing, but would seem to have transcribed

[1] Each verse of the second part, 375. in all, is complete in itself, and each consists of two members except xix. 7.
[2] See Bertheau, Die Sprüche Salamos, Einleitung, pp. xiii. xiv. xxi., &c.
[3] Einleitung, § 119.
[4] Ibid.

them from other sources. Several proverbs are here repeated: comp. xxv. 24. with xxi. 9.; xxvi. 3. with x. 13.; xxvi. 13. with xxii. 13.; xxvi. 15. with xix. 24.; xxvi. 22. with xviii. 8.; xxvii. 12. with xxii. 3.; xxvii. 13. with xx. 16.; xxvii. 15. with xix. 13.; xxvii. 21. with xvii. 3.; xxviii. 6. with xix. 1.; xxviii. 19. with xii. 11.; xxviii. 24. with xviii. 9.; xxix. 13. with xxii. 2.; xxix. 22. with xv. 18.; while only once, it appears, is a proverb of the third part repeated here: comp. xxviii. 21. with xxiv. 23. It has been inferred that the men of Hezekiah used the same sources as the compiler of the second part.

With respect to the appendix, xxx., xxxi., little can be said. Who Agur was, and who Lemuel, must be a mystery. Some, by a different pointing and translation, make Lemuel the son of a queen of Massa; but this is conjectural. We can only suppose that this appendix was made before the captivity.]

IV. The Proverbs of Solomon hold a conspicuous rank among the metrical books of the Old Testament. Not only are they admirably adapted to convey instruction by the treasures of practical wisdom which they open to us, but they also afford us a noble specimen of the didactic poetry of the Hebrews; the nature of which they enable us to understand by means of the antithetic parallels with which they abound.[1] Much, indeed, of the elegance, acuteness, and force, which are discernible in Solomon's wise sayings, is derived from the antithetic form, the opposition of diction and sentiment. Hence a careful attention to the parallelism of members (which topic has already been discussed) will contribute to remove that obscurity in which some of the proverbs appear to be involved. Sometimes, also, one member or part of a proverb must be supplied from the other; or, as Glassius has expressed it in other words, sometimes one thing is expressed in one member, and another in the other, and yet both are to be understood in both members. Thus, in Prov. x. 14. we read,

> Wise men lay up knowledge;
> But the mouth of the foolish is near destruction.

The meaning of which is that wise men communicate, for the benefit of others, the wisdom they have acquired and preserved; while fools, being destitute of that knowledge, soon exhaust their scanty stock, and utter not merely useless but even injurious things. Again,

> A wise son maketh a glad father;
> But a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.—Prov. x. 1.

Both the father and mother are to be understood in the two members of this passage; although in the first the father only is noticed, and in the second the mother only is mentioned. Lastly, many things which are spoken generally are to be restrained to particular individuals and circumstances: as, however, this rule has already been illustrated at length, it will not be necessary to multiply additional examples.[2] The author, with much pleasure, refers his readers to the Rev. Mr. Holden's Attempt towards an Improved Translation of the Proverbs of Solomon, with notes, as the best

[1] On the nature of the scripture proverbs, see pp. 356. *supra.* Comp. Kitto, Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, Tenth Week, Fourth Day.
[2] See pp. 421—428. *supra.*

critical help to an exact understanding of this fine compendium of ethics that is extant in the English language.

[We find in Prov. viii. a remarkable description of wisdom. To explain this chapter is the province rather of a commentary than of a work like the present. Nevertheless, as the subject has been much controverted, the student might be disappointed if it were passed by without notice in these pages.

The chief question is whether we are to see here simply a poetic personification of the lessons inculcated by the order of nature and the course of divine providence, or whether we are to understand by wisdom the Lord Jesus Christ in his personal presence and ministry. These are the two extremes, within which lie other more modified conceptions.

It is alleged that there is a high propriety in personifying one of Jehovah's attributes, that there is nothing in the description inconsistent with what might be predicated of an attribute, and that vv. 22, 24. are inapplicable to a person of the Trinity; inasmuch as קָנָה must have here the meaning of *create*, and not of *possess*, as in our version, and the expression *brought forth* is equivalent to being created.

There is an able disquisition in the Bibliotheca Sacra for April 1858[1] by Prof. Barrows, of Andover, U. S., in which he endeavours to prove that "the divine wisdom, that addresses men in the passages now under consideration, is not the Son of David 'according to the flesh,' but David's Lord 'according to the spirit of holiness;' not the Messiah in his simple personal presence, as 'the Word made flesh,' but the eternal Word himself, whose being and activity are not limited by time, who, both before and since his incarnation, is always present with his church, as the centre and source of her spiritual light and life, who spake first by 'Moses and the prophets,' and afterwards in his own person, as 'the man Christ Jesus,' and who, having returned to the Father's bosom whence he came, continued to speak by the lips of his apostles, and now speaks by his word and ministry 'with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven,' who is with his church always, from Abel to the trump of the archangel, and is always calling the children of men to himself." A very brief sketch only can be here given of the arguments by which Prof. Barrows supports his position.

He connects chap. i. 20—23. with viii. 1—ix. 12.; for though Bertheau and Stuart would ascribe these passages to different authors, yet Ewald rightly decides that they are from one hand. Now in chap. i. there is evidently something more than a mere attribute intended. We might conceive God's wisdom personified using the language of v. 22., but, when we proceed to vv. 23—28., "we are irresistibly led to think, not of a poetic personification, but of the personal God himself, in his awful majesty and holiness. The 'spirit,' which Wisdom promises to pour out upon those who listen to her voice, is beyond all question the Holy Spirit; to bestow

[1] No. lviii. pp. 353—381.

which is the peculiar and incommunicable prerogative of God himself." Comp. Numb. xi. 25.; 1 Sam. x. 10.; Isai. xliv. 3.

Now, passing to viii. 22—31., we cannot avoid seeing here a remarkable agreement with those passages of the New Testament which speak of our Lord's pre-existent state; so that it may well be regarded as an adumbration by the prophetic Spirit of the great "mystery of godliness." And as to the words, v. 22. יְהוָה קָנָנִי רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ, and v. 24. חוֹלָלְתִּי, they may be understood in harmony, as pointing to the "eternal generation of the Logos from the Father, in such a sense that he is himself of the same substance with the Father, and co-eternal with him." It is true that many eminent scholars and most esteemed versions translate קָנָה in the sense of *create;* and Stuart goes so far as to say that "the simple sense of *possedit*, as given by the Vulgate, *has no footing in the Hebrew.*" But Prof. Barrows shows that, out of eighty-two cases in which the word appears in the Hebrew scriptures, it is, by general acknowledgment, used in the sense of *getting* or *acquiring* seventy-six times. The remaining cases are Gen. xiv. 19, 22.; Deut. xxxii. 6.; Psal. cxxxix. 13.; Isai. i. 3., and the passage before us; and, having critically examined each of these, he says that "the conclusion to which we came, on strictly philological grounds, is that the true idea of קָנָה is *to get, possess oneself of*, then, more specifically, *to buy;* that in a few passages the idea of *present possession* is most prominent, as in the Greek *κέκτημαι*, yet never so as wholly to exclude the idea of past acquisition; and that in no instance does it signify *to create*, any more than *to bring forth;* though in some passages the manner of acquisition is shown by the context to have been that of creating, or, (in one passage at least, Gen. iv. 1.) bringing forth."[1]

Prof. Barrows examines the context in detail, and is convinced that the whole describes wisdom as an active power, and not a passive spectator. He draws attention to the remarkable similarity in the description here to what is said of the Logos in the New Testament, to whom the terms, *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*, and *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, are applied. "Is Wisdom set forth as a person, dwelling from eternity with God? The divine Word, also, 'was in the beginning with God,' as a true personality (John i. 1, 2.). He dwelt in glory with God before the foundation of the world (John xvii. 24.). Is Wisdom before all things? So also is Christ (Col. i. 17.). Is Wisdom the eldest child of God, brought forth before the existence of all created things? So also Christ is 'the only-begotten of the Father' (John i. 14.), and 'the first-born of the whole creation' (Col. i. 15.). Was Wisdom present at the formation of the earth and heavens, as God's counsellor and co-worker? The New Testament developes the idea, here contained in the germ, in all its fulness, teaching us that by the Word 'all things we made,' &c. (John i. 3.), that 'by him were all things created,' &c. (Col. i. 16, 17.). Is Wisdom the delight of God, dwelling always with him, and exulting always before him? Christ

[1] If the sense of creating be maintained, and wisdom be regarded as a personified attribute of God, surely the idea would be very incongruous—God creating one of his own attributes.

is his well-beloved Son, in whom he is well-pleased (Matt. iii. 17.), and who dwells in his bosom (John i. 18.). Did God associate with himself Wisdom as his darling child in the work of creation; so that she was present at the whole, saw the whole, understood the whole, and had a part in the whole? There is a remarkable correspondence between this and the following words of our Lord: 'The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do; for, what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that himself doeth' (John v. 19, 20.). And, finally, is Wisdom's delight with the sons of men, and has she been constantly labouring to recall them to the paths of holiness and happiness? The heart of Christ has been set on the salvation of men from the beginning. They are, in a peculiar and emphatic sense, the objects of his divine love; and from the fall of Adam to the present hour he has spoken in every communication from God to man, calling sinners to repentance and salvation."

From all this it would seem most reasonable to believe that we have something more than "poetic drapery," and that there is indeed, adumbrated by Solomon, the hypostatic person of the Logos.]

SECTION IV

ON THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

I. *Title, author, and canonical authority.*—II. *Scope and synopsis.*—III. *Observations.*

I. The title of this book in our bibles is derived from the Septuagint version, Ἐκκλησιαστής signifying a *preacher*, or one who harangues a public congregation. In Hebrew it is termed, from the initial word קֹהֶלֶת, "the Preacher;" by whom may be intended either the person assembling the people, or he who addresses them when convened. Although this book does not bear the name of Solomon, it is evident from several passages that he was the author of it. Compare i. 12, 16., ii. 4—9., and xii. 9, 10.[1] The celebrated rabbi Kimchi, however, ascribes it to the prophet Isaiah; and the talmudical writers to Hezekiah. Grotius, from some foreign expressions which he thinks are discoverable in it, conceives that it was composed by order of Zerubbabel for his son Abihud; Jahn, after some later German critics, for the same reason, thinks it was written after the Babylonish captivity; and Zirkel imagines that it

[1] Dr. Buchanan, The Book of Ecclesiastes, its Meaning and its Lessons, 1859, regards the Solomonic authorship as unquestionable. "Although his name is not expressly inscribed upon the book, even he who runs may read that name in many allusions which most unequivocally proclaim it .... in various passages he describes himself in terms, which, as face answereth to face in a glass, present the very picture of that remarkable man who stands out on the page of scripture history as at once the wisest and most splendid of Israel's kings." pp. 12, 13.

was composed about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, from some traces of the notions of the Pharisees and Sadducees which he conceives he has discovered in this book, and against which he supposes it to be directed.[1] But it is not likely that those Jewish sects would permit a work levelled against themselves to be inserted in the sacred canon; and, with regard to the foreign expressions alleged by Grotius (supposing *all* of them to be really foreign expressions, which, however, is not the case), their appearance may be accounted for by the circumstance of Solomon's having indulged in sinful intercourse "with strange women" (1 Kings xi. 1, 2.), whose language he probably acquired.

The beautiful descriptions which this book contains of the phenomena in the natural world, and their causes, of the circulation of the blood (as the late bishop Horsley thought[2]), and of the economy of the human frame, all show it to be the work of a philosopher. It is generally supposed to have been written by Solomon in his old age, after he had repented of his sinful practices, and when, having enjoyed everything that he could wish, he was fully convinced of the vanity of everything except piety towards God. The rabbinical writers inform us, and their account is corroborated by Jerome, that the Jews, who, after the captivity, collected the inspired writings into the canon, at first refused to admit this book, in consequence of some heresies and contradictions which they imagined to exist in it. But, after considering the expressions it contains towards the close, relative to the fear of God and the observation of his laws, they concluded to receive it; and its canonical authority has been recognized ever since. There can, indeed, be no doubt of its title to admission: Solomon was eminently distinguished by the illumination of the divine Spirit, and had even twice witnessed the divine presence (1 Kings iii. 5., ix. 2., xi. 9.). The tendency of the book is excellent when rightly understood; and Solomon speaks in it with great clearness of the revealed truths of a future life and of a future judgment.[3]

Bishop Lowth has classed this book among the didactic poetry of the Hebrews; but Mr. Des Voeux[4] considers it as a philosophical discourse written in a rhetorical style, and interspersed with verses, which are introduced as occasion served; whence it obtained a place among the poetical books. To this opinion bishop Lowth subsequently declared his assent.

[The Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes is denied by very many modern critics. It is nowhere, in so many words, asserted in the book itself that Solomon wrote it; but the appellation קֹהֶלֶת is used, intended, it is supposed, to indicate preaching wisdom — a personifi-

[1] The opinions of these and of other writers are satisfactorily refuted by the Rev. Mr. Holden, in his Attempt to illustrate the Book of Ecclesiastes. (8vo. London, 1822.) Preliminary Discourse, pp. v.—xxviii.

[2] Bp. Horsley, Sermons, serm. xxxix. vol. iii. pp. 189, 190. Mr. Holden has refuted this hypothesis, Ecclesiastes, pp. 173, 174.

[3] Carpzov, Introd. ad Libros Vet. Test. pars ii. pp. 222, 223.; Bp. Gray, Key, p. 292.

[4] In his Philosophical and Critical Essay on the Book of Ecclesiastes, 4to. London, 1760.

cation of that high intellectual faculty which was best realized in the gifted son of David. It is true that we find the declaration (i. 12.) "I the preacher was king over Israel in Jerusalem." But these words are taken as an argument — the verb being in the past tense — that the writer could not have been Solomon. It must, however, be replied, that no son of David (i. 1.) was king over Israel in Jerusalem except Solomon; and that other passages (i. 16., ii. 4., &c., xii. 9, 10.) tend to show that the writer wished to represent his discourse as flowing from the wise sovereign. Still an apology is considerately made for him, that perhaps he sometimes forgot he was writing anonymously. Such an evasion cannot be accepted; and the conclusion must be either that the author would intimate that he was really Solomon, or that, to embody the sentiments he wished to express, he has assumed Solomon as the speaker, somewhat after the manner of the parables of scripture, or more exactly according to the practice not unfrequent in general literature of introducing some eminent person — the Cato Major of Cicero is an example — in whose mouth the sentiments expressed would be peculiarly appropriate. Which of these suppositions is the more probable the student must be left to decide.

It is urged against the Solomonic authorship that we meet with descriptions of manners, and complaints of oppression, misgovernment, &c., which could not befit Solomon, which would, in fact, have been a satire upon his own administration. Hengstenberg very properly rejects objections of this kind. That abuses did prevail in Solomon's reign, that his own conduct was blameworthy, that consequently troubles came upon him, and that there was wide-spread discontent among his subjects, the sacred history sufficiently shows. Who shall say that Solomon in his latter days — and, if the book were by him, it must have been written towards the close of his reign — did not become sufficiently aware of the faults of his person and his government to record his experience?

Putting aside arguments of this kind as of little weight, we must see whether the style and language be such as to make it probable that the book could have been composed by Solomon, or in his age. Most critics admit a marked difference in this respect between Ecclesiastes and Proverbs. And it must be observed that the answer sometimes made to such observed variations is not applicable here. Both books are didactic: the subjects are similar: the language, if from the same pen, might be expected to be similar also.

Keil has given numerous examples of late Aramaisms, as אִלּוּ, if, vi. 6.; comp. Esth. vii. 4.; בָּטֵל, to cease, to rest, xii. 3.; Ezra iv. 24.; זוּעַ, to tremble, xii. 3.; Esth. v. 9.; Dan. v. 19.; זְמָן, time, iii. 1.; Neh. ii. 6.; Esth. ix. 27, 31.; כָּשֵׁר, to be fortunate or happy, x. 10., xi. 6.; Esth. viii. 5.; מְדִינָה, a province, ii. 8., v. 7.; פִּתְגָם, a decree, viii. 11.; Esth. i. 20.; Dan. iii. 16.; פֵּשֶׁר, interpretation, viii. 1.; Dan. ii. 5., &c.; שָׁלַט, to rule, ii. 19., v. 18.; Neh. v. 15.; Esth. ix. 1.; שִׁלְטוֹן, a ruler, viii. 4, 8.; Dan. iii. 2, 3.; תָּקַן, to be straight, i. 15., vii. 13., xii. 9.; Dan. iv. 33.; תַּקִּיף, mighty, vi. 10.; Dan. ii. 40, 42.,

iii. 33.; כְּבָר, already, long ago, i. 10., ii. 12, 16.; מַה־שֶּׁ, that which, i. 9., iii. 15. There are philosophical expressions, יֵשׁ, the existence or being of a thing, ii. 21., viii. 14.; רַעְיוֹן, רְעוּת, חֶשְׁבּוֹן, חֵלֶק, טוֹב, יִתְרוֹן, and many other abstract forms, as הוֹלֵלוֹת, madness, x. 13.; סִכְלוּת, folly, i. 17., ii. 3.; שַׁחֲרוּת, xi. 10.; שִׁפְלוּת, slothfulness, x. 18.[1]

These peculiarities seem strongly to indicate a late composition. But, on the other hand, Professor Preston, whose authority in Hebrew literature is not lightly to be set aside, observes: "the Chaldee, Arabic, and Hebrew, having all emanated from the same source, it is manifestly impossible to pronounce with certainty on a word occurring in so confessedly an ancient book as Ecclesiastes, that it belongs to either of the two former and not to the latter; because, the further we trace these dialects back, the greater will be their similarity; and, even supposing some of the words . . . to be foreign and Aramaic . . . Solomon may easily have acquired them through his constant intercourse with the neighbouring nations, or from his foreign wives; especially as this book was written late in life."[2]

It must also be admitted that expressions occur in this book which are found in Proverbs. Some will take this fact to prove an identity of authorship; while others will see only a careful study of Solomon's writings by the author of the book. Keil mentions the following: בַּעַל כָּנָף, a bird, x. 20.; Prov. i. 17.; חֹבֵק יָדַיִם, to fold the hands (a mark of laziness), iii. 5., iv. 5.; Prov. vi. 10., xxiv. 33.; the favourite word הֶבֶל, vanity, Prov. xiii. 11., xxi. 6., xxxi. 30.; מַרְפֵּא, calmness, patience, x. 4.; Prov. xiv. 30., xv. 4.; שׁוּק, a street, xii. 4, 5.; Prov. vii. 8.; Cant. iii. 2.; עַצְלָה, slothfulness, x. 18.; Prov. xix. 15.; תַּעֲנֻגוֹת, the delights of love, ii. 8.; Prov. xix. 10.; Cant. vii. 7.; the play upon the words שֵׁם and שֶׁמֶן, vii. 1.; Cant. i. 3.

It is not easy to decide upon the authorship: different minds will arrive at different conclusions. The reasons which have been given make Hengstenberg[3] and Keil[4], as well as other critics, believe that the book is not from Solomon. If this be conceded, the same proof will show that the date of its composition must be placed not earlier than the exile. De Wette, indeed, would bring it down to the Macedonian period; and he alleges many expressions as nearly resembling talmudic forms; as עִנְיָן a thing, business, i. 13., ii. 26., iv. 8., v. 13., &c.; מִן חוּץ besides, more than, ii. 25.; חוּשׁ to hasten, referred to the appetite, ii. 25., &c.[5] But this opinion is not tenable. It is fanciful to say that, as the Persian government, probably in its later administration, became oppressive, allusion is made to it; all that can fairly be supposed is that the language might place it about the time of Nehemiah or Malachi, to which prophet's book Ewald considers Ecclesiastes to bear a marked resemblance.[6]]

[1] Einleitung, § 132.

[2] קהלת, the Hebrew text and a Latin version of the Book of Solomon called Ecclesiastes, 1845, Proleg. pp. 7, 8. Comp. Kitto, Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, Eleventh Week, Seventh Day.

[3] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Ecclesiastes.

[4] Einleitung, § 132. See also Hävernick, Einleitung, § 309. III. pp. 456—464.

[5] Einleitung, § 284.

[6] See Keil, Einleitung, § 132. Comp. Stuart, Hist. of Old Test. Can. sect. v. pp. 128—130.

II. The SCOPE of this book is explicitly announced in i. 2. and xii. 13., viz. to demonstrate the vanity of all earthly objects, and to draw off men from the pursuit of them, as an *apparent* good, to the fear of God, and communion with him, as to the highest and only *permanent* good in this life, and to show that men must seek for happiness beyond the grave. We may, therefore, consider it as an inquiry into that most important and disputed question, What is the *sovereign good* of man, that which is ultimately good, and which in all its relations is conducive to the best interests of man? *What* is *that good for the sons of men, which they should do under the heaven all the days of their life* (ii. 3.)? "This is the object of the preacher's inquiry; and, after discussing various erroneous opinions, he finally determines that it consists in true wisdom. The scope of the whole argument, therefore, is the praise and recommendation of wisdom, as the supreme good to creatures responsible for their actions. In this wisdom is not included a single particle of that which is worldly and carnal, so frequently possessed by men addicted to vice, the minions of avarice, and the slaves of their passions; but that which is from above, that which is holy, spiritual, undefiled, and which, in the writings of Solomon, is but another word for religion. Guided by this clue, we can easily traverse the intricate windings and mazes in which so many commentators upon the Ecclesiastes have been lost and bewildered. By keeping steadily in view the preacher's object, to eulogize heavenly wisdom, the whole admits of an easy and natural interpretation.

"Hence he commences with the declaration that *all is vanity*[1], which is not to be understood as implying any censure upon the works of creation, for God does nothing in vain, everything being properly adapted to its end, and excellently fitted to display the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Almighty. Yet, when the things of this world are applied to improper purposes; when they are considered as the end, while they are only intended to be the means, and are rested in as the source of happiness which they were not designed to afford, vanity is discovered to be their character. . . . Nor does he so denominate all things universally and without any exception, but only all *earthly* things, as wealth, pleasure, pomp, luxury, power, and whatever is merely human and terrestrial. If these are placed in competition with divine and heavenly things, or are foolishly regarded as the means of real happiness, they become useless and unprofitable, because they are uncertain and transitory, never fully satisfying the desires of the soul, nor producing permanent felicity. . . . But, if they are pursued as the only 'portion in this life,' as constituting the happiness of beings formed for immortality, they are not estimated on right principles; and the result will be vexation and disappointment. Their vanity, then, arises from

[1] The finest commentary on this aphorism, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*, was unintentionally furnished by the late celebrated earl of Chesterfield, in one of his posthumous letters. See the passage at length in bishop Horne's works, vol. v. discourse xiii. pp. 185—187.; where the frightful picture, exhibited by a dying man of the world, is admirably improved to the edification of the reader.

the folly and baseness of men, who, in forgetfulness of eternity, are too apt to regard this world as their sole and final abode, and to expect that satisfaction from them which they cannot give. Nor are they to be condemned on this account. That they are insufficient to render man happy is itself the ordination of infinite wisdom, and, consequently, best suited to a probationary state; wisely calculated for the trial of man's virtue, and, by weaning him from too fond attachment to things on earth, to stimulate his desires and exertions after the blessedness of another life.

"In prosecuting his inquiry into the chief good, Solomon has divided his work into two parts. The first, which extends to the tenth verse of the sixth chapter, is taken up in demonstrating the vanity of all earthly conditions, occupations, and pleasures: the second part, which includes the remainder of the book, is occupied in eulogizing wisdom, and in describing its nature, its excellence, its beneficial effects. This division, indeed, is not adhered to throughout with logical accuracy. . . . But, though the methodical disposition of the writer's ideas is occasionally interrupted, his plan is still discernible; and perhaps he never wanders more from his principal object than most of the other writers in the sacred volume."

For the preceding view of the scope of this book, the author is indebted to Mr. Holden's elaborate Attempt to illustrate it.[1] The following synopsis (which is also borrowed from Mr. Holden) will give the reader a clear view of its design:—

PART I. *The vanity of all earthly conditions, occupations, and pleasures.*

1. The vanity of all earthly things (i. 2.).
2. The unprofitableness of human labour, and the transitoriness of human life (i. 3—11.).
3. The vanity of laborious inquiries into the ways and works of man (i. 12—18.).
4. Luxury and pleasure are only vanity and vexation of spirit (ii. 1—11.).
5. Though the wise excel fools, yet, as death happens to them both, human learning is but vanity (ii. 12—17.).
6. The vanity of human labour, in leaving it they know not to whom (ii. 18—23.).
7. The emptiness of sensual enjoyments (ii. 24—26.).
8. Though there is a proper time for the execution of all human purposes, yet are they useless and vain; the divine counsels, however, are immutable (iii. 1—14.).
9. The vanity of human pursuits proved from the wickedness prevailing in courts of justice, contrasted with the righteous judgment of God (iii. 15—17.).
10. Though life, considered in itself is vanity, for men die as well as beasts, yet, in the end, it will be very different with the spirit of man and that of beasts (iii. 18—22.).
11. Vanity is increased unto men by oppression (iv. 1—3.).
12. The vanity of prosperity (iv. 4.).
13. The vanity of folly, or of preferring the world to true wisdom (iv. 5, 6.).

[1] Prelim. Diss. pp. lxv., lxvi., lxviii.—lxxii.

14. The vanity of covetousness (iv. 7, 8.).
15. Though society has its advantages, yet dominion and empire are but vanity (iv. 9—16.).
16. Errors in the performance of divine worship, which render it vain and unprofitable (v. 1—7.).
17. The vanity of murmuring at injustice; for, though the oppression of the poor and the perversion of judgment greatly prevail, they do not escape the notice of the Almighty (v. 8, 9.).
18. The vanity of riches; with an admonition as to the moderate enjoyment of them (v. 10—20.).
19. The vanity of avarice (vi. 1—9.).

PART II. *The nature, excellence, and beneficial effects of wisdom or religion.*

20. Since all human designs, labours, and enjoyments are vain, it is natural to inquire, What is good for man? What is his supreme good? (vi. 10—12.) The answer is contained in the remainder of the book.
21. The praise of character and reputation (vii. 1.).
22. Affliction improves the heart, and exalts the character of the wise (vii. 2—10.).
23. The excellence of wisdom (vii. 11—14.).
24. An objection, with the answer (vii. 15—viii. 7.).
25. The evil of wickedness shows the advantage of true wisdom (viii. 8—13.).
26. An objection, with the answer (viii. 14—ix. 1.).
27. An objection, with the answer (ix. 2—x. 17.).
28. The banefulness of sloth (x. 18.).
29. The power of wealth (x. 19.).
30. An exhortation against speaking evil of dignities (x. 20.).
31. Exhortation to charity and benevolence (xi. 1—10.).
32. An exhortation to the early cultivation of religious habits (xii. 1—7.).
33. The conclusion (xii. 8—14.).[1]

[Perhaps this book will be best understood if we consider it as divided into four different discourses. The first comprehends chaps. i. ii., and exhibits in chap. i. the vanity of theoretical wisdom directed to the knowledge of things, and, chap. ii., the nothingness of practical wisdom, which aims at enjoying life; whence the result is that man, with all his striving, can attain no lasting good. The second discourse comprises chaps. iii.—v. Following the idea thrown out, ii. 21, 26., it begins with a description (iii. 1—8.) of man's entire dependence on a higher unchangeable providence, and, in reply to the question of the chief good, shows that there can be no higher (iii. 9—22.) than for a man to enjoy himself and do good; which, however (iv.), it is not easy to attain; still a man must, in the fear of God, and a conscientious fulfilment of duty, seek trustingly and contentedly to use the earthly goods entrusted to him (v.). In the third discourse (vi. 1—viii. 15.) is shown the vanity of grasping at riches (vi.); then practical wisdom is described (vii. 1—22.), and the mode of its attainment indicated in

[1] Prelim. Diss. pp. cix. cx. Mr. Des Voeux was of opinion that the author's design was to prove the immortality of the soul, or rather the necessity of another state after this life, by such arguments as may be deduced from reason and experience. But Mr. Holden has satisfactorily shown that this is *not* the primary design of the book in question; though it contains some strong proofs of this article of religious faith. See his Prelim. Diss. pp. xlvii.—lx.

spite of all the incongruities of earthly life (vii. 23—viii. 15.). The fourth discourse reaches from viii. 16. to xii. 7. It further discusses these incongruities, and lays down rules for the conduct of a happy life which may please God, and conducts to the conclusion of the whole, xii. 8—14., that God's future judgment will clear up all present mysteries and irregularities.[1] This is the great object which the book intends to develope, but which is not disclosed till worldly reasonings are shown to be insufficient. For, after each several discussion, a difficulty still remains, which has again to be taken up, till the reader's view is raised at last to that high judgment-seat before which every wrong will be redressed.

This has sometimes been misunderstood; and, because the writer argues first on lower principles, in order to prove their imperfection, he has been accused by De Wette and others, of fatalism, scepticism, epicureanism. Even Hengstenberg[2] is inclined to meet the objection against iii. 21. as if a doubt were expressed of the soul's immortality, by maintaining that the ה cannot be taken interrogatively. A more sufficient answer is that a distinct assertion here of a future life would have been premature: *that* the author reserved for his conclusion.]

III. Bishop Lowth pronounces the style of this book to be singular: its language is generally low, frequently loose and unconnected, approaching to the incorrectness of conversation; and it possesses very little poetical character, even in the composition and structure of the periods; which peculiarity, he thinks, may be accounted for from the nature of the subject. Leusden says that in his time (the close of the seventeenth century) the book of Ecclesiastes was read in the Jewish synagogues at the feast of tabernacles; because, as that feast commemorates the gladness and content with which their forefathers dwelt in tents, so this book, while it shows the vanity of all earthly things, inculcates on every one the duty of rejoicing and being content with such things as God in his providence thinks fit to bestow.

SECTION V.

ON THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

I. *Author.*—II. *Canonical authority.*—III. *Structure of the poem.*—*Its subject and scope.*—*The Song of Solomon a sublime mystical allegory.*

Few poems have excited more attention, or have found more translators and commentators, than the *Song of Songs;* but the learned are not yet agreed respecting its arrangement and design. The majority consider it as an inspired book, and certainly on the best evidence; while others affirm it to be merely a human composition: the former regard it as a sacred allegory; the latter, as a mere amatory effusion.

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 131.

[2] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Ecclesiastes

I. In addition to other divine compositions of Solomon, we are informed (1 Kings iv. 32.) that *his songs were a thousand and five*, of which the present book is supposed to be one. In the first verse it is called, by way of eminence and distinction, according to the Hebrew idiom שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים, that is, a *Song of Songs*, or, *the most beautiful Song*. Of this ancient poem the author is asserted, by the unanimous voice of antiquity, to have been Solomon; and this tradition is corroborated by many internal marks of authenticity.[1] In the very first verse it is ascribed to the Hebrew monarch by name: he is the subject of the piece, and the principal actor in the conduct of it. Allusions are made to the rich furniture of his palace (i. 5.); to the horses and chariots which he purchased of Pharaoh king of Egypt (i. 9. compared with 1 Kings x. 28, 29.); to Amminadib who was eminent for such chariots, and who married one of Solomon's daughters (vi. 12. with 1 Kings iv. 11.[2]); to his building of the temple under the figure of a palanquin or coach for his bride (iii. 9, 10.); to the materials of which it was formed. In short, all the leading circumstances in Solomon's life, in a religious point of view, appear to be either alluded to or implied in this ancient poem, and, therefore, render it probable that it was the production of some writer in his age, if it were not his own composition. From the occurrence, however, of a few Aramæan words, some later critics have imagined that this book was written in the latter years of the Jewish monarchy, not long before the captivity; but this conjecture is repelled by the internal evidences above cited in favour of Solomon; and the occasional appearance of Aramæan words will be satisfactorily accounted for when we recollect the extensive commercial intercourse that existed between Solomon and the neighbouring nations. Dr. Kennicott was of opinion that this poem is many ages later than Solomon, from the uniform insertion of the *yod* in all copies, in spelling the name of David; but this remark is not conclusive, for the name of David occurs but once (iv. 4.): and, after it had been written erroneously by a scribe in the time of Ezra, it might have been inadvertently copied by subsequent transcribers.[3]

II. If the canon of the Hebrew scriptures was settled by Ezra (which we have already seen was most probably the case), there can be no doubt but that the Song of Solomon is a sacred book; for, to use the strong language of bishop Warburton, "Ezra wrote, and we may believe acted, 'by the inspiration of the Most High,' amid the last blaze indeed, yet in the full lustre of expiring prophecy. And such a man would not have placed any book that was not sacred in the same volume with the law and the prophets."[4] In addition to this evidence, the following considerations will authorize us to infer that the Song of Solomon was, from the most early period, deemed a sacred book, and ranked with the Hagiographa or holy writings of

[1] Calmet states that some of the rabbins ascribed this poem to Isaiah; but this opinion has long since been rejected. Comm. tom. v. p. 67., Dissert. tom. ii. p. 258.

[2] [The names in these places are different.]

[3] Dr. Kennicott, Diss. i. pp. 20—22.; Hewlett's Commentary on the Song of Solomon, Supplementary Observations, *in fine*.

[4] Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse, vol. i. p. xxiii.

the Jews, and thence was received among the canonical books of the Old Testament.

A Greek translation of it is extant, which without contradiction is ascribed to the Jewish authors of the Septuagint, who flourished about two centuries before Christ, and which still forms a part of the Alexandrian version. With the same conviction of the sacred character of the work, it was rendered into Greek in the second century of the Christian era, by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Origen, who wrote early in the third century, on the authority of those learned Jews who were contemporary with him, and whom he was in the habit of consulting respecting the authority and literal import of their sacred books, inserted it in his Hexapla, and wrote some homilies upon it, explaining its mystical sense, which have in part been translated into Latin by Jerome. Further, that the ancient Jews, without exception, considered it as a divinely-inspired production, appears from the allegorical signification annexed to it in the Chaldee paraphrase. Josephus, in his answer to Apion, gives a catalogue of the Jewish books, and in the third class of such as related to moral instruction includes the Song of Songs.[1] From the Jewish synagogue this book was received into the Christian church without any doubt of its divine authority: it occurs in the catalogue of books of the Old Testament made by Melito, bishop of Sardis in Lydia, who is placed by Cave about the year 170, who travelled into Palestine on purpose to learn the number of these books, and who made the first catalogue of the Hebrew scriptures.[2] It is cited by Ignatius[3], who had been a disciple of the apostle St. John, about the beginning of the second century, as a book of authority in the church at Antioch. It is enumerated in the list of canonical books occurring in the Synopsis attributed to Athanasius, who flourished in the fourth century, and in the catalogues of Jerome and Rufinus, towards the close of the fourth century; in which also we find it cited in the Apostolical Constitutions, and also in the Apostolical Canons[4]; since which time the Song of Songs has maintained its place in the sacred canon.

But, though the Song of Songs has come down to us thus strongly recommended by the voice of antiquity, its divine authority has been questioned in modern days. Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, a bold critic, and a determined foe to allegorical interpretations, in the fourth and fifth centuries, is *said* to have spoken in disrespectful terms of this poem, as well as of the book of Job: but, as those accounts appear among the charges of his enemies, Dr. Lardner doubts the

[1] Josephus, Cont. Apion, lib. i. cap. 8. Eusebius, following the Jewish historian, makes the Song of Songs the fifteenth of the number of canonical books. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 25. [In the Mishna it is said to "pollute the hands," *i.e.* to be canonical. See, for an explanation of this phrase, Ginsburg's Song of Songs, 1857. Introd. sect. iii. p. 3. note.]

[2] Eusebius has preserved this catalogue of Melito in his Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 26.

[[3] There is a citation of Cant. i. 3, 4. in the interpolated Epistle to the Ephesians in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Gr. Lat. Par. 1624. tom. i. p. 45.; but it is not found in the shorter and more genuine letter See Patr. Apost. edi . Jacobson, 1838. tom. ii. p. 288.]

[4] Constit. Apostol. lib. vi. capp. 13, 18. tom. i. pp. 345, 351. (edit. Amst. 1724.); Canon Apostol. No. lxxvi. Ibid. p. 453. Both these productions, though pretending to be of apostolical origin, are spurious compilations of the *fourth* century. See Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. iv. pp. 320—354. 8vo., 4to. vol. ii. pp. 421--441.

accuracy of such representation.[1] In the early part of the last century, Simon and Le Clerc questioned its authenticity, but were refuted by the elder Carpzov; and, subsequently, Whiston boldly affirmed it to be a dissolute love-song, composed by Solomon when advanced in years and dissolute in practice, and that, consequently, it ought to be excluded from the canon. This preposterous notion has, with some slight modification, been adopted by several later writers; and Semler, among others, declines taking any notice of it, as a work manifestly spurious.[2] These objections, however, are sufficiently counteracted by the strong internal evidences of the authenticity of the Canticles, as well as by the uninterrupted current of Jewish and Christian antiquity.

III. That this book is a poem, all critics and expositors are agreed; though they are by no means unanimous to what class of Hebrew poetry it is to be referred. Michaelis, to whose profound researches biblical students are so deeply indebted, is of opinion that the object of this poem was simply to inculcate the divine approbation of marriage; and Mendlessohn, a learned German Jew, considers it as a representation, by Solomon's son, of a trial of skill between a shepherd and shepherdess; but the ideas of Mr. Harmer[3] appear much more rational, who, though unwilling to give it the name of an epithalamium or nuptial dialogue, considers it to be a nuptial song, which will best be explained by compositions of a similar nature in eastern countries. Signor Fava is of opinion that it is an "Epithalamic Drama," consisting of seven scenes.[4] Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, regards this song as a regular drama, which is to be explained by the consideration that the Jews were wont to celebrate their nuptials for seven days together, distinguished by peculiar solemnities. He accordingly divides it in the following manner: —

DAY 1	CHAP. i.—ii. 6.
2	ii. 7—17.
3	iii.—v. 1.
4	v. 2—vi. 9.
5	vi. 10—vii. 11.
6	vii. 12—viii. 3.
7	viii. 4—14.

Calmet[5], Bishop Percy[6], and Mr. Williams[7] agree with Bossuet. Bishop Lowth, indeed, who has devoted two lectures to an examination of this poem, adopts the opinion of Bossuet, as a very ingenious and probable conjecture upon an extremely-obscure subject. He

[1] Jortin, Remarks on Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 157. 2nd edit., p. 297. (Works, edit. 1810); Dr. Lardner, Works, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 509, 510., 4to. vol. ii. p. 528.

[2] Apparatus ad liberalem Vet. Test. Interpretationem, pp. 209—214.

[3] Outlines of a New Commentary on Solomon's Song. (8vo. London, 1768, reprinted in 1775.)

[4] La Cantica delle Cantiche, esposta ... da Angelo Fava. Milano, 1840. 8vo.

[5] Calmet, Commentaire Littéral, tom. v. pp. 68, 69., or Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 260—262.

[6] In his Song of Solomon, newly translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary and Annotations, 12mo. 1764.

[7] In The Song of Songs, which is by Solomon; a new Translation, with a Commentary and Notes, 8vo. 1801.

therefore determines it to be a *sacred pastoral drama*, though deficient in some of the essential requisites of a *regular* dramatic composition.[1] Ewald considers it to be a drama in four acts.[2]

Bauer, however, affirms this poem to be an idyl[3]: the same opinion is intimated by Jahn, who makes it consist of eight idyls[4]; but these eminent critics do not assign any reasons for their opinion. Probably they derived it from Sir William Jones, who, having compared this poem with some of the *cassides* or idyls of the Arabian poets, concludes with expressing his judgment that this song ought to be classed among the Hebrew idyls.[5]

Supported by the high authority of this distinguished scholar, Dr. Good[6], after Signor Melesegenio (a learned Italian translator of this poem), considers the Song of Songs as forming not one continued and individual poem, but a series of poems, each distinct and independent of the other. These he designates *Sacred Idyls*, and makes them to be *twelve* in number; viz.

IDYL 1	CHAP. i. 1—8.
2	i. 9—ii. 7.
3	ii. 8—17.
4	iii. 1—5.
5	iii. 6 —iv. 7.
6	iv. 8—v. 1.
7	v. 2—vi. 10.
8	vi. 11—13.
9	vii. 1—9.
10	vii. 10—viii. 4.
11	viii. 5—7.
12	viii. 8—14.

In support of this mode of arrangement, Dr. Good remarks that the Song of Solomon cannot be one connected poem, since the tran-

[1] There is, however, one circumstance in which bishop Lowth thinks the Song of Songs bears a very striking affinity to the Greek drama: the chorus of virgins seems in every respect congenial to the tragic chorus of the Greeks. Some of the learned have conjectured that Theocritus, who was contemporary with the seventy Greek translators of the scriptures, and lived with them in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was not unacquainted with the beauties of this poem, and that he has almost literally introduced some passages from it into his elegant idyls. (Compare Cant. i. 9., vi. 10. with Theoc. xviii. 30, 26.; Cant. iv. 11. with Theoc. xx. 26.; Cant. viii. 6, 7. with Theoc. xxiii. 23—26.) Prælect. xxx. *in fine*, or vol. ii. pp. 307, 308. of Dr. Gregory's translation.

[2] Das Hohelied Salomo's übersetzt mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen, und einem Anhang über der Prediger, Dr. G. H. A. Ewald. Gottingen, 1826, 8vo.

[3] Herm. Sacr. p. 386.

[4] Introd. ad Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis, pp. 506—508. Jahn divides the poem in the following manner:—

SONG 1	CHAP. i. 1—ii. 7.
2	ii. 8—iii. 5.
3	iii. 6—v. 1.
4	v. 2—vi. 9.
5	vi. 10—viii. 3.
6	viii. 4—7.
7	viii. 8—12.
8	viii. 13, 14.

[5] Poëseos Asiaticæ Commentarii, cap. iii. Works, vol. iv., or vi. p. 71. (8vo. edit.)

[6] In his Song of Songs, or Sacred Idyls, translated from the Hebrew, with Notes, 8vo. 1803. The Rev. Mr. Fry has adopted Dr. Good's arrangement of the Canticles into twelve idyls, in his translation of this book. London, 1811. 8vo.

sitions are too abrupt for the wildest flights of the oriental muse, and evidently imply a variety of openings and conclusions; while, as a regular drama, it is deficient in almost every requisite that could give it such a classification; having neither dramatic fable nor action, involution nor catastrophe, and being without beginning, middle, or end.[1] But in opposition to these strictures it may be observed that bold transitions are so much the character of eastern poetry, that this circumstance alone cannot decide against the individuality of the poem.

Further, the subject of the poem *is the same from beginning to end:* the personages introduced as speakers are the same; and, though to a modern reader the transitions in many places may seem abrupt, and the thoughts unconnected, yet the conduct of the piece is not suspended, but is carried on under a fable regularly constructed, and terminating in a conclusion interesting and unexpected.

With the eminent critics above cited we concur in considering the Song of Solomon as a series of Hebrew idyls, like the cassides of the poets of Arabia. With regard to the fair bride in whose honour this collection of exquisite poems was primarily composed, Bossuet, Calmet, Harmer[2], bishops Percy and Lowth, and a multitude of modern commentators, have supposed the object of Solomon's attachment to be the royal daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt. Dr. Good, however, contends, and we think successfully, that she was a native of Palestine, and espoused some years later: it is not easy to believe that so impassioned a composition as the Song of Songs should have resulted from a *state alliance.*

Another view has been given by an ingenious writer in Dr. Rees's New Cyclopædia, which appears to be a modification of Mr. Harmer's opinion above noticed. He regards it as a parable, in the form of a drama; in which the bride represents true religion; the royal lover the Jewish people; the younger sister the gospel dispensation. The gradual expansion of it, from its first dawn in Eden, to its meridian effulgence produced by the death and resurrection of Christ, is supposed to be portrayed in these words: "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, and serene as the starry host?" (See vi. 10.). The epilogue in chap. viii. respecting the younger brother and sister, he further conceives, demonstrates that its views terminate in the temple-service; while, at the same time, the allusion at the close to the rise of the gospel and the conversion of the Gentiles proves that the author wrote under divine inspiration. The metaphorical sense, thus capable of being put upon every part of the poem, the anonymous writer apprehends, justifies the high appellation of the Song of Songs, which has been given to it; and also accounts for its being regarded, by Jews and Christians, as a sacred composition, and for its reception first into the Jewish and then into the Christian church.[3]

[1] Good's Song of Songs. Preface, p. iv.

[2] On the supposition that Solomon married an Egyptian princess, this writer considers the Song of Solomon as a lively emblem of the Messiah's admitting the Gentiles to equal privileges with the Jews. Outlines of a new Commentary, pp. 74—84.

[3] Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, vol. vi. art. Canticles.

[Ginsburg explains the design and method of this book in the following manner. It exhibits "an example of virtue in a young woman who encountered and conquered the greatest temptations, and was eventually rewarded." An agricultural family, consisting of a widowed mother, several sons, and a daughter, lived at Shulem. The daughter, while tending her flock, met under a tree at noon a shepherd to whom she afterwards was espoused. She was invited by him one spring morning to accompany him to the field; but her brothers, to prevent the meeting, sent her to take care of the vineyards. She consoled her beloved with the assurance of her affection, appointed a meeting for the evening, and, as he did not come, went to seek for him and found him. Once when entering a garden she encountered king Solomon, who assisted by his court-ladies tried ineffectually to gain her love. Released from the king's presence, she sought an interview with the shepherd. Solomon, however, took her to his capital; but even there she contrived to see the shepherd, who had followed her, and showed how much she longed for her home. The affectionate constancy of the pair greatly moved the court-ladies who witnessed it. The king, still hoping to win her, made her large promises; but she refused his proposals, on the ground of her affections being engaged; he was therefore obliged to dismiss her; and she in company with the shepherd returned to her home, renewing their vows under the tree where they first met. The damsel's brothers then greatly rewarded her for her virtuous constancy.[1]

In accordance with this view, Mr. Ginsburg divides the Song into five sections, marked, he supposes, by certain recurring expressions.

(1.) i. 2—ii. 7. The Shulamite is in the royal tent, expressing her desire for the shepherd, and unmoved by the king's advances.

(2.) ii. 8—iii. 5. She relates how she had been set to keep the vineyards, to account for the darkness of her complexion, and narrates some circumstances evincing her attachment, which she charges the court-ladies not to disturb.

(3.) iii. 6—v. 1. The king removes the damsel to the metropolis; but there she has an interview with her beloved, and their expressions of affection melt the court-ladies.

(4.) v. 2—viii. 4. The shepherdess describes her shepherd, and is anxious to seek him. The king then praises her beauty, and makes her splendid offers, which she refuses.

(5.) viii. 5—14. She is permitted to quit the court, returns, and receives the reward of virtue.[2]

If this be a correct view of the Song, it would seem improbable that Solomon was the writer. He would not have published his own disappointment, and there is weight in Hitzig's assertion that the authorship involves a psychological impossibility. But surely there are difficulties in the way of such an interpretation. It is not clear why the supposed brothers of the shepherdess should at first disapprove of her affection for the shepherd, which they are represented

[1] The Song of Songs, translated, with a Commentary, 1857, Introd. sect. iii. pp. 4—6.
[2] Ibid., pp. 7—11.

as ultimately rewarding. Neither is it consistent, if she was swarthy and sun-burnt (i. 5, 6.), that she should so soon be called, and by court-ladies too, the "fairest among women" (i. 8., v. 9., vi. 1.), or that Solomon should depict her "fair as the moon, clear as the sun" (vi. 10.). Also it can hardly be conceived that the shepherd would be able to have an interview with her, when she was carried into the king's palace in the capital. Further, there is some incongruity in the address, vii. 1. (Heb. 2.): "How beautiful are thy feet with shoes, O prince's daughter!" It is true that Mr. Ginsburg translates "O noble maiden," and applies בַּת־נָדִיב to the high qualities of the mind rather than to rank; but the propriety of this is questionable. The more usual signification of the words is "the daughter of a ruler;" and it is little likely that a king would address a low-born maiden in terms which, if not intended to describe nobility of descent, *might* be so interpreted, and thus appear sarcastic. Peculiar care would have been taken to avoid equivocal language. Difficulties of this kind are not easily removed.]

It has been a question in all ages, whether the literal and obvious meaning of the Song of Solomon be the whole that was ever intended by the royal bard; or whether it does not, at the same time, afford the veil of a sublime and mystical allegory delineating the bridal union between Jehovah and his pure and uncorrupted church. Michaelis and most of the modern critics on the continent advocate the former opinion; in which they are followed by some eminent critics in our own country.

Among those who hold it to be allegorical, there is also much disagreement; some conceiving it to be no more than a simple allegory; while bishop Lowth and others consider it as a mystical allegory[1], and are of opinion that under the figure of a marriage is typified the intimate connection between God and his church, of which a more concise model was furnished in the forty-fifth psalm.

This figure is not in the least productive of obscurity: the nature of it is better understood than that of most others; and, although it is exhibited in a variety of lights, it constantly preserves its native perspicuity. A peculiar people, of the posterity of Abraham, was selected by God from among the nations; and he ratified his choice by a solemn covenant. This covenant was founded upon reciprocal conditions; on the one part, love, protection, and support; on the other, faith, obedience, and worship pure and devout. This is that conjugal union between God and his church, that solemn compact so frequently celebrated by almost all the sacred writers under this image. It is, indeed, a remarkable instance of that species of metaphor which Aristotle calls analogical[2]; that is when, in a proposition consisting of four ideas, the first bears the same relation to the second as the third does to the fourth, and the corresponding words may occasionally change their places without any injury to the sense. Thus, in this form of expression, God is supposed to bear exactly the same relation to the church as a husband to a wife; God is

[1] On the nature of this species of allegory, see before, pp. 338, 339.
[2] Poet. cap. xxii. and Rhet. iii. 3, 10.

represented as the spouse of the church, and the church is betrothed to God. Thus the piety of the people, their impiety, their idolatry, and rejection, stand in the same relation with respect to the sacred covenant, as chastity, modesty, immodesty, adultery, divorce, with respect to the marriage-contract. Hence the word adultery (or whoredom) is commonly used to denote idolatrous worship. Of this mode of speaking, the sacred writers furnish us with abundance of examples. Comp. Isai. liv. 5, 6., lxii. 5.; Jer. ii. 2., iii. 1, &c.; Ezek. xvi., xvii.

Neither ought we to forget that the writers of the New Testament have freely admitted the same image in the same allegorical sense with their predecessors, and have finally consecrated it by their authority. Thus John the Baptist represents Christ as the bridegroom; himself, as his friend or bridesman; and the church as his spouse [1] (John iii. 28.). Our Lord also adopts the title of Bridegroom in Matt. ix. 15.: comp. Matt. xxv. 1. "The Lamb's wife" also, the church [2], is represented as a "bride adorned for her husband" (Rev. xxi. 2—9.), who ought to be "without spot" (Eph. v. 27.); as the Shulamite is represented to be (Song iv. 7.). And, surely, if this most beautiful pastoral poem had not been understood in a spiritual sense, it would not have been admitted into the sacred canon by the ancient Jewish church.[3] Nor is this inconsistent with the opinions of the ancient Jews, who, as well as St. Paul and other Christian writers, found the Messiah almost everywhere in the scriptures. Indeed, they always believed their economy to be peculiarly under the protection of the Messiah, in some one or other of his characters, as the Great Angel of the covenant, the King of Israel, or the Son of God. In particular, they applied to him Psal. xlv. (which, of all scripture, most resembles the Song of Songs); for the Chaldee paraphrase on the second verse expressly says, "Thy fairness, *O King Messiah*, exceedeth the sons of men." In the same manner they applied the seventy-second, hundred and tenth, and various other psalms, as well as many passages of the prophets.

Bishop Lowth restricts this sublime allegory to the universal church, and conceives that it has no reference whatever to the spiritual state of individuals; than which he conceives nothing can be more inconsistent with the nature and ground-work of the allegory itself, as well as with the general practice of the Hebrew poets. With regard to the psalms, bishop Horne (we think) has demonstrated their spiritual application not only to the church generally,

[1] See Bishop Horsley, Sermons, serm. v. vol. i. p. 73. 2nd edit.

[2] Commentators in communion with the Romish church, not content with considering the Song of Solomon as adumbrating the union of Christ and his church, extend it also to the union of Christ with the Virgin Mary. Such is the notion of the elegant Italian translator, Melesigenio. Good's Song of Solomon, Pref. pp. xxxiv. xxxv. In the short preface prefixed to this book in the Dublin edition of the Anglo-Romish Bible (1825, page 596.) it is affirmed that "the spouse of Christ is the church, more especially as to the happiest part of it, viz. *perfect* souls, every one of which is his beloved; but, above all others, the immaculate and ever blessed *virgin-mother!!*"

[3] Dr. Hales, Analysis, vol. ii. p. 400., or p. 366. edit. 1830.

but also to believers who compose the individual members of that church; and that the Song of Solomon is to be legitimately and *soberly* interpreted in the same way, it is apprehended, will satisfactorily appear from the following additional observations:—

The church is to be considered as composed of individual believers; and that there is an analogy between the conduct of God towards his church in general, and his conduct towards individuals, is plainly indicated in many parts of the New Testament. Thus, sometimes the sacred writers compare the whole body of believers to a temple, in which they form living stones, being built on the only foundation, Christ Jesus: at other times, they consider individual believers as temples of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.; Eph. ii. 20—22.). So, also, they sometimes speak of the church as one, the bride the Lamb's wife; and at other times, of distinct churches or individual believers, as severally married to the Lord (Rev. xxi. 9.; 2 Cor. xi. 2.). In this manner, St. Paul allegorizes the history of Hagar and her mistress, referring to the two dispensations, while at the same time he makes a practical application of it to the consciences of the Galatians (Gal. iv. 22—31.).

Further, we consider the allegory as designed for the purposes of piety and devotion, which cannot be so well answered without such an application. Though this argument may, at first view, appear weak, it will be strengthened when we recollect the doctrine of the New Testament, that "whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning;" and that their grand design is "to make us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus." This shows both the propriety and importance of a particular application of scriptural truths to the circumstances and experience of individuals. Religion is a personal thing; and that professor is a hypocrite, the feelings of whose heart are not influenced by it, as well as the actions of his life.[1]

The fact is, that much of the language of this poem has been misunderstood by expositors; some of whom, not entering into the spirit and meaning of oriental poesy, have caused particular passages to be considered as coarse and indelicate, which, in the original, are altoge-

[1] Williams's translation of the Song of Songs, pp. 113—115. In further confirmation of the preceding view of the spiritual design of this sacred oriental poem, we may observe that this allegoric mode of describing the sacred union between mankind at large, or an individual and pious soul, and the great Creator, is common to almost all eastern poets from the earliest down to the present age. Without such an esoteric or spiritual interpretation, it is impossible to understand many passages of the Persian poets Sadi and Hafiz; and the Turkish commentators on them have uniformly thus interpreted them; though in many instances they have pursued their mystic meaning to an undue length. A similar emblematic mysticism is equally conspicuous in the bards of India; and the Vedantis or Hindoo commentators have in like manner attributed a double, that is, a literal and spiritual meaning to their compositions. This is particularly the case with the Gitágovindá, or Songs of Jayadéva, the subject of which is the loves of Chrishna and Radha, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the soul of man; and the style and imagery of which, like those of the royal Hebrew poet, are in the highest degree flowery and amatory. Good's Song of Songs, pp. xx.—xxii.; Kistemaker, Canticum Canticorum illust. ex Hierographia Orientalium Monast., pp. 23—40. Sir William Jones has given several examples of the mystical or allegorical language of the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz, in his Dissertation on the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindoos. Works, vol. iv. p. 227. 8vo.

gether the reverse; while others (as the learned Dr. Gill for instance) have so confounded the literal and allegorical senses, as to give neither distinctly or completely; at the same time, they have applied the figures to such a variety of objects, as to leave the reader still to seek the right, and, by their minute dissection of the allegory, they have not only destroyed its consistency and beauty, but have also exposed the poem to the unmerited ridicule of profane minds.[1] "But the grand outlines, *soberly interpreted*, in the obvious meaning of the allegory, so accord with the affections and experience of the lively Christian, that he will hardly ever read and meditate upon them, in a spirit of humble devotion, without feeling a conviction that no other poem of the same kind, extant in the world, could, without most manifest violence, be so explained as to describe the state of his heart at different times, and to excite admiring, adoring, grateful love to God our Saviour, as this does."[2]

With regard to the style, says bishop Lowth, this poem is of the pastoral kind, since the two principal personages are represented in the character of shepherds. The circumstance is by no means incongruous to the manners of the Hebrews, whose principal occupation consisted in the care of cattle (Gen. xlvi. 32—34.); nor did they consider this employment as beneath the dignity of the highest characters. Least of all, could it be supposed to be inconsistent with the character of Solomon, whose father was raised from the sheep-fold to the throne of Israel. In this poem the pastoral life is adorned with all the choicest colouring of language, with all the elegance and variety of the most select imagery.[3]

[The great question with regard to the Song of Solomon is whether it be human or spiritual love that it is intended to describe, whether, in point of fact, it have a literal or a spiritual meaning. Mr. Ginsburg has given, at considerable length, a history of the modes in which this book has been expounded. He examines the views of both Jewish and Christian writers, and considers, though certainly some men of great renown still regard the song as an allegory, yet that the literal view is now more generally entertained.[4] Dr. Stowe is one of those who maintain the spiritual[5]; and his arguments have been adopted by Dr. Kitto.[6] The following considerations are relied on:—

[1] The chief error of all the translators of this book, Dr. Good observes with great truth, "results from their having given *verbal* renderings of the Hebrew terms and idioms, which ought merely to have been translated *equivalently*; a method by which any language in the world, when interpreted into another, may not only occasionally convey a meaning altogether different from what the author intended, but convert a term or phrase of perfect purity and delicacy, in its original import, into one altogether indelicate and unchaste." Song of Songs, p. xxvi. Dr. Good illustrates this remark by some well-chosen examples. Though in his very elegant and delicate version he adheres solely to the literal sense, yet he decidedly expresses himself (p. xviii.) in favour of the mystical meaning of the poem.

[2] Scott, Pref. to Sol. Song.

[3] Comp. Bossuet, Pref. in Cant. Canticor., Œuvres, tom. i. p. 467. 4to edit.

[4] The Song of Songs, Introd. sect. v. pp. 20—102.

[5] In the American Biblical Repository, April, 1847, reprinted in the Journal of Sacred Literature, Jan. 1852. vol. i. pp. 320, &c.

[6] Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, Thirteenth Week, First Day.

"1. The names of the two principal characters, namely, Shelomoh and Shulamith, are, in the original, quite as significant as John Bunyan's Christian and Christiana, Obstinate and Pliable, Faithful and Hopeful, &c.

"2. The sudden changes from the singular to the plural number, in the part of the dialogue sustained by Shulamith, indicate that her name is to be taken in a collective sense. 'Draw *me*: *we* will run after thee.' 'The king hath brought *me* into his chambers: *we* will be glad,' &c., i. 4.; and many other places.

"3. Shulamith is placed in situations and made to utter expressions which, if literally understood, are so entirely abhorrent to oriental manners, that no sane writer, certainly no writer so skilful as the author of this poem shows himself to be, would ever put (them) into a literal love-song; though they are all very beautiful and appropriate when understood allegorically. Such are iii. 1—4., v. 7., viii. 1, 2. Such scenes and expressions are not uncommon in the allegorical poetry of the East, but in their literal amatory songs they can never occur. Literally understood, they would doom their heroines to everlasting infamy; and certainly no poet ever thus treats his favourites.

"4. The entire absence of everything like jealousy, in situations where that passion must appear in a literal love-song, is proof of the allegorical character of the piece. See i. 4., v. 1., vi. 8, 9.

"5. The dreamy, and fanciful, and even impossible character of many of the scenes, shows that they cannot be understood literally. Chap. ii. 14—16., Shulamith is in the cleft of the rocks, in the concealments of the precipices; and Shelomoh wishes to see her and to hear her speak. He is in the garden at night; and she tells him to catch the jackals that are destroying the vines. She sees him feeding his flocks in a distant field of anemones. She sees him beyond the mountains which separate them, and calls upon him to leap over them like the gazelle and the fleeting fawn, to rejoin her at evening. All these things occur together at the same time and place. Chap. iv. 8., Shelomoh calls upon Shulamith to go with him to the snowy peaks of Lebanon and Hermon, among the lions' dens and the leopards' lairs, and enjoy the fine prospect over the plains of Damascus. Numerous impossibilities of this kind will occur to every intelligent reader of the poem."

To the objection taken from the difficulty and variety of the allegorical interpretation, Dr. Stowe rejoins that "this objection applies with much greater force to the literal than to the allegorical method. Almost all the allegorical interpretations, following the analogy of the bible and oriental usage, proceed on one and the same idea, namely, the mutual love between God and his chosen people; while the literal expositions, having neither guide nor limit, neither way-mark nor boundary, are almost infinitely diversified, and scarcely any two alike."

To the alleged uselessness of the allegory, he rejoins that to the oriental mind such allegories are in the highest degree instructive and pleasurable; and that seven-eighths of the persons that have lived

in the world have been orientals, while one-half are so now. He maintains, also, that to very many states of the occidental mind such an allegory is not unfitted, and instances theologians who have had great delight in the spiritual interpretation of the Song.

Mr. Ginsburg urges the following arguments against the spiritual interpretation:—

"1. In every allegory, or parable, employed in the scripture, or in any good human composition, something is wrought into its texture to indicate most unmistakably its allegorical design, that under the garb of an immediate representation is conveyed one more remote." He produces examples of this from scripture, and says: "As there is not the slightest intimation in the whole of this lengthy poem that it is designed to be allegorical, we are unwarranted to assume it."

"2. The total silence of our Lord and his apostles respecting this book is against its allegorical interpretation."

"3. Is Solomon the man from whom a production of such pre-eminent spirituality and evangelical truth could have been reasonably expected? . . . We have not only to suppose Solomon to have been more spiritually-minded than any under the Jewish economy, but to have stood upon a level with the most enlightened and Christ-loving under the present dispensation, in order to write in such a strain. Where is any such qualification in Solomon even remotely intimated in any part of scripture?"

"4. For the same reason we cannot conceive that any other writer would represent the Messiah as symbolized by Solomon."

"5. In the allegorical interpretation, language is attributed to Christ inconsistent with his dignity and purity:" vii. 2, 3, 7, 8.

"6. The fact that *three* individuals are the principal persons represented in this Song, and not *two*, is subversive of the allegorical theory."[1]

It cannot be denied that there is great weight in several of these arguments. And, if it be considered as proved that three principal persons are indicated, and that Solomon's love is rejected, the spiritual interpretation can hardly be maintained. But many eminent critics do not distinguish three persons; and, if Solomon was to be disappointed, it is not easy to see why the damsel's name was made Shulamith.[2] It is little more than a presumption to speak of a family living at Shulem, a place only found by supposing it to be identical with Shunem.

Much importance also attaches to the judgment of those best acquainted with oriental customs. Now, when such men as Mr. Lane, Major Scott Waring, and Dr. Kitto, who have resided in the East, and are masters of eastern literature, and familiar with eastern habits and feelings, produce poems of a similar character, and tell us that they are understood to have a mystical meaning, and that no oriental doubts of the allegorical intention of Solomon's Song, such opinions are not to be lightly set aside. And it is a curious fact that those

[1] The Song of Songs, Introd. sect. vi. pp. 119, &c.

[2] It is true that the word has the article; and Mr. Ginsburg contends that the feminine of שְׁלֹמֹה would be שְׁלֹמִית. See 1 Chron. iii. 19.

who formed the canon are supposed, even by some who deny the spiritual interpretation, to have believed it, contrary to the purpose of the writer.[1] Surely this is to throw grave doubts on the authority of the canon. Books were not received therein by any fancy of the men that collected them; but because they were inspired by God, because they had always been so acknowledged, and because the church is "a witness and a keeper of holy writ," not to decide of herself, but to express her acknowledgment of what God has decided. It is not likely that the purport of a book could have been mistaken.

It is necessary to observe, that a proper examination of the Song proves that some of the objections urged against its descriptions are baseless. Dr. Stowe skilfully shows that the passage in the fifth chapter (10—16.), which is usually taken to describe the unclothed person, has really reference to the dress. "Those parts of the person which custom exposes to view are indeed described; but, as to those parts which custom conceals, it is the dress, and not the skin, which is intended. For example, 'His head is as the most fine gold; and his hair is curled, and black as the raven.' What is this but the turban, gold-coloured or ornamented with gold, and the raven-black ringlets appearing below it? How else could his head be yellow and his hair black? . . . Again, in verse 14. 'His belly is as bright ivory girded with sapphires.' How admirably this corresponds with the snow-white robe, and girdle set full of jewels, as we see it in Sir Robert Ker Porter's portrait of the late king of Persia! But what is there, I pray you, in the unclothed body that looks like a girdle of sapphires?" This same principle will apply to the description in the seventh chapter; with regard to which Dr. Kitto says, "There can be no impropriety in describing those parts of the person which are always exposed to view, as the face, hands, &c. Now all the monuments and pictures of ancient Egypt show us that the ancient oriental ladies dressed so as to leave the busts fully open to view; and of course there could then be no impropriety in alluding to or describing that part of the person. It may be added that this is the custom of modern oriental as well as of ancient oriental dress; and we have ourselves seen women who would sooner die than allow their faces to be viewed by strangers, and sooner be flayed alive than be seen with the top of the head uncovered, who would at the same time be perfectly indifferent as to a display of a part of their persons which is in Europe more carefully veiled."[2]

On the whole subject it is very difficult to come to a conclusion. Difficulties beset both hypotheses; and we can hardly expect that they will ever be entirely cleared. Either opinion taken up should be embraced with caution, and maintained with modesty. And, if the reasons for an allegorical interpretation appear (as they do to the present writer) the more weighty, let not those with whom they do not equally weigh be reproached as if their judgment was biassed by

[1] The subject is discussed at large in Hävernick, Einleitung, §§ 311—313. III. pp. 474—514. See also Keil, Einleitung, § 127. pp. 424—428. The allegorical interpretation is here maintained.

[2] Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series, Thirteenth Week, Sixth Day.

unworthy considerations. Everything relating to the holy book, doubtless, is of momentous interest; but this is not a matter of that vital consequence which belongs to some topics.

With regard to the author and the time when this book was written, the question seems to be whether Solomon composed it himself, or whether some one shortly after the time of that monarch. For the best critics now agree that the Song is not of late date. The Aramaisms which have been noted in it are easily explained by its poetic character; and the descriptions of the state of things in Solomon's day are so vivid, that they cannot be supposed to proceed from any but a contemporary. It has been imagined, therefore, that the writer lived a short time after Solomon. But most of the reasons for denying the authorship to the king himself are weak. Thus we are told that the inscription is not genuine, שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁלֹמֹה, because the author never uses אֲשֶׁר, but invariably שֶׁ, and that he would not have called his own composition "The Song of Songs," that is, an excellent song. Further, he speaks of David (iv. 4.) as if he were not his father. One may fairly ask, how the critics imagine, the relationship pre-supposed, that the writer would have spoken of David. Moreover the words כֶּרֶם הָיָה לִשְׁלֹמֹה, viii. 11., are said to prove that the writer was not Solomon's contemporary. But it is forgotten that these words are put into the mouth of the Shulamite, and that, if it is incongruous for a contemporary to speak of Solomon's vineyard as a thing that was, it must be at least as incongruous for the Shulamite, just fresh from Solomon's palace, to use such an expression. The most exquisite bit of criticism, however, is that which alleges as a reason why the writer was not Solomon, was not a resident in Judah at all, but belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, that in vi. 4. he names Tirzah before Jerusalem.[1] Such arguments serve merely to bring criticism into contempt.

It is readily admitted, as remarked before, that, if the subject be proved to be the rejection of Solomon's love, he is not likely to have himself written the book. On this point also, good and wise men will differ.[2]]

The Chaldee paraphrase of this book is a long and tiresome application of it throughout to the circumstances of the history of the Jews. The Greek version of it is tolerably exact; and Bos, in the Frankfort edition of the Septuagint (1709), ascribes it to Symmachus.

[1] See Hitzig, Das Hoheslied erklärt, 1855. p. 77.

[2] Keil decidedly maintains the Solomonic authorship. See Einleitung, § 126. pp. 422—424.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 310. III. pp. 465—474.

CHAP. IV.

ON THE PROPHETS.

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROPHETS AND THEIR WRITINGS.

I. *The prophetical books, why so called.*—II. *Different kinds of prophets mentioned in the scriptures.*—III. *Situation of the prophets, and their manner of living.*—IV. *Mosaic statutes concerning prophets.*—*Evidences of a divine mission.*—V. *Qualifications of the prophets.*—VI. *Nature of the prophetic inspiration.*—VII. *Antiquity and succession of the prophets.*—VIII. *Collection of their writings, and mode of announcing their predictions.*—IX. *Number and order of the prophetic books.*

I. We now enter on the fourth or prophetical part of the Old Testament, according to the division which is generally adopted, but which forms the second division, according to the Jewish classification of the sacred volume. This portion of the scriptures is termed *prophetical*, because it chiefly consists of predictions; though historical passages are interspersed; as there also are many predictions scattered through the more strictly historical books. But these books also contain very many passages which relate to other subjects, such as the nature and attributes of God; the religious and moral duties of man; reproofs of idolatry and other sins; exhortations to the practice of true religion and virtue; together with warnings respecting the political state of the country, and the administration of affairs, which in the theocracy were sent to the kings and princes of the Hebrews by the prophets as ambassadors of their supreme monarch, Jehovah. The authors of these books are, by way of eminence, termed *Prophets*, that is, divinely-inspired persons, who were raised up among the Israelites to be the ministers of God's dispensations. Jehovah, *at sundry times and in divers manners, spake unto the fathers by the prophets. For prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost* (Heb. i. 1.; 2 Pet. i. 21.).[1]

II. To these messengers of heaven frequent reference is made in various parts of the sacred writings. The term *prophet*, indeed, is of general signification. It was applied by the heathens to all persons who were supposed to be conversant with divine things; and, in conformity to this notion, St. Paul, in his epistle to Titus (i. 12.), when citing a passage from a profane poet, calls him a prophet, because the heathens supposed their poets to be inspired. In the historical books of the Old Testament we meet with frequent notice of the *schools of the prophets*, that is, of seminaries, where religious truths, or the divine laws, were particularly taught[2]; for the pupils in these

[1] [See the relation of prophecy to the law noticed before, p. 395. Comp. Davison, Discourses on Prophecy, disc. iv. part ii. pp. 119—126.]

[2] See an account of these schools in Vol. III. pp. 517, 518.

schools were not, strictly speaking, all of them prophets; though God bestowed upon *some* of them the spirit of prophecy, or of predicting future events (2 Kings ii. 3.). Further, in the Old Testament, the prophets are spoken of, as *holy men of God*, as *seers*, and as *prophets*, in the most exalted sense of the term. The first denomination seems to have been sometimes applied to men of exemplary piety, who assiduously studied the divine law, as communicated by their legislator Moses; who firmly believed in the predictions of good and evil that should attend the Israelites according to the tenor of their conduct; who were observant of the character of the times in which they lived; and who might be able to discern the natural and inevitable consequences of particular actions, without the necessity of immediate inspiration. These men of God, however, received peculiar communications upon certain emergencies. They were divinely appointed to execute some important commissions, and to predict events which were not in the ordinary course of things, but far beyond the reach of human penetration. It was this which sometimes gave them the title of seers. The higher class of prophets were those who foretold important events that were to take place at distant periods, which no human sagacity could foresee, and which were most opposite to the natural conceptions or general expectations of mankind; as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the minor prophets.[1]

[The names נָבִיא, חֹזֶה, רֹאֶה, require to be distinguished. The word נָבִיא may be considered to signify *a speaker* (comp. Exod. iv. 16., vii. 1.). By some, however, the idea of *gushing out*, after the analogy of נָבַע, is attributed to it[2]; and so words flow forth (Psal. lxxviii. 2.). It is held by others to be a passive form from the Arabic root, نَبَأَ, and therefore *one taught* (of God), *divinely inspired* (to speak).[3] This was an official title. It was applied to Abraham (Gen. xx. 7.), who united the priestly, the prophetical, and the kingly offices in himself. The name, it would seem, though given to some individuals, as Moses, Miriam, and Deborah, afterwards fell into disuse; רֹאֶה, *the seer* (1 Sam. ix. 9.), being substituted: from Samuel, however, a regular line of prophets having been formed, the appellation given in the law was restored. The word חֹזֶה signifies also a *seer*, and has been thought only a more poetical title, identical in meaning with רֹאֶה. But Dr. Lee has pointed out a distinction, see 1 Sam. xxviii. 6., Isai. xxix. 10., and supposes that the *chozeh* was the general name of one to whom revelations were *occasionally* made: "The titles Roeh and Nabi equally point out the *official* prophet (the former term being merely the archaic and popular designation of an *office* which had been defined from the very first by Moses); while by Chozeh are indicated those individuals who occasionally, or for some specific purpose, were chosen to convey

[1] Dr. Cogan, Theological Disquisitions, pp. 275, &c.; Dr. Gregory Sharpe, Second Argument in Defence of Christianity from Prophecy, pp. 1—20.
[2] De Wette, Einleitung, § 202.
[3] Köster, Die Proph. des Alt. und Neu. Test. pp. 182, 183.

a communication from God, and who possessed the *prophetic gift*, but not the *prophetic office:* e. g. the authors of sacred poetry, such as Asaph (2 Chron. xxix. 30.) are so called. And hence the Nabi might be styled Chozeh, but not conversely." [1]]

III. The prophets, according to Augustine, were the philosophers, divines, instructors, and guides of the Hebrews in piety and virtue.[2] These holy men were the bulwarks of religion against the impiety of princes, the wickedness of individuals, and every kind of immorality. Their lives, persons, and discourses were alike instructive and prophetical. Raised up by God to be witnesses of his presence, and living monuments of his will, the events that frequently happened to them were predictions of what was about to befall the Hebrew nation. Although the prophets possessed great authority in Israel, and were highly esteemed by pious sovereigns, who undertook no important affairs without consulting them, yet their way of life was exceedingly laborious, and they were very poor, and greatly exposed to persecution and ill treatment. They generally lived retired in some country-place, and in colleges or communities, where they and their disciples were employed in prayer, in manual labour, and in study. Their labour, however, was not such as required intense application, or was inconsistent with that freedom from secular cares which their office required. Thus, Elisha quitted his plough, when Elijah called him to the prophetic office (1 Kings xix. 19, 20.); and Amos (vii. 14.) tells us that he *was no prophet, neither a prophet's son, but a herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit.* The pupils or sons of the prophets, who lived under the direction of Elijah and Elisha, erected their own dwellings, for which they cut down the timber that was requisite (2 Kings vi. 1—4.).

The apparel of the prophets was in unison with the simplicity of their private life. Elijah was clothed with skins, and wore a leather girdle round his loins (2 Kings i. 8.). Isaiah wore sackcloth (xx. 2.); which was the ordinary habit of the prophets. Zechariah, speaking of the false prophets who imitated externally the true prophets of the Lord, says that they should not wear a *rough garment* (Heb. *a garment of hair*) to deceive (Zech. xiii. 4.). Their poverty was conspicuous in their whole life. The presents they received were only bread, fruits, and honey; and the first-fruits of the earth were given them, as being persons who possessed nothing themselves (2 Kings iv. 42.). The woman of Shunem, who entertained Elisha, put into the prophet's chamber only what was plain and absolutely necessary (2 Kings iv. 10.). The same prophet refused the costly presents of Naaman (2 Kings v. 16.), and pronounced a severe sentence upon his servant Gehazi, who had clandestinely obtained a part of them (20—27.). Their frugality appears throughout their history; for instance, the wild gourds, which one of the prophets ordered to be prepared for his disciples (2 Kings iv. 38—41.).[3] The angel gave

[1] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture (2nd edit.), Append. K. p. 544.

[2] Ipsi eis erant philosophi, hoc est, amatores sapientiæ, ipsi sapientes, ipsi theologi, ipsi prophetæ, ipsi doctores probitatis atque pietatis. De Civitate Dei, lib. xviii. cap. xli. 2. tom. vii. col 524 (edit. Bened.)

[[3] This was in a time of famine.]

Elijah only bread and water for a long journey (1 Kings xix. 6—8); and Obadiah, the pious governor of Ahab's household, gave the same food to the prophets whose lives he saved in a cave (1 Kings xviii. 4, 13.). Their recluse abstemious mode of living, and mean apparel, sometimes exposed them to contempt among the gay and courtly: it was, probably, the singular dress and appearance of Elisha which occasioned the impious scoffs of the young men at Bethel (2 Kings ii. 23.). But, in general, the prophets were regarded with high esteem and veneration by the wise and good, and even by persons of the first rank in the state (1 Kings xviii. 7.). It does not appear that the prophets were bound by any vow of celibacy; for Samuel had children; and the scriptures mention the wives of Isaiah (viii. 3.) and Hosea (i. 2.). But the prophets maintained a very guarded intercourse with the female sex; as is evident in the conduct of Elisha towards his benevolent hostess (2 Kings iv. 27.).

But, however they might be respected by pious monarchs, the prophets were frequently exposed to cruel treatment from wicked princes, whose impiety they reprehended, and to insults and jeers from the people, whose immoral practices they censured and condemned; and many of them were even put to violent deaths (Heb. xi. 35—38.). Yet, amid all these persecutions and this injurious treatment, they despised dangers, torments, and death, and with wonderful intrepidity attacked whatever was contrary to the law and worship of Jehovah, contemning secular honours, riches, and favours, with astonishing disinterestedness.[1]

[Some critics are inclined to exaggerate the poverty and asceticism of the prophets. They cull passages descriptive of privations under special circumstances, as of famine or persecution, and view these as indicating their ordinary mode of life. Hengstenberg is not free from this fault.[2] It was to be expected that, not merely as prophets but as men of faith, who lived above the world and looked for a better home, they would set examples of simplicity and purity of life. But there is no proof that they voluntarily deprived themselves of comforts. Thus Elijah had his attendant even in his hasty flight from Jezreel to Beersheba (1 Kings xix. 3.). And, even under an ungodly king, Elisha appears to have had powerful influence at court (2 Kings iv. 13). Titles, too, of high respect were given them (1 Kings xviii. 7, 13; 2 Kings ii. 19.). If, as Hengstenberg imagines, the offerings, which by the Mosaic law were to be the portion of the Levites, were brought by the pious of the kingdom of Israel to the schools of the prophets, they must have been amply endowed. But this opinion is questionable. The passage on which Hengstenberg relies for proof of it (2 Kings iv. 42.) is by no means decisive.]

IV. "Prophecy being necessary in the early ages for the preservation of the knowledge of God, in the Hebrew commonwealth prophets were not merely tolerated, as some have supposed, but they

[1] Calmet, Preface Générale sur les Prophètes, Art. 3. sur la Manière de Vie des Prophètes, &c. Comm. tom. v. pp. 560, 561., Dissert. tom. ii. pp. 308—311.
[2] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Prophecy

were also promised, lest the Hebrews should have recourse to soothsayers, who were idolaters, and would seduce them into idolatry (Deut. xviii. 9—22.). But, that advantage might not be taken of this institution by false prophets, Moses decreed that impostors should suffer capital punishment, and furnished the judges with two distinguishing marks by which a false prophet might be known.

"1. The prophet, who should endeavour to introduce the worship of other gods beside Jehovah, was to be considered as an impostor, and, as a rebel against their King, to be capitally punished (Deut. xiii. 1—5.).

"2. Whoever should predict anything which was not accomplished by the event, although he should do it in the name of Jehovah, was to be condemned to death, as an impostor who had presumed to counterfeit the seal of their King (Deut. xviii. 20—22.). Hence it is plain that the prophets were not sagacious men, whose perspicacity enabled them to foresee future events; for an error committed by such, and unaccompanied by guilt, would never have received from Moses so severe a punishment."

In consequence of these laws, "a prophet ran a great risk in undertaking a divine mission, unless he knew, by infallible proofs, that he had really received the commands of the Deity, and was not deluded by his own imagination. Of the nature of these proofs we are not informed; although some circumstances are recorded, which show that the prophets were certainly possessed of them. For instance, it is mentioned (1 Sam. iii. 7.), that, at first, Samuel did not know the voice of God; and Jeremiah (xxxii. 6—9.) confesses that it was the correspondence of the event, which assured him that the direction to buy the field of his relative had come to him from God (Compare also Jer. xxviii. 9.). The proofs, by which Moses was satisfied respecting his divine commission, are recorded at length in Exod. iii. 1—iv. 17.[1] That the prophets had other means of distinguishing divine revelations from their own thoughts appears from 1 Sam. xvi. 6, 7; 2 Sam. vii. 1—17.; 1 Chron. xvii. 1—15.; Isai. xxxviii. 1—8.; 2 Kings xx. 1—11. Occasionally, the impression made by the revelation was so strong, that it was impossible to doubt of its origin; so that they confess themselves unable to refrain from speaking, as in Jer. xx. 7—10. The means, indeed, by which they distinguished their own thoughts from divine revelations, they could not express in words; just as it is impossible to explain to one unacquainted with the subject, how we know the painter of a picture, or the author of a composition, solely by his style. To the hearers and first readers of the prophets their divine mission was proved, either by miracles predicted, and accordingly performed; or, if such were not granted, by the event corresponding with the prophecies; for the prophecies were of a twofold description, some relating to proximate, others to remote events. Those of the former kind,

[[1] A "sign" or a "wonder" was often given to authenticate the commission of a prophet. The two terms used, אוֹת and מוֹפֵת, are nearly similar; but, when a distinction is made, the latter would seem to be of more restricted meaning, referring only to something future, while the former might apply also to the past or present.]

which were clear, and contained various circumstances of the predicted events, which must necessarily be beyond the reach of human foresight, afforded by their completion a proof to the contemporaries of the prophet, that he was a messenger of God, and that his predictions concerning remote events, coming from the same source with those which they had seen fulfilled, were worthy of equal credit.[1] The accomplishment of these would afford to posterity the proof of his divine mission. This consequence was so evident, that not a few even of the heathens, among whom Cyrus may be mentioned as a most remarkable instance, were convinced by it, and acknowledged that the author of these prophecies must be the one true God.[2] It was necessary, therefore, that the prophets should secure the credence of their contemporaries in that portion of their prophecies which related to remote events by some predictions respecting events of speedy occurrence. This accounts for the fact that the prophets sometimes predicted proximate events of little moment with as much care as others of far more importance.[3] Comp. 2 Sam. xii. 14., xxiv. 11—14.; 1 Kings xi. 31—39., xiii. 1—5., xiv. 6, 12.; Isai. vii. 4—16.,[4] xxxviii. 4—8.; Jer. xxviii. 16, 17., xxxvii. 1—xxxviii. 28."[5]

V. In considering the circumstances relative to the Hebrew prophets, the qualifications which were requisite for the prophetic office claim distinctly to be considered: they were two in number, viz.

1. *The first and leading qualification was a holy character.*

"As this is the uniform sentiment of Jewish writers, so it is confirmed by the history and lives of the ancient prophets, and by the express testimony of St. Peter, that *holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost* (2 Pet. i. 21.). Though we meet with some instances of wicked men, to whom God, on special occasions, imparted his secret counsels, such as the covetous Balaam, and the idolatrous kings, Pharaoh, Abimelech, and Nebuchadnezzar[6]; yet we

[1] Comp. 1 Sam. iii. 19—21.; where the general knowledge of the fact, that Samuel was a divinely-commissioned prophet, is stated as a consequence of God's *letting none* of his words fall to the ground; that is, of the regular fulfilment of his predictions.

[2] The prophets themselves occasionally refer to this evidence of their divine mission, and draw plainly the distinction between the proximate events, by predicting which they obtain credence for their other prophecies, and those more remote which it was their principal object to foretell. Compare Isai. xli. 22., xlii. 9., xliv. 7, 8.; Jer. xxviii. 9. For an enumeration of prophecies of proximate events, and their accomplishment, see Allix, Reflections upon the Books of the Old Testament, chap. iii., in Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. i. pp. 357—361.

[3] The subject of the evidence of the divine mission of the prophets is copiously discussed by Witsius in his Miscellanea Sacra, lib. i. cap. 15. De Notis veræ Prophetiæ et veri Prophetæ, pp. 132—160.

[4] See an illustration of this prediction of a proximate event and its fulfilment, *supra* Vol. I. p. 276.

[5] Professor Turner's and Mr. Whittingham's translation of Jahn's Introduction, pp. 313—315. [See Hengstenberg on the criteria by which true and false prophets were distinguished, in Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Prophecy.

[6] "The transient vouchsafement of this spirit to bad men, while it answered some special purpose of divine wisdom, admirably displayed the sovereignty of God in using the most unlikely and wicked instruments to serve his own designs, in constraining even his enemies to utter those truths and predictions, which promoted his honour and interest, and sealed their own condemnation and ruin." "We see, then, the singular beauty of the divine conduct; which, by thus inspiring and controlling the minds of sinful men, turned their counsels into foolishness, and made their wrath and wickedness subservient to his praise."

may presume that none but good men were statedly honoured with these divine communications; and especially that none but such were employed as penmen of the sacred writings. The declaration, therefore, of Peter, will doubtless apply to all the prophetic writers of the Old Testament. They were all men of real and exemplary holiness. The importance of personal piety and virtue in the extraordinary ministers of Jehovah will account for his withdrawing the spirit of prophecy from the Hebrew nation in the latter stages of their polity, that is, from Malachi to Christ; because during this period their religious and moral state was universally corrupt."

2. *The mind of the prophet must be in a serene and composed frame, in order to receive the spirit of inspiration.*

"The Jewish doctors tell us that a mind, loaded with fresh guilt, oppressed with sorrow, or disturbed with passion, could not duly receive and exercise this heavenly gift. Accordingly, when David in his penitential psalm, after the affair of Uriah, prays that the *Holy Spirit might be restored to him*, that God would give him *joy and gladness and a free spirit*, the Hebrew commentators understand by these expressions that prophetic spirit, which his guilt and distress of mind had banished, and that peaceful and cheerful frame, which would invite its return. To prove that passion unfitted the mind for the prophetic impulse, they plead the story of Elisha; who, being requested by the three kings of Judah, Israel, and Edom, to inquire of God for them in their distress for water during a military expedition, was transported with pious indignation against the wicked king of Israel; but, being willing to oblige the good king of Judah, called for a minstrel or musician, for the apparent purpose of calming his passion, and thus preparing him for the spirit of inspiration. Accordingly, while the minstrel played, we are told, *the hand of the Lord came upon him.* This intimates one important reason why the prophets and their pupils cultivated sacred music; and also why those who composed and sung divine hymns are sometimes styled prophets; viz. because in many cases this heavenly art was not only assisted by, but wonderfully fitted persons for, celestial communications."[1]

3. Though prophecy was a perfectly-gratuitous gift of God, and independent on human industry, yet it did not exclude *application and study*, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of a particular prophecy.

Thus, Daniel prayed and fasted in order that he might know the mystery of the seventy weeks which had been predicted by Jeremiah (Dan. ix. 2.). Zechariah applied himself seriously to the study of prophecy (2 Chron. xxvi. 5.); and St. Peter states that this was the employment of the ancient prophets (1 Pet. i. 10, 11.).

VI. Great diversity of opinion has prevailed respecting the nature, extent, permanency, and different degrees of inspiration which the prophets possessed. [They must, of course, have a divine call, but whether there was any special inauguration is questionable.] Not

[1] Tappan, Lectures on Jewish Antiquities, pp. 190—193.

to enter into an useless discussion of conflicting sentiments, we may remark that the communication between God and man is by prayer, by the word of God, and by his works: in old times it was also by the prophets, and before them by the angel of the Lord, and the proper symbols of the divine presence. Mankind, at first, consulted God by prayers and sacrifices at his altars. After the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai, and the establishment of the priesthood, we find three modes of communicating the divine will mentioned in the Old Testament: 1. The *Shechinah;* 2. The *Urim and Thummim;* and, 3. Revelation by *dreams, visions,* by *inspiration,* or by immediate *conversation* with the Deity. When these kinds of prophecy ceased under the second temple, according to the talmudists, they were succeeded, 4. By the *Bath Kol,* or voice from heaven.[1]

1. The Shechinah was the sitting or dwelling of God between the cherubim on the mercy-seat, or cover of the ark (Psal. lxxx. 1. and xcix. 1.); whence he delivered his answers in an articulate voice (Exod. xxv. 22., xxix. 42.; Numb. vii. 89.).

2. The Urim and Thummim, which was on the high-priest's breast-plate (Exod. xxviii. 30.), was another standing oracle, to be consulted on all great occasions (Numb. xxvii. 21.; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6., xxiii. 9., xxx. 7.; Ezra ii. 63.); and the answers were returned by a visible signification of the divine will. This oracle was not only venerable among the Jews, but was also celebrated among the Greeks, as Josephus informs us[2], for its infallible answers.

3. Another mode of revealing the divine will was by *dreams* and *visions,* by *inspiration,* or a *conversation with the Deity.*

(1.) *Dreams,* or (to adopt the elegant expressions of the Temanite) *thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men* (Job iv. 13.), are frequently mentioned in the scriptures as channels by which the divine will was communicated to mankind. "Abimelech was reproved and admonished in a dream concerning Sarah (Gen. xx. 3.);" and, to Abraham, by a prophetic dream, were announced the bondage of his posterity in Egypt, and their deliverance, accompanied with the promise of long life to himself before he should be gathered to his fathers (Gen. xv. 12—16.). "The dreams of Joseph, and of Pharaoh and his servants, were divine (Gen. xxxvii. 5., xl. 5., xli. 1.); as also was that of Nebuchadnezzar concerning the fate of many kingdoms (Dan. ii. 1.). All these were worthy of the divine interposition, and carried the evidence of their divine original by the revelations they made, and the strong impressions left by them upon the mind."[3]

(2.) *Visions* were revelations made in a trance or ecstasy, during which ideas and symbolic representations were presented to the ima-

[[1] Carpzov makes three divisions, *civil, sacerdotal,* and *prophetic* communications with God. Introd. ad Lib. Bibl. pars iii. pp. 14, &c. For the first, casting lots was in frequent use (see Josh. vii. 16—18.; 1 Sam. x. 20, 21., xiv. 42.): the priestly was by Urim and Thummim; the prophetical by dreams, &c.]

[2] Ant. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 8. (al. 9.) § 9.

[3] Sharpe, Second Argument in Defence of Christianity from Prophecy, pp. 20—28.; Jahn, Introductio ad Vet. Fœd. § 86. iii.; Witsius, Miscellanea Sacra, lib. i. cap. 5.

gination of the prophet, when awake, or the future was exhibited as it were in distant prospect.[1] Thus, Isaiah beheld the Lord sitting upon a lofty throne, his train filling the temple, above which stood seraphim, who alternately proclaimed his praises (Isai. vi. 1—3.). While Ezekiel was among the captives by the river Chebar, the heavens were opened, and he beheld the visions of God, which he has described (Ezek. i.). To this class of divine manifestations is supposed to belong the revelation made to Jeremiah, concerning the girdle which he was commanded to conceal near the river Euphrates, and to resume it after it had become decayed (Jer. xiii. 1—9.). Indeed, it is not credible that the prophet should have been sent twice upon a journey of such considerable length and difficulty (for the Euphrates is computed to have been eighteen or twenty days distant from Jerusalem), to a very great loss of his time; when every purpose would have been answered altogether as well, if the transaction had been represented in vision. The same supposition of a vision must be admitted in other cases also, particularly in Jer. xxv. 15—29.; for it would be absurd to believe that Jeremiah actually went round with a cup in his hand to all the kings and nations enumerated in that chapter, and made them drink of its contents. Micaiah, in vision, beheld the Lord sitting upon his throne, surrounded by the celestial host, and all Israel scattered upon the hills (1 Kings xxii. 17—23.). Other instances of revelations by visions may be seen in Numb. xxiv. 15. &c.; Ezek. iii. 1., iv. 5, 12, 15., viii. 1. &c.; Dan. vii.; Acts x. 9—16.; 2 Cor. xii. 1—4. Many of the scenes represented in the Apocalypse were in vision.[2] In Job iv. 13—16. there is a description of a vision by Eliphaz the Temanite, which, for sublimity, is unrivalled by any production of ancient or of modern poetry. "Midnight, solitude, the deep sleep of all around, the dreadful chill, and erection of the hair over the whole body, the shivering not of the muscles only, but of the bones themselves, the gliding approach of the spectre, the abruptness of his pause, his undefined and indescribable form, are all powerful and original characters, which have never been given with equal effect by any other writer."[3] [It has been questioned whether the prophetic visions were real, or merely the kind of dress in which the prophets clothed their conceptions. It is not easy to decide, nor is it of much importance. John xii. 41. would seem in favour of the former notion.]

(3.) *Inspiration* [or, more properly, revelation] was a third mode by which the divine designs were manifested to the prophets; by which term we are to understand "a suggestion of ideas to the understanding, without such representations to the fancy as the former methods imply. Maimonides, one of the most rational and learned of the Jewish doctors, explains this inspiration to be a divine

[1] See before, pp. 396—398.
[2] Witsius, Miscellanea Sacra, lib. i. cap. 3. § ix. pp. 19, 20.; Dr. Blayney, on Jer. xiii. 4.
[3] Dr. Good's Translation of Job, Notes, p. 51. [See some very sensible observations on prophetic visions by Dr. S. H. Turner, Thoughts on the Origin, Character, and Interpretation of Scriptural Prophecy. New York, 1852. disc. iv. pp. 64—71.; comp. disc. v. pp. 79—100.]

impulse, enabling and urging the subject of it to utter psalms and hymns, or useful moral precepts, or matters civil, sacred, and divine; and that, while he is awake, and has the ordinary use and vigour of his senses. Such was the inspiration of Zacharias and Elizabeth, who on a very interesting occasion are said to have *been filled with the Holy Ghost*, and to have uttered the most sublime acknowledgments or predictions (Luke i. 41, 42, 67—79.). Such, too, was the inspiration of the ancient prophets in general, who '*spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*' This sacred impulse was of a calm and gentle nature, and thus was clearly distinguished from the fanatical inspiration of heathen diviners.[1] . . . But the prophets of the true God were only 'moved,' that is, calmly influenced by his inspiring Spirit. This influence, far from suspending, added vigour and elevation to their own reason and prudence."[2]

(4.) But the most eminent of all the modes of communicating the divine will to man was a direct *conversation with God.* It is especially recorded of Moses, that there arose no prophet subsequently *like unto him, whom the Lord knew face to face* (Deut. xxxiv. 10.). This has been termed the *Mosaical inspiration:* it was the highest degree, and was characterized by the following circumstances, which distinguished it from the revelations made to the rest of the prophets: —1. Moses was made partaker of these divine revelations, while he was awake (Numb. xii. 6—8.); whereas God manifested himself to all the other prophets in a dream or vision. 2. Moses prophesied without the mediation of any angelic power, by an influence derived immediately from God; while in all other prophecies some angel appeared to the prophet. 3. All the other prophets were afraid, and troubled and fainted; but Moses was not so. To him *the* LORD *spake, face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend* (Exod. xxxiii. 11.), that is, freely and familiarly, without fear and trembling. 4. Not one of the other prophets could utter predictions at their pleasure; but Moses, on whom the spirit of prophecy rested at all times, was free to prophesy[3], and might have recourse at any time to the sacred oracle in the tabernacle, which spake from between the cherubim.[4]

"In all the cases here described, the prophets could not, without doubting the clearest and most palpable evidence, distrust the truth of the revelations which they received; and, with respect to us, we have ample reason, from a collective consideration of their writings, to be convinced that their inspiration was accompanied with sufficient characters to distinguish it from the dreams of enthusiasm, or the visions of fancy."[5] Though their bodily strength was sometimes overpowered by the magnitude of their revelations, and their eyes

[1] Virgil represents the sibyl as perfectly frantic, as struggling in vain to shake off the deity that inspired her, and as irresistibly forced to utter his dictates. Æn. vi. 47. &c. 77. &c. Lucan describes the Pythian prophetess in the same manner. Lib. v. 142—218. [Some have erroneously believed that the prophets similarly were so excited as to appear like madmen.]

[2] Tappan, Lectures on Jewish Antiquities, pp. 198, 199.

[3] [This may reasonably be doubted.]

[4] Smith, Select Discourses on Prophecy, chap. xi. pp. 261, 262; Witsius, Miscell. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 7.

[5] Bp. Gray, Key, p. 325.

were dazzled with the splendour of the visionary light, as in the instances of Daniel (x. 5—9.), and the apostle John (Rev. i. 17.), yet they retained full possession of their understanding, and the free exercise of their reason. The prophetical spirit, seating itself in the rational powers, as well as in the imagination, never alienated the mind, but informed and enlightened it; and those who were actuated by it always maintained a clearness and consistency of reason, with strength and solidity of judgment. For God did not employ idiots or fools for the purpose of revealing his will, but those whose intellects were entire and perfect; and he imprinted so clear a copy of his truth upon them, that it became their own sense, being digested fully into their understandings; so that they were able to represent it to others as truly as any person can express his own thoughts.[1] And, if at any time they did not clearly understand the prophetic revelation communicated to them, they asked for an explanation: such was the conduct of Daniel (Dan. ix. 18—23., x. 1., &c.), and of Zechariah (i. 9., iv. 4., vi. 4, 5.).

When the various kinds of prophecy above enumerated ceased under the second temple, they were succeeded, according to the talmudists, by

4. The Bath Kol, *voice from heaven*, or the aërial regions, *daughter-voice*, or *daughter of a voice;* because, on the cessation of the divine oracle, this came in its place as its daughter or successor. Some expositors have imagined that this voice is alluded to in John xii. 28.; but there appears to be no foundation for such a conjecture. Dr. Prideaux, however, has shown that the Bath Kol was no such celestial voice as the talmudists pretend, but only a fantastical way of divination of their own invention, like the *Sortes Virgilianæ* among the heathens; for, as, with them, the words of the poet, upon which they first dipped, were the oracle whereby they prognosticated those future events, concerning which they were desirous of information; so, among the Jews, when they appealed to Bath Kol, the next words which they heard from any one were regarded as the desired divine oracle.[2]

Some of the adversaries of the bible have represented the Hebrew prophets as public incendiaries, who perpetually denounced, and frequently brought, calamities upon their country, merely on account of religious opinions. For such charge there is no other ground but this, viz. that the prophets constantly testified against idolatry, equally among rulers and people. It will be recollected that idolatry in the Hebrew nation was high treason against their own constitution, and Jehovah their King. Idolatry directly forfeited their territory and privileges: it was an inlet to every abomination: it defeated the great end for which that people was selected; and in

[1] See Smith, Select Discourses, pp. 190, &c.

[2] Prideaux, Connection, part ii. book v. sub anno 107. vol. ii. pp. 328, 329. The Christians, after Christianity began to be corrupted, learnt from the heathen the same mode of divination, and used the bible in the same manner as the heathen had employed the poems of Virgil. In pp. 329, 330. Dr. Prideaux has given some remarkable instances of this absurd mode of penetrating into futurity. See Smith, Select Discourses on Prophecy, chap. x. [Comp. Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Bath Kol.]

their fundamental laws the most destructive calamities were denounced against it. Consequently, the prophets, in boldly arresting this evil, even at the hazard of their own lives, showed themselves to be, not the malignant disturbers, but the truest and most disinterested friends of their country; especially as by this conduct they executed the benevolent commission with which Jehovah had intrusted them, a commission intended not to destroy, but, if possible, to save that people, by checking those crimes which were pregnant with ruin.[1] [Under the monarchy, and particularly after the division of the kingdom, the prophets seem more numerous. Such an order of men was then peculiarly needed to convey the admonitions and reproofs of God to wicked rulers. They interfered in what may be called *politics* simply as God directed them; and, had their counsels been followed, national prosperity as well as individual piety would have been the result.]

VII. Antiquity and succession of the prophets.

Prophecy is one of the most striking proofs of the true religion; and, as religion has existed in every age, prophecy equally subsisted from the commencement of the world.

The Jews reckon forty-eight prophets, and seven prophetesses[2]; Clement of Alexandria enumerates thirty-five prophets and five prophetesses[3]; and Epiphanius, seventy-three prophets and ten prophetesses.[4] Witsius, and some other modern critics, divide the series of prophets into three periods, during which *God at sundry times and in divers manners spake unto the fathers* of the Jewish nation (Heb. i. 1.); viz. 1. Prophets who flourished before the giving of the law of Moses; 2. Prophets who flourished under the law; and 3. Prophets who flourished under the period comprised in the New Testament.

i. *Prophets* [by which term must be understood any to whom a divine communication was made, as well as interpreters of God's will], *before the giving of the law of Moses* were, Adam, Enoch, Lamech, two of the name (Gen. iv. 24., v. 29.), Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Job, and his friends, and Balaam. The prophetesses in this period were Sarah, Hagar, and Rebecca.

ii. *Prophets under the law*, of whom there are four series.

1. *Prophets in the desert*: — Moses, Aaron, the prophetess Miriam, the seventy elders (Numb. xi. 16, 17, 24—30.).

2. *Prophets in the land of Canaan*: —Joshua, an anonymous prophet (Judg. vi. 8—10.), another anonymous prophet who denounced the divine judgments to Eli (1 Sam. ii. 27—36.), the prophetesses Deborah and Hannah, Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, David, Solomon, Ahijah the Shilonite (1 Kings xi. 29., xiv.), Shemaiah (2 Chron. xi. 2., xii. 5, 16.)., Iddo[5] (2 Chron. ix. 29., xii. 15., xiii. 22.), the man of God who went from Judah and prophesied against the altar erected by Jeroboam at Bethel, and the old prophet

[1] Tappan, Lectures, pp. 205, 206.
[2] Megillah, c. 1.
[3] Stromata, lib. i. Op. tom. i. pp. 384., &c., 400. (edit. Potter.).
[4] Ap. Coteler., Const. Apost. not. in lib. iv. cap. vi. vol. i. p. 298, (edit. Amst. 1724).
[5] [There were probably two of the name.]

who dwelt at Bethel (1 Kings xiii.), Azariah the son of Oded (2 Chron. xv. 1.), Oded (2 Chron. xv. 8.), who, perhaps, is the same with Iddo above mentioned, Hanani the seer (2 Chron. xvi. 7.), Jehu the son of Hanani (2 Kings xvi. 1.; 2 Chron. xix. 2.), Elijah, Micaiah the son of Imlah (1 Kings xxii. 8), two anonymous prophets delivered messages to Ahab (1 Kings xx. 13, 22, 35—43.), Jahaziel the son of Zachariah (2 Chron. xx. 14.), Eliezer the son of Dodavah (2 Chron. xx. 37.), Elisha, Zachariah the son of Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21.), an anonymous prophet who dissuaded Amaziah the son of Joash from undertaking an expedition against the Edomites, with an auxiliary army of Israelites (2 Chron. xxv. 7.), Oded (2 Chron. xxviii. 9), Urijah the son of Shemaiah, of Kirjath-Jearim (Jer. xxvi. 20.), Jonah, Hosea, Amos, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and the prophetess Huldah (2 Kings xxii. 14.). Two more anonymous prophets are mentioned (2 Kings ix. 1—10; 2 Chron. xxv. 15, 16.).

3. *Prophets during the Babylonish captivity:*—Ezekiel, and Daniel.

4. *Prophets after the return of the Jews from the captivity:*—Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who was the last of the prophets as it respects the prophetic office, but not as respects the gift of prophecy, if we may credit what Josephus relates of the high-priest Jaddus or Jaddua, and the relation of the author of the second book of Maccabees concerning Judas Maccabæus (2 Macc. xv. 12.).

iii. *Prophets under the period comprised in the New Testament:*—Zacharias, Simeon, and John the Baptist, until Christ; and, after his ascension, Agabus (Acts xi. 28., xxi. 11.), the apostles Paul, and John the author of the Apocalypse, besides other prophets who are mentioned in 1 Cor. xii. 28., xiv. 29—32.; Eph. ii. 20., iii. 5., and iv. 11.; of whom it is not necessary to treat in this volume, which is appropriated to the consideration of the writings of those prophets who flourished under the Old Testament dispensation, which have been transmitted to us.[1]

VIII. The early prophets committed nothing to writing: their predictions, being only, or chiefly, of a temporary nature, are inserted in the historical books, together with their fulfilment. Such appears to have been the case with Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah, and others; but those who were gifted with the spirit of prophecy in its most exalted sense, and were commissioned to utter predictions, the accomplishment of which was as yet far distant, were directed to write them, or cause them to be written, in a book (Comp. Isai. viii. 1., xxx. 8.; Jer. xxx. 2., xxxvi. 2, 28.; Ezek. xliii. 11.; Hab. ii. 2, &c.). The predictions, thus committed to writing, were carefully preserved, under a conviction that they contained important truths, thereafter to be more fully revealed, which were to receive their accomplishment at the appointed periods. It was also the office of the prophets to commit to writing the history of the Jews[2]; and it is on this account

[1] Calmet, Preface Générale sur les Prophètes, Comm. tom. v. pp. 558—560, Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 305—307.; Witsius, Miscell. Sacr. lib. i. capp. 16—21. pp. 161—123.; Carpzov, Introd. ad Libros Biblicos Vet. Test. pars iii. pp. 66—69.

[2] 1 Chron. xxix. 29.; 2 Chron. xii. 15., xiii. 22., xx. 34., xxvi. 22., xxxii. 32. In addition to the information thus communicated in the sacred volume, we are informed by Josephus that, from the death of Moses until the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, the

that, in the Jewish classification of the books of the Old Testament. we find several historical writings arranged among the prophets, Throughout their prophetic and historical books the utmost plainness and sincerity prevail. They record the idolatries of the nation, and foretell the judgments of God which were to befall the Jews in consequence of their forsaking his worship and service; and they have transmitted a relation of the crimes and misconduct of their best princes. David, Solomon, and others—who were types of the Messiah, and who expected that he would descend from their race, regarding the glories of their several reigns as presages of *his*—are described not only without flattery, but also without any reserve or extenuation. They write like men who had no regard to any thing but truth and the glory of God,

The *manner* in which the prophets announced their predictions varied according to circumstances. [Their responses were frequently given in reply to enquiries (Jer. xlii.).] Sometimes they uttered them aloud in a public place; and it is in allusion to this practice that Isaiah is commanded to "cry aloud, spare not, lift up his voice like a trumpet, and show the people of God their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins" (Isai. lviii. 1.). Sometimes their predictions were affixed to the gates of the temple, where they might be generally read (Jer. vii. 2.); but, upon important occasions, "when it was necessary to rouse the fears of a disobedient people, and to recall them to repentance, the prophets, as objects of universal attention, appear to have walked about publicly in sackcloth, and with every external mark of humiliation and sorrow. They then adopted extraordinary modes of expressing their convictions of impending wrath, and endeavoured to awaken the apprehensions of their countrymen, by the most striking illustrations of threatened punishment. Thus Jeremiah made bonds and yokes, and put them on his neck (Jer. xxvii.), strongly to intimate the subjection that God would bring on the nations whom Nebuchadnezzar should subdue. Isaiah likewise walked naked, that is, without the rough garment of the prophet, and barefoot (Isai. xx.), as a sign of the distress that awaited the Egyptians. So, Jeremiah broke the potter's vessel (xix.); and Ezekiel publicly removed his household goods from the city, more forcibly to represent, by these actions, some correspondent calamities ready to fall on nations obnoxious to God's wrath[1]; this mode of expressing important circumstances by action being customary and familiar among all eastern nations."[2]

Sometimes the prophets were commanded to seal and shut up their prophecies, that the originals might be preserved until they were accomplished, and then compared with the event (Isai. viii. 16.; Dan. viii. 26., and xii. 4.). For, when the prophecies were not to be fulfilled till after many years, and in some cases not till after

prophets who were after Moses committed to writing the transactions of their own times. Josephus, Cont. Apion. lib. i. cap. 8.

[1] Ezek. xii. 7. compared with 2 Kings xxv. 4, 5., where the accomplishment of this typical prophecy is related. See also Ezek. xxxvii. 16—20.

[2] Bp. Gray, Key, pp. 332—334. [The symbolical actions were probably not always actually performed. See above, p. 768.]

several ages, it was requisite that the original writings should be kept with the utmost care; but, when the time was so near at hand, that the prophecies must be fresh in every person's recollection, or that the originals could not be suspected or supposed to be lost, the same care was not required (Rev. xxii. 10.). It seems to have been customary for the prophets to deposit their writings in the tabernacle, or lay them up before the Lord (1 Sam. x. 25.).[1] And there is a tradition[2], that all the canonical books, as well as the law, were put into the side of the ark. [But it is not certain that the prophets always collected their own productions. This was, however, doubtless done under divine guidance.]

It is certain that the writings of the ancient prophets were carefully preserved during the captivity, and they were frequently referred to, and cited by the later prophets. Thus, the prophecy of Micah is quoted in Jer. xxvi. 18., a short time before the captivity; and, under it, the prophecy of Jeremiah is cited in Dan. ix. 2., and the prophets, generally, in ix. 6. Zechariah not only quotes the former prophets (i. 4.), but supposes their writings to be well known to the people (vii. 7.). The prophet Amos is cited in the apocryphal book of Tobit (ii. 6.), as Jonah and the prophets in general are in xiv. 4, 5, 8. It is evident that Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Zechariah, and the other prophets, who lived during the captivity, carefully preserved the writings of their inspired predecessors; for they very frequently cited and appealed to them, and expected deliverance from their captivity by the accomplishment of their predictions.[3]

[It has been questioned whether the whole of prophetic literature is extant. We may reply in the negative. There were many prophets, as above noticed, who uttered what was never committed to writing. But we may safely conclude that all that God intended for not a mere temporary purpose, but the lasting guidance of the church, has been preserved.]

Although some parts of the writings of the prophets are clearly in prose, instances of which occur in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Jonah, and Daniel, yet the other books, constituting by far the larger portion of the prophetic writings, are classed by bishop Lowth among the poetical productions of the Jews; and (with the exception of certain passages in Isaiah, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel, which appear to constitute complete poems of different kinds, odes as well as elegies) form a particular species of poesy, which he distinguishes by the appellation of *Prophetic*. On the nature of which see pp. 373, 374, above; and for some observations on the interpretation and accomplishment of scripture prophecies, see pp. 395—412. [On the figurative or allegorical style, simpler in the older prophets, more obscure in the later, see pp. 337, &c.]

IX. The prophetical books of the Old Testament are sixteen in

[1] Josephus confirms the statement of the sacred historian. Ant. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 4. § 6.

[2] Epiphanius, de Ponderibus et Mensuris, cap. 4.; Damascenus de Fide Orthodoxâ, lib. iv. cap. 18.

[3] See Hengstenberg on the Promulgation of the Prophetic Declarations, in Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Prophecy.

number (the Lamentations of Jeremiah being usually considered as an appendix to his predictions); and in all modern editions of the bible they are usually divided into two classes; viz. 1. The *greater prophets*, comprising the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; who were thus designated from the size of their books, not because they possessed greater authority than the others.[1] 2. The *minor prophets*, comprising the writings of Hosea, Joel, Amos, Jonah, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. These books were anciently written in one volume by the Jews, lest any of them should be lost; some of their writings being very short. The order, in which the books of the minor prophets are placed, is not the same in the Alexandrian or Septuagint version as in the Hebrew. According to the latter, they stand as in our translation; but in the Greek, the series is altered to the following arrangement: Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. But this change is of no consequence; since neither in the original, nor in the Septuagint, are they placed with exact regard to the time when their sacred authors respectively flourished.

The writings of the twelve minor prophets are particularly valuable, not only because they have preserved a great number of predictions relating to the advent, life, death, and resurrection of the Messiah, the calling of the Gentiles, the rejection of the Jews, the ruin of Jerusalem, and the abrogation of the ceremonies of the Mosaic law; but especially they have recorded numerous events, concerning the history of the kingdoms of Judah, Israel, Babylon, Idumæa, Egypt, Moab, and Ammon. These memorials of events are the more valuable, as very few of them are noticed in the sacred history; and profane history is almost totally wanting for the periods which they comprise. The writings of the minor prophets, therefore, may be regarded as a kind of supplement for the history of their own times and the age immediately following.[2]

Much of the obscurity, which hangs over the prophetic writings, may be removed by perusing them in the order of time in which they were probably written. Different schemes of arrangement have been proposed by various biblical critics. Van Til, whose order was adopted by Professor Franck, divides them into the four following periods; viz.

i. *Prophets who delivered their predictions during the continuance of the Jewish polity.*

1. In Judah and Israel, under *Uzziah*, Hosea, Amos, Isaiah (i.—vi.); under *Jotham* and *Ahaz*, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah (vii.—xii.); under *Hezekiah*, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah (xviii.—xxii.).

2. Prophets, who delivered predictions against other nations: against *Nineveh*, under Pul, Jonah; against *Babylon*, under Ahaz, Isaiah (xiii. xiv.); against *Palestine*, towards the commencement of Hezekiah's reign,

[1] Qui propterea dicuntur *minores*, quia sermones eorum sunt breves, in eorum comparatione qui *majores* ideo vocantur, quia prolixa volumina condiderunt. Augustine, De Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 29. tom. vii. col. 510. (edit. Bened.).

[2] Calmet, Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 372—374., Comm. tom. vi. p. 727.

Isaiah (xiv. 28—32.); against *Moab* (xv., xvi.); against *Damascus* (xvii.) and *Egypt* (xix., xx.).

ii. *Prophets who delivered their predictions between the carrying of the Israelites into captivity by the Assyrians, and the first expedition of Nebuchadnezzar.*

1. In Judah, under *Hezekiah*, Hosea, and Isaiah (xxiv., lvi.); under *Manasseh*, Joel, and Habakkuk; under *Josiah*, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah.
2. Prophets who delivered predictions against other nations; against *Nineveh*, under Hezekiah, Nahum; against *Edom*, Obadiah; against *Arabia*, Isaiah (xxi.), and *Tyre* (xxxiii.).

i. *Prophets during the Babylonish captivity who delivered their Predictions.*

1. *Concerning* the Jews, in Judæa, Jeremiah; in Babylon, Daniel; in Chaldea, Ezekiel; in Egypt, Jeremiah.
2. Against the enemies of the Jews, viz. against *Babylon*, Jeremiah (l., li.); *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, Jeremiah (xlvi.); and Ezekiel (xxvi.—xxviii.); the *Philistines* and *Moab*, Jeremiah (xlvii. xlviii.), and *Ammon* (xlix.); *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, and the *Philistines*, Ezekiel. (xxv.)

iv. *Prophets who delivered predictions in Judæa after the captivity.*

Under *Darius*, Zechariah, and Haggai; *afterwards*, Malachi.[1]

Although the preceding arrangement has its advantages as exhibiting the order of the prophets, and the kingdoms or nations concerning whom they prophesied, yet it cannot be conveniently adopted for the purpose of analyzing the writings of each prophet. The annexed table of bishop Gray commodiously exhibits the prophets in their supposed order of time according to the tables of archbishop Newcome and Mr. Blair, with a few variations[2]; and, though the *precise* time, in which some of them delivered their predictions, cannot, perhaps, be traced in every instance, yet it is hoped that this table will be found sufficiently correct for ascertaining the chronology of their several prophecies.

According to the following table, the times when the prophets flourished may be referred to three periods[3]; viz. 1. Before the Babylonian captivity; 2. Near to and during that event; and, 3. After the return of the Jews from Babylon. And if, in these three periods, we parallel the prophetic writings with the historical books written during the same times, they will materially illustrate each other. The second volume of Dr. Townsend's Harmony of the Old Testament will be found of considerable service in studying the writings of the prophets. [So also will Fairbairn's Prophecy viewed in respect to its Distinctive Nature, its Special Function, and Proper Interpretation. In the subsequent sections the arrangement of the English bible will be followed.]

[1] Francke, Introductio ad Lectionem Prophetarum, pp. 39—42.
[2] Bishop Gray, Key, p. 420.
[3] Professor Jahn and Dr. Ackermann divide the prophets into four periods; viz. 1. Those who prophesied under Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; 2. Prophets whose age has not been recorded; 3. Prophets, from the age of Josiah to the end of the captivity; and, 4. Prophets who lived after the captivity. The arrangement above given is preferably adopted, as being more simple and comprehensive.

For a sketch of the profane history of the East, illustrative of the prophetic writings, see the articles Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Media, and Persia, in the Historical and Geographical Index in Volume III.

	Before Christ.	*Kings of Judah.*	*Kings of Israel.*
Jonah,	Between 856 and 784.	[Possibly Joash.]	Jehu, and Jehoahaz, according to Bp. Lloyd; but Jeroboam II. according to Blair (2 Kings xiv. 25.).
Amos,	Between 810 and 785.	Uzziah, chap. i. 1.	Jeroboam II. chap. i. 1.
Hosea,	Between 810 and 725.	Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, the third year of Hezekiah.	Jeroboam II. chap. i. 1.
Isaiah,	Between 810 and 698.	Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, chap. i. 1. and perhaps Manasseh.	
Joel,	Between 810 and 660, or earlier.	Uzziah, or possibly Manasseh [Perhaps in the first half of Amaziah's reign.]	
Micah,	Between 758 and 699.	Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, chap. i. 1.	Pekah and Hosea.
Nahum,	Between 720 and 698.	Probably towards the close of Hezekiah's reign.	
Zephaniah,	Between 640 and 609.	In the reign of Josiah, chap. i. 1.	
Jeremiah,	Between 628 and 586.	From the thirteenth year of Josiah.	
Habakkuk,	Between 612 and 598.	Probably in the reign of Jehoiakim, [or more likely Josiah].	
Daniel,	Between 606 and 534.	During all the captivity.	
Obadiah,	Between 588 and 583.	Between the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the destruction of the Edomites by him.	
Ezekiel,	Between 595 and 536.	During part of the captivity.	
Haggai,	About 520 to 518.	After the return from Babylon.	
Zechariah,	From 520 to 518, or longer.		
Malachi,	Between 436 and 420.		

SECTION II.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Genuineness of Isaiah's prophecies.*—III. *Scope.*—IV. *Analysis of the contents of this book.*—V. *Enquiry as to the meaning of the appellation "Servant of God."*—VI. *Collection of the prophecies into one book.*—VII. *Observations on the prophet's style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 810—698.

THOUGH later in the order of time, the writings of the prophet Isaiah are placed first in order of the prophetical books, principally on account of the sublimity and importance of his predictions, and partly also because the book, which bears his name, is larger than all the twelve minor prophets put together.

I. Concerning his family and descent nothing certain has been recorded, except what he himself tells us (i. 1.), viz. that he was the son of Amotz, and discharged the prophetic office *in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,* who successively flourished between A.M. 3194 and 3305. There is a current tradition that he was of the blood-royal; and some writers have affirmed that his father Amotz or Amos was the son of Joash, and, consequently, brother of Amaziah king of Judah. Jerome, on the authority of some rabbinical writers, says that the prophet gave his daughter in marriage to Manasseh king of Judah; but this opinion is scarcely credible, because Manasseh did not commence his reign until about sixty years after Isaiah had begun to discharge his prophetic functions. He must, indeed, have exercised the office of a prophet during a long period of time, if he lived in the reign of Manasseh; for the lowest computation, beginning from the year in which Uzziah died, when he is by some supposed to have received his first appointment to that office, brings it to sixty-one years. But the tradition of the Jews, which has been adopted by many Christian commentators, that he was put to death by Manasseh, is very uncertain; and Aben Ezra, one of the most celebrated Jewish writers, is rather of opinion that he died before Hezekiah; which bishop Lowth thinks most probable. It is, however, certain that he lived at least to the fifteenth or sixteenth year of Hezekiah; which makes the least possible term of the duration of his prophetic office to be about forty-eight years.

The name of Isaiah, as Vitringa has remarked after several preceding commentators, is in some measure descriptive of his high character, since it signifies the *Salvation-of-Jehovah,* and was given with singular propriety to him who foretold the advent of the Messiah, through *whom all flesh shall see the salvation of God* (comp. Isai. xl. 5. with Luke iii. 6. and Acts iv. 12.). Isaiah was contemporary with the prophets Amos, Hosea, Joel, and Micah.

Isaiah is uniformly spoken of in the scriptures as a prophet of the highest dignity: bishop Lowth calls him the prince of all the prophets, and pronounces the whole of his book to be poetical, with the exception of a few detached passages. It is remarkable that his wife

is styled a *prophetess* in viii. 3.; whence the rabbinical writers have concluded that she possessed the spirit of prophecy; but it is very probable that the prophets' wives were called prophetesses, as the priests' wives were termed priestesses, only from the quality of their husbands. Although nothing further is recorded in the scriptures concerning the wife of Isaiah, we find two of his sons mentioned in his prophecy, who were types or figurative pledges of God's assurance; and their names and actions were intended to awaken a religious attention in the persons whom they were commissioned to address and to instruct.[1] Thus, Shear-jashub (vii. 3.) signifies *a remnant shall return,* and showed that the captives, who should be carried to Babylon, should return thence after a certain time; and Maher-shalal-hashbaz (viii. 1, 3.), which denotes *make speed* (or, *run swiftly*) *to the spoil,* implied that the kingdoms of Israel and Syria would in a short time be ravaged.

Besides the volume of prophecies, which we are now to consider, it appears from 2 Chron. xxvi. 22. that Isaiah wrote an account of *the acts of Uzziah* king of Judah: this has perished with some other writings of the prophets, which, as probably not written by inspiration, were never admitted into the canon of scripture.[2] There are also two apocryphal books ascribed to him, viz. *The Ascension of Isaiah,* and *The Apocalypse of Isaiah;* but these are evidently forgeries of a later date; and the *Apocalypse* has long since perished.[3]

II. [The book of Isaiah's prophecies, if we are to believe the critical opinions which have been advanced in regard to it, is little more than a collection of prophetical fragments, for the most part later than the times to which they lay claim, collected after the Babylonian captivity. First Koppe suggested that Ezekiel, or some other prophet who lived during the exile, might have been the author; and other writers followed with additional hypotheses. The extravagance of the attacks made upon the genuineness of the book renders the defence of it more easy. "There are very few portions in the whole collection," says Hengstenberg, "whose authenticity has not been called in question by some one or other of the various impugners. Almost every part has been attacked either by Doederlein, or by Eichhorn, or by Justi, or by Paulus, Rosenmüller, Bauer, Bertholdt, De Wette, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, or others. The only portions left to Isaiah, are chaps. i. 3—9., xvii., xx., xxviii., xxxi., and xxxiii. All the other chapters are defended by some and rejected by others: they are also referred to widely-different dates."[4] A reaction was natural after reckless criticism of this kind; and most expositors now agree in leaving the prophet in quiet possession of a far larger portion of the compositions which bear his name.

[1] Gray, Key, p. 365. [2] Ibid., p. 372.

[3] Unde apocryphorum deliramenta conticeant... De quibus vere dici potest, quod sedeat diabolus in insidiis cum divitibus in apocryphis, ut interficiat innocentem. ... Ascensio enim Isaiæ et Apocalypsis Isaiæ hoc habent testimonium. Jerome, Comment. in Isai. cap. lxiv. Op. tom. iii. p. 473. See also tom. iv. p. 344. The *Anabaticon* or Ascension of Isaiah is mentioned by Epiphanius, among the books received by Hierax, founder of the sect of the Hieracites, in the fourth century. Hæres. 67.; Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. iii. p. 402.

[4] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Isaiah.

The inscription (i. 1.) is, as Hengstenberg shows, of considerable weight. It is not confined to the first chapter: it has a general bearing on the whole book. And, if it be said that it points only to Judah and Jerusalem, while many portions of Isaiah are directed to other nations, Kimchi (Præf. ad Isai.) rejoins: *Quæcunque contra gentes profert, ea omnia propter Judam dicit.* There is no prophecy concerning other nations that has not a bearing upon the covenant people. And, even though we should allow that Isaiah did not himself prefix this title, no compiler could have introduced it without reason. If the prophecies were, as opponents allege, of the time of the captivity, as the inscription must have been affixed not much later, he that added it was marvellously ignorant, or intended a deliberate fraud—both which suppositions are plainly incredible.

Kleinert has entered into a very full examination of the title. He adopts Kimchi's idea with some modification. Kimchi spoke as a Jew, with narrow reference to the literal Israel: the Christian interpreter will take a wider range, and will see how not the Israelite by mere hereditary descent (Rom. ii. 28, 29.), but, more generally, the church of every nation, sharing Abraham's faith and to have Abraham's blessing as his true children, have ever been the objects of God's special care. For their good he orders all things: to them all his dealings with the world point. Kleinert hence maintains the perfect suitability of the inscription to the whole book, and disproves the reasons brought for its being, or any part of it, a gloss or interpolation.[1]]

Attacks have been directed especially against the last twenty-seven chapters; and critics have by various arguments endeavoured to prove that these chapters first originated during the Babylonian captivity. These arguments have been copiously examined and refuted by Jahn[2], whose observations may be arranged under the following heads: viz. 1. Proofs that all the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah are really his productions; 2. An examination and refutation, in detail, of objections against particular predictions; and, 3. An examination of the question whether Isaiah was the author of chapters xxxvi.—xxxix.

1. Proofs that all the predictions ascribed to Isaiah are really his productions.

i. "The style differs scarcely any in the different prophecies. We find every where the same descriptions of particular objects, and the same images, taken from trees, especially cedars, firs, and oaks, from the pains of child-birth, from history, and from the golden age.

[1] Ueber die Echtheit sämmtlicher in dem Buche Jesaia enthaltenen Weissagungen, Berlin, 1829. pp. 4—27.

[2] The arguments of the various neologian objectors against the genuineness of Isaiah's predictions, and especially those of Gesenius, are also very fully and ably reviewed and refuted, *first*, by Professor Lee, in his Sermons and Dissertations on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, pp. 157—208.; and, *secondly*, by Dr. Hengstenberg in his Christologie des Alten Testaments (Christology of the Old Testament). That part of Dr. H.'s treatise, which relates to the genuineness of Isaiah's predictions, has been translated into English by Professor Robinson of Andover (Massachusetts), and will be found in the Biblical Repository for the year 1831. vol. i. pp. 700—733. As the arguments of these learned writers do not admit of abridgment, the reader is necessarily referred to their publications.

The beginning of the prophecy constantly enters into the midst of the subject, and every where poetical passages are inserted; as v. 1—6., xii. 1—6., xiv. 4—20., xxv. 1—5.; so, exactly in the same manner, xlii. 10—13., lii. 9., &c., lxi. 10., lxiii. 7., lxiv. 11. Every where the same clearness and obscurity, the same repetitions, and the same euphony of language, are observable. The visions are similar: comp. xxi. and xl. with vi. Even the same phrases occur repeatedly. *The sublimity of the style* does not vary more throughout all the prophecies, than is usual in poems which are written by the same author at different times, as, for example, the different psalms of David; and the style in all is such as could by no means be expected from writers of the age of the Babylonian captivity. It is granted that style does not depend entirely upon the age, but in some measure upon the cultivated genius of the writer; yet it does not, therefore, become probable that such poems should be composed in the age of the Babylonian captivity, so that we may assert this without any historical testimony or tradition; more especially as we find nothing similar in the writings of Jeremiah or Ezekiel, who wanted neither genius nor polish. The *language* itself is not the same as that observable in Jeremiah and Ezekiel: it is not probable that any one could have cultivated the knowledge of the Hebrew during the captivity more thoroughly than they, nor is such a state of the language discernible in Zechariah, who is usually cited as an instance of it. Lastly, *the arrangement* and *method of treating the subject* are the same in all these prophecies. Chap. vii. contains a prophecy interwoven with a history, which is followed, viii.—xii., by prophecies without titles: so also in xxxix. the prophecy is woven into the history; and prophecies without a title follow. As in the first part there are several prophecies concerning Sennacherib; so also in the second there are several concerning the overthrow of the Chaldæan monarchy, and the return of the Hebrews from captivity. As in the vision in chap. vi. we read that the prophet's efforts should not be accompanied by a happy result; so the prophet, xlii. 16, 23., xliii. 8., xlv. 4., and especially xlix. 4., lix. 6., complains that his endeavours had been unsuccessful.

ii. "What is said in lxvi. 1—6. of the temple does not suit the latter part of the period of exile, in which Haggai and Zechariah speak altogether differently on the same subject. Much less could any one during the captivity write, as in xlviii. 4—8., that the ruin and utter destruction of the city of Babylon had not yet been foretold, when Jeremiah l. li. had plainly predicted it; or speak, as in lii. 4., of the Egyptians and Assyrians as the only enemies of the Hebrews, and pass over the Chaldæans. The severe reproofs, lvi. 9—lix. 20., lxv. 11—16., especially those denounced against the shepherds, *i.e.* the kings, lvi. 11, &c.; the reproaches, not only on account of idolatry, but also of the immolation of children, lvii. 1—13., and of enormous corruption of morals, lviii. 6—9., lix. 1—8., are entirely at variance with the times of the captivity. Then, we might rather expect mention to be made of the prophecies of Jeremiah, as in Dan. ix. 2., and that more should be said respecting the Magians

or worshippers of Ormuzd, than that one allusion to the two principles of things, xlv. 7., which certainly were maintained by very many in an age older than that of the captivity.

iii. "Jeremiah shows that he had read these prophecies, seven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, Jer. li. 49—64.; for the connection of the prophecy of Jeremiah contained in Jer. l. li. with the predictions of Isaiah is evident; nor can it be said that the author of the controverted prophecies of Isaiah, living toward the end of the captivity, had read the book of Jeremiah; for he is an original and independent author, drawing entirely from his own resources, and never imitating others; while, on the contrary, it is well known that Jeremiah had read the older prophets, and borrowed much from them, especially in his prophecies against foreign nations. Some passages have been observed in other prophets also, which have been taken from the controverted prophecies of Isaiah: as, Zeph. ii. 14, &c. from Isai. xiii. 21, &c.; Ezek. xxxiv. from Isai. lvii. 10, &c.; Ezek. xxvi. 20., xxxi. 14—17., xxxii. 18—33. from Isai. xiv. 8—28.; Ezek. xxvi. 13. from Isai. xxiii. 25.; Ezek. xxxviii. xxxix. from Isai. lxvi. 6—9, 24. That Habakkuk is indebted to Isaiah has been long since observed: comp. Hab. i. 6. with Isai. xxiii. 13.

iv. "Cyrus, in his written proclamation (Ezra i. 2.), says, that the God of heaven had given him all kingdoms of the earth, and had charged him to build to him a temple at Jerusalem. These words, as well as the acts of Cyrus, namely, his dismission of the Jews to their own country, his grant of a sum of money for the building of the temple, and his restitution of the valuable holy vessels, can only be explained on the supposition that he had seen the prophecies of Isaiah concerning him, as Josephus states, and was induced, by their manifestly-divine origin, to confer such great benefits upon the Jews. Nor was Cyrus the man to suffer recent prophecies scarcely yet published to be palmed upon him for ancient; not to mention that there were many who would have been glad to discover to him the fraud, if any had existed. Neither would Cyrus the Magian, who built nothing but pyres to Ormuzd, have been so easily led to construct a magnificent temple to the God of the Jews.

"It may, indeed, seem strange that the prophet should say so much concerning the return from Babylon, and yet make no express mention of the carrying away. But he certainly does say something concerning this subject, as xxxix. 4—7., vi. 11—13., v. 5—9., xi. 11. —16.; and Micah, the contemporary of Isaiah, speaks clearly of this carrying away, and of the overthrow of Jerusalem; so that it would seem probable that Isaiah had said more on this subject, which has not been preserved to us. If this were the case, the prophet who sings the glad return would no more contradict himself by predicting the carrying away, than Jeremiah does, who has predicted both events.[1] To all this analogy is said to be opposed, according to

[1] Prophets are not, like historians, confined to the order of chronology in announcing future events. This is plain from their writings, which always give perspective views. Zachariah predicted a kingdom for the high priest, without noticing the destruction of the Persian monarchy and the division of the Greek power. Isaiah foretold the return of the

which, it is thought, prophets do not foretell such remote events as those concerning the Chaldæans, the Medes and Persians, Cyrus, and the return of the Hebrews, which Isaiah has predicted. But this analogy is by no means universal. Besides, in this objection it is supposed that the Chaldæans, Medes, and Persians were, in the age of Isaiah, obscure nations, or entirely unknown; whereas, in fact, the Medes, almost 100 years before Isaiah and Hezekiah (826 before Christ, 149 after the division), had, under their king Arbaces, joined an alliance with Belesis the governor of Babylon, and overthrown the first Assyrian monarchy. It is true that the Median anarchy of seventy-nine years followed; but in the tenth of Hezekiah (728 before Christ, 257 after the division,) they elected Dejoces king, who founded Ecbatana and whose son Phraortes (665—643 before Christ, 310—332 after the division), attacking the new kingdom of the Assyrians, was slain while besieging Nineveh; and under Cyaxares I. Zoroaster found the kingdom of the Medes again flourishing.[1] Elam was a celebrated kingdom even in the most ancient times, Gen. xiv., and it is always by the ancient name עֵילָם, Gen. x. 22., xiv. 1., that Isaiah mentions it, and never by the modern appellation פָּרַס, which is given it, Dan. vi. 28.; Ezra i. 1, 2., iv. 5.; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. The Elamites are mentioned as a part of the army of the Assyrians, Isai. xxii. 6.; which prophecy is certainly Isaiah's, as appears from v. 8—11. compared with 2 Chron. xxxii. 2—5. Esarhaddon sent some Elamites among his other colonists to Samaria (Ezra iv. 9, &c.). At a later period Jeremiah, xxv. 25., xlix. 24, &c. mentions Elam among the powerful kingdoms which should be conquered by the Chaldæans; and Ezekiel, xxxii. 24., beholds Elam overthrown. It is only by a long succession of time and victories, that nations are enabled to conquer the surrounding people, and spread themselves so widely as to obtain sufficient celebrity to entitle them to an eminent place in history. It was not, therefore, in a short space of time that the Chaldæans, Medes, and Elamites or Persians, emerged from their obscurity into so great a light as to become conspicuous to the world, when before they had been utterly unknown. If, then, Isaiah foretells the overthrow of the Chaldæans by the Medes and Elamites, his prophecy in that age would have been neither more nor less obscure than Zechariah's (ix. 13.) concerning the wars of the Jews against the Greeks in Syria. Isaiah might easily have used the name *Cyrus*, כּוֹרֶשׁ (or Koresh), xliv. 28., xlv. 1., since it means nothing more than *king;* for in the language of the Parsees KHOR means the *sun*, and SCHID *splendour*, whence is compounded KORSCHID, *the splendour of the sun* and with the addition of the word PAE or PAI, *habitation*, KORSCHIDPAI, *the habitation of the splendour of the sun*, which was a customary appellation of the kings of Persia. This appellation, corrupted into כּוֹרֶשׁ (Koresh), might become known to the Hebrews by means of mer-

Israelites from the Assyrian captivity, without saying anything of the intervening revolutions by the Chaldæans, Medes, and Persians. In prophecy the more remote events are often introduced, while the intermediate are unnoticed.

[1] Comp. Prideaux, Connection, part i. book i.

chants travelling between Judea and Persia; and Isaiah, who did not hesitate to call Cyrus *the anointed*, מָשִׁיחַ, may have called him by the appellative of the kings of Persia, which became afterwards the proper name of that particular king."[1]

2. Examination and refutation of objections against particular predictions of Isaiah.

These may be referred to three heads; viz. i. Prophecies against the Egyptians, Elamites, Idumæans, &c.; ii. The prophecies against Tyre; and, iii. The prophecy concerning the subversion of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire, and the return of the Hebrews from captivity.

i. *Prophecies against the Egyptians, Elamites, Idumæans, &c.*

(1.) "Some have said that the passage in Isai. ii. 2—4. is inserted by mistake by the person whom they suppose to have collected the several prophecies into this one book, about the end of the Babylonish captivity; but others have already remarked that this passage may have been taken by Isaiah from Micah iv. 1—3., or by Micah from Isaiah, or by both from some more ancient prophecy.

(2.) "Chapters xi. and xii. have been supposed not to belong to Isaiah, because in xi. 11—16. the very distant event of the return of the Israelites from Assyria and Egypt and other regions is predicted. But this return was predicted also by Micah, the contemporary of Isaiah, by Hosea, and by Amos.

(3.) "The prophecy in xv. xvi. is thought to have been written three years before the devastation of Moab by Nebuchadnezzar, xiv. 13, &c., because Zephaniah, ii. 8, &c., and Jeremiah, xlviii., threaten the Moabites with the same calamity. But who can show that Isaiah did not speak of another calamity to be inflicted upon them by the Assyrians? or who would suppose that the Assyrians spared the Moabites? Their country was devastated, therefore, as Isaiah foretold, by the Assyrians, and then *again* by the Chaldæans, of whom Zephaniah and Jeremiah prophesied. That this prophecy of Isaiah was much older than the time of Jeremiah is certain; for Jeremiah, xlviii., borrows many ideas from it; as must be evident to every one who compares the two. That it is the production of Isaiah himself is shown by the time of its fulfilment being stated; which is according to Isaiah's usual practice. See vii. 14—17., viii. 4, &c.

[It has been imagined that the oracle against Moab was uttered by some older prophet, and that Isaiah merely added xvi. 13, 14.[2] And some have imagined that this older prophet was Jonah; though others declare that he cannot be identified. That the prophecy did not proceed from Isaiah is said to be proved by the tenderness shown in it to a foreign nation (xvi. 9, 11.), by the general strain of the discourse which is of an antique cast, and by the use of peculiar phrases. Thus, כִּי and עַל־כֵּן frequently occur; also the very rare word הֵידָד, xvi. 9, 10., and the strange forms יַעְעֵרוּ, xv. 5., אֲרַיָּוֶךְ, xvi. 9, &c. &c. But these reasons are of no great weight. Isaiah seems to refer to the pro-

[1] Prof. Turner's and Mr. Whittingham's translation of Jahn's Introduction, pp. 346—350.

[2] Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. pp. 229—231.

phecies against Moab, Numb. xxi. 27, &c. xxiv. 17., and while announcing their fulfilment naturally assumes somewhat of their manner. Hence the short sentences connected by כִּי and עַל־כֵּן. The insertion of so long a portion by another hand without the writer's own elaboration is unexampled. There is also an unmistakable connection of this oracle with the preceding one against Philistia; thus comp. xiv. 29, 32. with xvi. 1, &c.; xiv. 30. with xv. 9.; xiv. 31. with xvi. 7., xv. 2, &c. Also the dramatic form and the similarities of manner and language testify the Isaian authorship of the chapters.[1]]

(4.) "No other reason is brought to prove that the passage, xix. 18—25. is not Isaiah's, than this, that, in the same chapter, vv. 1—15., a prophecy of the calamity of Egypt had preceded; whereas vv. 18—25. predict prosperity. But this is nothing more than is common with the prophets—to promise better fortune after predicting calamity. As the Egyptians are called, ver. 25., the people of JEHOVAH, and the Assyrians, the work of the hands of JEHOVAH, the prophecy must necessarily have been the production of a Hebrew; and it is much more probable that Isaiah should have written it, than any more modern author.

(5.) "Isai. xxii. 1—14. is rejected as spurious, because the Elamites are mentioned, ver. 6.; but, from a comparison of vv. 8—11. with 2 Chron. xxxii. 2—5. and Isai. vii., it appears that the subject is the irruption of Sennacherib; the mention of the Elamites, therefore, must be at least as old as the time of Isaiah: why, then, seek for any other author than Isaiah, who is mentioned in the title of the prophecy?

(6.) "They, who contend that it is not natural that Isaiah should have uttered so many prophecies concerning the irruption of Sennacherib alone, do not consider that this event was one of great importance, and contributed very much to confirm the Hebrews in their religion, so that it well deserved a multitude of prophetic notices. The style and construction, too, confirm the opinion that they are productions of Isaiah, since they do not differ more from each other in this respect, than do the various conferences of Hariri, or the different psalms of David.

(7.) "The prophecy, Isai. xxiv.—xxvii., is referred to a more recent date, on account of the frequent occurrence of paronomasiæ. Now we know that these are considered singular beauties in the oriental style, and that Micah, the contemporary of Isaiah, makes frequent use of them; so that they are no proof of a recent date. Besides, Isaiah himself elsewhere frequently uses paronomasiæ. See Isai. i. 7, 23., iii. 1, 5., vii. 7, 8, 22. &c., xxix. 16.: comp. Hos. i. 4. &c., v. 1., and Mic. i. 14. &c., iii. 12., iv. 10.

(8.) "Chap. xxxiv., in which the devastation of Idumæa is predicted, is thought to be of later origin, because the same devastation is predicted by Jeremiah, xlix. 7. &c., and by Ezekiel, xxv. 12. &c.,

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 68. pp. 254—256.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 209. II. ii. pp. 107—112.: Kleinert produces plenty of examples of the dramatic character of Isaiah's writings. Ueber die Einheit; u. s. w. pp. 286, 287.

and after a long time was first effected by Nebuchadnezzar, which is thought to be too distant from the time of the prophet. But it has not been disproved that Isaiah is speaking, xxxiv., of another calamity, to be inflicted on Idumæa by the Assyrians, of which Amos, i. 11—15., had spoken before him.

(9.) "Chap. xxxv. is entirely destitute of anything which could give countenance to the supposition of a more recent origin; and ver. 9. compared with 2 Kings xvii. 25. proves it to belong to the age of Hezekiah."[1]

ii. *The prophecy against Tyre.* Isai. xxiii.

"The prophecy concerning the destruction of Tyre by the Chaldæans, Isai. xxiii., points out its own age in ver. 13., where the Chaldæans are said to be a recent nation, to whom a district of country lying on the Euphrates had been assigned by the Assyrians, who must, consequently, have been at that time the prevailing power. For, as Habakkuk also, who lived under Manasseh, asserts (i. 6.) that the Chaldæans were a late people, who were endeavouring to possess themselves of the territories of others, it is plain that the time of the delivery of the prophecy in Isai. xxiii. could not have been far distant from that of Habakkuk. It is, indeed, uncertain whether Isaiah lived till the reign of Manasseh; but, as the Chaldæans made frequent irruptions out of their own settlements in the eastern and northern parts of Armenia into the more southern territories, during a long period of time, without doubt these incursions had begun as early as the latter years of the reign of Hezekiah; since the kingdom of Assyria was at that time so much weakened by the assassination of Sennacherib and the intestine tumults which followed that event, as to afford a sufficient inducement for such expeditions. Without sufficient reason also is it asserted that the 70 years mentioned Isai. xxiii. 10. are a prophetic number taken from Jer. xxv. 11, 12., xxix. 10., and that therefore the whole prophecy must be later than the time of Jeremiah. If either prophet borrowed this number from the other, it is more reasonable to conclude that Jeremiah, who, we know, has borrowed from prophets more ancient than himself, took it from the prophecy of Isaiah, than that the author of this prophecy, who everywhere else appears to rely solely upon his own resources, was indebted for it to Jeremiah. What confirms this conclusion is that particular specifications of time are altogether in character with Isaiah's manner. The distance of the event predicted is no objection; for Amos had, before the time of Isaiah, denounced the destruction of Tyre. The Chaldaisms, Isai. xxiii. 11., לַשְׁמִר מָעֻזְּנֶיהָ, will disappear, if we point the words לְשַׁמֵּר מָעֻזְּנֶיהָ, *to destroy her weakened* or *expelled ones.*"[2]

iii. *Prophecies concerning the subversion of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire, and the return of the Hebrews from captivity* (Isai. xiii. 1—xiv. 23., xxi., and xl.—lxvi.).

These predictions, it has been affirmed, must have been written in the time of the Babylonish captivity.

[1] Jahn's Introduction by Prof. Turner and Mr. Whittingham, pp. 352, 353.
[2] Ibid. p. 354.

[The objections which are relied on to disprove the genuineness of the later chapters of Isaiah are of the following nature.

It is said that the writer describes not so much a future as a present exile. He thinks, and feels, and speaks as one already a captive. He describes desolations in Edom and Judea (lxiii. lxiv.) and elsewhere, which had already taken place. He dwells on these things, and repeats them with a minute particularity which savours rather of history than of prediction. All this is alien to the genius of any prophecy which long preceded the events.

The writer, it is further said, speaks familiarly of nations and persons hardly known or not existing in Isaiah's days. There was then no great Chaldæan monarchy; nor were the Medes and Elamites, who were to destroy the Babylonian empire, at that time nations of any celebrity. And yet not only does the writer describe the devastation of Judea and Jerusalem by the Chaldæans (xliv. 26—28), and see the kingdom which had inflicted such ruin on the verge of its own fall, while its enemies were rushing from the north (xli. 25.), but he seems acquainted with the exact position of nations at the time of the captivity and absolutely twice (xliv. 28., xlv. 1.) designates Cyrus by this very name as the deliverer of the Hebrews.

Predictions, it is further urged, of the fall of Babylon, if we suppose them delivered at a time when Babylon was a mere province or tributary kingdom, conld have had no interest for the then-living generation. Isaiah would never have made an ecstatic leap from the Assyrian to the Chaldæan period, nor have dwelt so minutely on the deliverance from captivity without having previously uttered threats of it, or described the captivity itself.

The prophecies, too, as far as the time of Cyrus are perspicuous; whereas, those which refer to later times are obscure: hence the author must have been a contemporary of Cyrus.

The whole strain, moreover, is hortatory, and addressed to persons then living in exile. The writer seems to know all the relations in which they stood, the parties among them to whom severally he adapts his discourse. He addresses them as having present duties to perform, prays for them as already in distress and danger, and in short appears to be writing an epistle to the exiles. None but one among them, it is said, would have done this.

The writer appeals (xl.—xlvii.) to ancient prophecy respecting the Babylonish captivity. But in Isaiah's time there were no such prophecies existing.

Jeremiah, it might reasonably be supposed, on more than one occasion would have been glad to avail himself of Isaiah's authority. But, as we find no such reference made, it is clear that no such prophecies were in Jeremiah's day in existence. It is further asserted that the spirit and views of Isaiah, as we gather them from the earlier part of the book, differ widely from those of the writer of the later chapters, in which there are descriptions of the servant of Jehovah, xli. 8, 9., xlii. 1, &c., xliv. 1., xlviii. 12, 20., xlix. 7., lii. 13, &c.; derisive contempt of idolatry, xl. 19, 20., xliv. 9—20., xlvi. 5—7.; extraordinary expectations of Jewish supremacy, and of the

relation which that people would bear to the Gentiles. The style of writing is said to vary, as being more copious and prolix. And a vast number of examples have been produced of peculiarities of diction, and the use of later words and forms.[1]]

Jahn replies that "the language, style, and composition are certainly not such as *must necessarily* be referred to the time of the captivity, and *could not* have been produced by Isaiah. On the contrary, the purity of the language, the sublimity of the style, and the elegance of the composition, are such as could not be expected from the leaden age of Hebrew literature, but show their origin to have been in the silver age. The difference of style in the two parts is not greater than the difference of Micah i.—v. from vi. vii., and is less than that which may be observed in Hosea i. iii. compared with ii. iv.—xiv., or in Amos i.—vi. compared with vii. viii., or in the different psalms of David. The occurrence of some words or phrases not to be found in the other writings of the age of Isaiah proves nothing; for it is not to be expected that, in the small remains of Hebrew literature, all the words and phrases of any particular age should repeatedly occur. Yet there are in the writings in question exceedingly few words or phrases of this kind.[2] On the contrary, the accustomed vehemence of Isaiah, the same dismemberment of objects, and the same antithesis between Jacob and Israel, are observable in both parts of these prophecies. All the difference is that the prophet, who in the first part was censuring wickedness, in the latter endeavours rather to teach and console, as the nature of his subject required: yet even here he sometimes inveighs against different vices, lvi. 9—lvii. 12., lviii. 1—7., lix. 1—8., lxv. 11—14. If Isaiah wrote these prophecies in the latter years of his life, it is easy to conceive that the prophet, now old (in the time of Manasseh, as appears from every part of these prophecies), filled with consolatory prospects, chose rather to teach than to rebuke; but it was peculiarly proper for a teacher to address the people as the servant of God, to distinguish the better part of the nation, and to illustrate the madness of idolatry; which last, however, he had done in the first part, not only ii. 18, &c., but also ii. 8., viii. 19, 21., although with more brevity than in the latter part. The notice of the fulfilment of former prophecies was especially adapted to convey instruction, whether the author refers to the carrying away of the ten tribes, or to the deliverance of the Jews from the Assyrians, or to some other more ancient predictions: this, therefore, is no proof of a modern date. Such remarks do not occur in the first part of the book, because there the

[1] See Jahn, Introduction to the Old Test. transl. by Turner and Whittingham, part ii. sect. ii. chap. ii. § 107.; Stuart, Crit. Hist. and Defence of Old Test. Canon (Davidson) sect. iv. pp. 99, 100.; Knobel, Der Prophet Jesaia. Einleit. pp. xxiii., &c.

[2] In his larger German Introduction Jahn "declares that, after repeated perusals, he can find only two such words: צְעָה, li. 14., lxiii. 1., which occurs elsewhere only in Jer. ii. 20., xlviii. 12., but yet is not Aramæan; and סְגָנִים, which is found in Isai. xli. 25., and elsewhere only in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, but which cannot be a very modern word, as it was in use among the Assyrians. See Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23. Einleit. p. 485." Note of Prof. Turner and Mr. Whittingham.

prophet neither teaches nor consoles, but reproves. The occurrence of certain phrases in one part which are not to be found in the other might prove a difference of authors, if the genius of Isaiah were dry and barren; but not otherwise."

Further, " The particularity of the predictions to be accomplished at a period so distant is indeed extraordinary, but the prophet frequently recommends this very circumstance to the attention of the reader as something remarkable; whence it appears that even in his age it seemed incredible to many; and therefore the fact that the remoteness of the fulfilment is noticed in these prophecies is a proof of the antiquity of their author. It has already been shown that the Chaldæans, Medes, and Persians, or Elamites, were not in the time of Isaiah such obscure nations as that the prophet, when speaking of them, could not have been understood as far as was necessary. That the prophets have sometimes spoken of very remote events has been already proved by several examples, some of which were even afforded by Isaiah himself: to these may be added that, in this same second part, Jesus the Messiah is predicted, lii. 13—liii. 12., a passage so clear that all attempts to explain it of any other are perfectly vain and fruitless. Compare also lv. 1—5. Indeed, in his very first vision, vi., the prophet foresees the entire devastation of Judæa, and the subsequent restoration. Lastly, the propagation of religion, predicted in the same second part, was itself exceedingly distant from the end of the Babylonian captivity; so that, even allowing, for argument's sake, the hypothesis concerning the recent origin of these prophecies to be correct, there will yet remain a prophecy verified in a remote posterity; the Hebrew people, and more particularly the better part of that people, being pointed out as the instruments of its completion."

Again, " That the prophecies relating to times anterior to Cyrus should be the more perspicuous, but those referring to more distant periods the more obscure, is not to be wondered at; for in visions, as in prospects, the more distant objects appear the more indistinctly marked. That the Cushites and Sabæans formerly carried on a considerable commerce and brought merchandize to the Hebrews, even after the captivity, cannot be doubted: nor were the Hebrews of that time so universally poor as is pretended; for, Hagg. i., they built ceiled houses, and supplied funds for the building of the temple, and, in the time of Nehemiah, even for the fortifications of Jerusalem. Besides, these passages relate not so much to commercial intercourse with these people, as to their conversion to the worship of the true God. That not a few of them did embrace Judaism and visit the temple of Jerusalem, as is predicted lx. 6—10., is certain from Acts ii. 10, 11., and viii. 27, &c."[1]

3. Jahn has also examined whether Isaiah was the author of chapters xxxvi.—xxxix.[2] Some notice of this question is hereafter taken.

[1] Jahn, Introduction by Prof. Turner and Mr. Whittingham, pp. 355—358.

[2] Jahn, ibid., p. 359. Bishop Lowth considers the narrative-chapters in Isaiah as a different copy of the relation in the second book of Kings, the account of Hezekiah's

[A low and imperfect view of the nature of prophecy seems to be the ground of the objection made against the Isaian authorship of the later chapters.[1] It is assumed that the Hebrew prophets were little more than sagacious men, who could tell the signs of the times, and prognosticate with tolerable accuracy the events which the state of the world showed were likely soon to happen. Their predictions therefore would have to be vague, and confined to a short space of time. But the divine power must not be so circumscribed. On the clear tablet of the Eternal Mind are inscribed all occurrences, past, present, and to come, known with equal exactitude and minuteness. And why should it be thought incredible that he should impart some of this knowledge to his servants, giving proof, by thus "declaring the end from the beginning and from ancient times the things that are not yet done" (Isai. xlvi. 10.), that he is infinitely above the false gods of heathendom, "who have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not" (Psal. cxv. 5.)? It was no mean office the prophets filled. The Old Testament is one great prophecy of the New, and God's dealings with his church the gradual unfolding of that sublime purpose according to which the Just was to suffer for the unjust. By means of the prophets, God's intentions were revealed. Temporal deliverances from earthly foes were predicted. But this was not the great end of the prophetic utterances. Mightier victories over adversaries more implacable were pre-signified; and the worldly fulfilment was but the proof, or it may be the type also, of that more complete accomplishment of the good pleasure of God's goodness in the redemption of the world and the glorious establishment of his holy kingdom. It is therefore a mistake to conceive that Isaiah's later prophecies respected merely the return from the literal Babylon. Hence Stuart says, "It is only when chaps. xl.—lxvi. are viewed in the light of a great *Messianic* development—a series of predictions respecting the person, the work, and the kingdom of Christ—that the earnestness, the protracted length, the fulness, the deep feeling, the holy enthusiasm, the glowing metaphors and similes, and the rich and varied exhibitions of peace and prosperity, can well be accounted for. The writer, in taking such a stand-point, uses the exile and the return from it as the basis of his comparisons and analogies. It was a rich and deeply-interesting source, from which he might draw them. Any other solution of the whole phenomena is, to my mind at least, meagre and unsatisfactory."[2]

It will not be difficult, from such principles, to make a satisfactory reply to the specific objections that have been urged. It was a pro-

sickness only excepted. The difference of the two copies, he is of opinion, is little more than what has manifestly arisen from the mistakes of transcribers: they mutually correct each other; and most of the mistakes may be perfectly rectified by a collation of the two copies with the assistance of the ancient versions. Some few sentences, or members of sentences, are omitted in this copy of Isaiah, which are found in the other copy of the book of Kings; but he doubts whether these omissions were made by design or by mistake. Isaiah, vol. ii. p 237.

[1] See Henderson, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, transl. with a Commentary, 1840. Introd. Diss. pp. xvii. &c. Comp. proofs of the accomplishment of prophecy, in Vol. I. pp. 279. &c., and such works as those of Newton, Keith, &c.

[2] Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon, sect. iv. p. 103. Comp. Henderson, as above cited, p. xix.

phetical not a historical position that Isaiah took. He is carried forward into future times; and the condition of Judah captive is before his eye. But there are no such details as we find in the prophets who really wrote at the period of the captivity. There is no note of time; and even Cyrus, though called by name, is spoken of in general terms.[1] All this is strictly consonant with prophetic usage. Neither was the idea of a Babylonish captivity so utterly strange in Isaiah's time as objectors choose to represent it. Occasion for speaking of it was given by Hezekiah's conduct to the Chaldæan ambassadors; and the temper in which that monarch received the reproof conveyed to him seemed to offer opportunity for cheering promises of deliverance from the impending disaster. His faith was to be encouraged. Besides, other prophets of the same date were instructed to develope the same facts; comp. Micah iv. 10., vii. 7—11., where the stand-point is assumed in the exile. The nations referred to were not then altogether unknown; and, moreover, it is not unusual for prophecy to delineate the prominent future of those who at the time might appear little likely to perform the part assigned them. As to the mention of Cyrus, similar designations by name may be produced (*e. g.* Numb. xxiv. 7.; 1 Kings xiii. 2.); and, besides, Cyrus is possibly but a title of dignity, as Pharaoh in Egypt.[2] Little need be said as to the alleged reference to ancient prophecies. This is no proof that any other prophecies were referred to than those of Isaiah himself. And the silence of Jeremiah, when the objectors suppose he would have been glad to avail himself of Isaiah's authority, is utterly without weight.

It cannot be denied that in style and manner the later chapters differ from the earlier parts of the book. But, it is conceived, there is sufficient ground for the difference. The earlier oracles were more abrupt. They were called forth by passing events, were probably uttered at the time, and contain more of threatening for prevailing sins. The latter chapters are one long discourse. The theme is fully treated. Hence the copiousness and flow of language. Blessings are promised and described: richness of language and imagery was therefore natural. And the whole was probably composed at leisure and in comparative retirement, some time, it is reasonable to suppose, after the rest of the book. Was Isaiah, then, likely to express himself under different circumstances exactly in the same manner? Do we find that authors generally bind themselves to such servile sameness?[3]

With regard to peculiarities of diction, there are some, doubtless; but they have been greatly exaggerated by Knobel. The Chaldaisms are few: סְגָנִים, xli. 25., may easily be accounted for by the intercourse of the Jews with the Assyrians: הֶחֱלִי, liii. 10., and אֶגְאָלְתִּי,

[1] See Keil, Einleitung, § 72.

[2] See Hengstenberg, Christology (edit. Edinb.), transl. by Meyer, vol. ii. pp. 191—193.; or in Bibl. Repository, Oct. 1831, pp. 720, 721.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 218. II. ii. pp. 163, &c. Comp. observations above, pp. 783, 784.

[3] See Prof. Lee, Six Sermons on the Study of Script. 1830, pp. 158, &c. Prof. Lee instances in Cicero, Virgil, Shakespeare, Milton, and other authors, who might be dismembered on the same principles as those applied to Isaiah.

lxiii. 3. are introduced as being more poetical. Of course a composition of such extent will manifest some peculiarities. But some of the alleged peculiarities do not prevail through the entire section; others are excogitated by attributing wrong meanings to words, as צֶדֶק, צְדָקָה, *salvation, victory*, מִשְׁפָּט, *religion*, בָּחַר, *to prove*; others again are words which occur in the prophecies acknowledged to be Isaiah's, as אִיִּים, *islands, maritime countries*, see xi. 11.; תֹּהוּ, see xxix. 21.; חֹשֶׁךְ, *darkness*, of *misfortune*, see viii. 22., ix. 1.[1] But Hengstenberg's remarks on objections of this kind are well worth consideration: "We attach no importance to the collections of isolated words and expressions, which some critics have gleaned from the disputed parts of Isaiah, and which are not found in other portions that are deemed genuine. We might here well apply what Krüger wrote on a similar question in profane history . . . 'This is a very slippery mode of reasoning . . . If it should be denied, on account of those words which this author [Xenophon] has either employed in a different sense, or has not made use of at all, that the Anabasis was written by him, it could by the same reasoning be shown that every other work was falsely attributed to him.'"[2]

And, had the writer of the last chapters lived, as it is alleged of him, in the time of the captivity, his composition would have exhibited not just a few Chaldaisms here and there, but the style of Ezekiel and Daniel. It is no sufficient answer to say that the post-exilian prophets are remarkably free from Chaldaisms. They had left Babylon and wrote in their own country. Nor is it likely that a later writer purposely imitated the purer diction of former ages. "An artificial abstinence from the language of their times," says Hengstenberg, "occurs only in those prophets who entirely lean upon an earlier prophetic literature; but that union of purity in diction with independence, which is manifest in the attacked portions of Isaiah, is no where else to be found."[3]

That the objections urged against the Isaian authorship are not of overwhelming weight has, it is supposed, been sufficiently shown. And it is proper to remark that objections, to have much influence on such a question, ought to be of formidable character. For as Hengstenberg well observes, "it is a principle of higher criticism that both whole works, and the single parts of the same, must be regarded as the production of the author to whom they are attributed, so long as it is not shown by internal and external grounds, that he *could not* have been the author. This has not been done in the present case."[4]

With regard to the prophecies against Babylon, xiii. 1—xiv. 23., and xxi., later prophets seem to have been acquainted with them: comp. Hab. i. 6, &c., with Isai. xiv. 4, &c.; ii. 9. with Isai. xiii. 9, 11., xiv. 13, &c.; Zeph. i. 7. (הִקְדִּישׁ קְרֻאָיו), and iii. 11. (עַלִּיזֵי גַּאֲוָתֵךְ), with Isai. xiii. 3.; ii. 13—15. with Isai. xiii. 20—22.; Ezek. vii. 17, xxi. 7, 12., with Isai. xiii. 6, 7.;; xxxii. 12, &c. with Isai. xiv. 4.:

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 72. [2] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl Lit. art. Isaiah. [3] Ibid.
[4] See Bibl. Repository, Oct. 1831, p. 723.

Jer. l. li. are but an elaboration of Isaiah's predictions. Comp. also Nah. ii. 10. (Heb. 11.), last part, with Isai. xxi. 3. (just as Nah. ii. 11. (first part) answers to Isai. xxii. 5., xxiv. 1.); the calling of the Chaldæans בּוֹגְדִים, Hab. i. 13. with Isai. xxi. 2.; Hab. ii. 1. with Isai. xxi. 6, 8. (just as Hab. ii. 2. may be compared with Isai. viii. 1., xxx. 8.); Jer. li. 33. with Isai. xxi. 10.; l. 2, 38., li. 8, 47, 52, with Isai. xxi. 9.[1]

The circle of ideas and the images in these chapters are very similar to those in other parts of Isaiah; the same idioms appear: thus אֶרֶץ מֶרְחָק, in xiii. 5., and xlvi. 11.; מִקְצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם in xiii. 5., and מִקְצֵה הָאָרֶץ, in v. 26.; שְׂעִירִים, in xiii. 21., and xxxiv. 14.; זֶרַע מְרֵעִים, in xiv. 20. and i. 4.; נֵצֶר, in xiv. 19., and xi. 1.; with many more, for which the student must search the works already referred to.[2]

Further, the passage, Isai. xiv. 24—27, is acknowledged to be genuine; but this is closely connected with the prophecy that precedes. The inscriptions, or titles, also furnish testimony not without weight. All these may seem, separately taken, but little matters, but they are at least as satisfying as the kind of objections urged.

The arguments in proof that chaps. xl.—lxvi. were really written by Isaiah must now be considered.

We have them repeatedly cited in the New Testament, and ascribed to Isaiah. Thus xl. 3. is introduced by the words, "This is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias," Matt. iii. 3.; see Luke iii. 4., John i. 23. So xlii. 1. is introduced by "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet," Matt. xii. 17. Again, of liii. 1. we find, "That the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled which he spake," John xii. 38.; and in the following verses reference is made to Isai. vi., in terms which show that the two quotations were considered as belonging to the same prophet: comp. Rom. x. 16. Once more, lxv. 1, 2. is expressly attributed to Isaiah: "Esaias is very bold and saith," Rom. x. 20. It is perfectly clear that Christ and his apostles believed that the passages so cited belonged to Isaiah. This proof alone ought to be decisive.

But there is more. The book of Ecclesiasticus was written in the second century before Christ; and the author refers to Isaiah in such a way as to show that he means the whole book. "For Ezekias had done the thing that pleased the Lord, and was strong in the ways of David his father; as Esay the prophet, who was great and faithful in his vision, had commanded him. In his time the sun went backward; and he lengthened the king's life. He saw, by an excellent spirit, what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Sion. He showed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came," Ecclus. xlviii. 22—25. That the later chapters are here intended there can be no question: it was consequently the belief of this author that they were written by Isaiah.

Josephus supplies, further, a remarkable fact.[3] According to his

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 68. pp. 252, 253.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 211. II. ii. pp. 121, 122.
[2] See Keil, Einleitung, § 68. p. 253.
[3] Antiq. Jud. lib. xi. cap. i. 1, 2.

statement, Cyrus was made aware of Isaiah's prophecies respecting him, and was hence induced to issue his decree for the Jews' return and the re-building of their temple. Kleinert has shown how the decree (Ezra i.) not only must refer to the later chapters, but actually incorporates many of the words of them.[1] If they were not written by Isaiah, the production of a recent writer was palmed upon Cyrus as the oracle of an ancient prophet!

There is also strong reason to believe that other prophets who lived prior to the exile were acquainted with those of Isaiah and referred to them. Thus Jer. x. is full of allusion to the later chapters in question. Comp. also Jer. xlviii. 18—22, 26., with Isai. xlvii. 1—3.; Jer. xii. 9. with Isai. lvi. 9.; Jer. v. 25. with Isai. lix. 1, 2.; Jer. xiii. 16. with Isai. lix. 9—11.; Jer. xxv. 31, 33. with Isai. lxvi. 16.; Jer. l. 2, 8. with Isai. xlviii. 20., lii. 11.; Jer. li. 30. with Isai. xlv. 2.; Jer. li. 48. with Isai. xliv. 23.; Jer. li. 55, 56. with Isai. lxvi. 6. Ezekiel has other allusions: thus comp. Ezek. xxiii. 40, 41. with Isai. lvii. 9.; Ezek. xxxiv. 13. with Isai. lxv. 9.; Ezek. xxii. 30. with Isai. lix. 16. So also Zephaniah: comp. Zeph. ii. 15. with Isai. xlvii. 8.; Zeph. iii. 10. with Isai. lxvi. 19, 20.; and Habakkuk: comp. Hab. ii. 18, 19. with Isai. xliv. 9—20.; and Nahum: comp. Nah. ii. 1. (i. 15.) with Isai. lii. 1, 7.; Nah. iii. 4, 5. with Isai. xlvii. 2, 3, 9, 12.; Nah. iii. 7. with Isai. li. 19.[2] It can hardly be denied, after a careful consideration of these passages, that the later chapters of Isaiah were extant in the times of these prophets, that is, long before the captivity.

It must further be borne in mind that many of the earlier parts of Isaiah are considered spurious by those who deny him chaps. xl.—lxvi., and are assigned to various sources. Stuart, therefore, pertinently asks, "What example is there, among all the prophets, of a book so patched up by putting together six different authors, five of them without any names? *Who* did this? *Where, when* was it done? If parts of the book are so late as is alleged, why have we no hint about its compilation, no certain internal evidence of it? How can we account for it that all the minor prophets, even Obadiah with his one chapter, should be kept *separate* and distinct, and this even *down to* the end of the prophetic period, and yet Isaiah be made up by undistinguished fragments and amalgamations? These surely are *serious* difficulties; and they have not yet been satisfactorily met."[3]

The title, i. 1., furnishes additional evidence to the integrity of the book. But this has been dwelt on elsewhere (see p. 780.).

A close examination of the chapters in question will detect many

[1] Ueber die Echtheit sämmtl. in dem Buche Jesaia enthalt. Weissagungen, pp. 134. &c. Comp. Ezra i. 2. the words, כָּל מַמְלְכוֹת הָאָרֶץ נָתַן לִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, with Isai. xli. 2, 4, 25., xlv. 1. &c., especially 5., xlviii. 13—15; the words וְהוּא פָקַד עָלַי לִבְנוֹת לוֹ בַיִת בִּירוּשָׁלַםִ, with Isai. xliv. 28., xlv., 13.; Ezra i. 3. *with Isai.* xliv. 28., xlv. 13.; Ezra i. 4. with Isai. xlv. 13. לֹא בִמְחִיר וְלֹא בְשֹׁחַד, also the expression מִי הֵעִיר מִמִּזְרָח, &c. Isai. xli. 2., and אָנֹכִי הַעִירֹתִהוּ בְצֶדֶק, with that used in Ezra i. 1 הֵעִיר יְהוָה אֶת־רוּחַ כּוֹרֶשׁ: comp. v. 5. Ibid. p. 142.

[2] See Keil, Einleitung, § 72.; with authors there cited.

[3] Crit. Hist. and Def. of Old Test. Canon (Davidson), sect. iv. p. 97.

proofs scattered throughout them that they cannot justly be denied to Isaiah.

Thus there are expressions which describe Babylon's fall and the Jews' deliverance as new and unheard-of; see xli. 26, 27., xlii. 9., xliii. 9—13., xlv. 21., xlvi. 10., xlviii. 3, 5. But through all the captivity the Jewish people were cheered with the hope of restoration: the idea was familiar to them. Hence no writing at *that* time would have used the language referred to.

Again, the addresses to Jerusalem, xl. 2, 9., xli, 27., li. 17., lxii. 1, &c., have been adduced to show that the writer lived in Jerusalem, or at least in Judea. If these are not convincing proofs, they may at least be laid over-against Ewald's notion that he was an inhabitant of Egypt, because that country is repeatedly mentioned, xliii. 3., xlv. 14.[1] There are, however, weightier reasons to be deduced from such passages as to the date of the composition. Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba are mentioned as the most prominent nations of the period: also, lii. 4, the Assyrian oppression is referred to as the last. And the sins rebuked are those which prevailed in Judea in Isaiah's time; viz. neglect of the offerings that ought to have been made, xliii. 22—24.; sacrificing in a profane way, lxvi. 3.; idolatry, lvii. 3, &c., lxv. 3. &c.; a seeking for foreign help, lvii. 9. &c.; comp. xxx. 1, &c., xxxi. &c.[2] Professor Blunt treats this topic with much force: "The scenes amongst which Isaiah seems to write indicate the commonwealth of Israel to be yet standing. He remonstrates, in the name of God, with the people for a hypocritical observance of the fast-days, lviii. 3., for exacting usurious profits nevertheless: for prolonging unlawfully the years of bondage, v. 6.; for profaning the sabbaths, v. 13.; for confounding all distinction between clean and unclean meats, lxv. 4., lxvi. 17. He makes perpetual allusions, too, to the existence of false prophets in Jerusalem, as though this class of persons was very common whilst Isaiah was writing; the most likely persons in the world to be engendered by troubled times. And, above all, he reviles the people for their gross and universal idolatry; a sin which in all its aspects is pursued from the fortieth chapter to the last with a ceaseless, inextinguishable, unmitigated storm of mockery, contempt, and scorn. With what position of the prophet can these and many similar allusions be reconciled, but with that of a man dwelling in Judea before the captivity, during a period which, as historically described in the latter chapters of the books of Kings and Chronicles, presents the express counterpart of those references in the prophet."[3] The same writer produces a remarkable argument from lxii. 4. The marriage of the land is symbolically described; and the name applied to it is Hephzibah. Now from 2 Kings xxi. 1., we learn that Manasseh's mother, Hezekiah's wife, was named Hephzibah; and, as Manasseh, was born twelve years before his father's death, the marriage of the king probably was celebrated after (ac-

[1] Die Propheten des A. B. vol. ii. pp. 409, 410. Ewald more particularly specifies the writer. He was one of those who went with Jeremiah into Egypt!

[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 72.

[3] Undesigned Coincidences in the Old and New Test. (5th edit.) part iii. 6. p. 239.

cording to the received chronology) the destruction of Sennacherib's army. "It is not improbable, therefore," says Professor Blunt, "that the royal nuptials of Hezekiah occurred about the time of this prophecy; and that Isaiah, after the manner of the prophets in general, availed himself of the passing event, and of the name of the bride, as a vehicle for the tidings which he had to communicate."[1]

There are peculiarities of style which exhibit themselves in all portions of the book. Antithesis, paronomasia, and play on words frequently occur. The same word is repeated in the parallel members of a verse; whereas other writers generally employ synonymes. Figurative expressions are immediately explained by subjoining the prose equivalents. "Another peculiarity of Isaiah," says Hengstenberg, "is that he intersperses his prophetic orations with hymns, that he seldom relates visions, strictly so called, and seldom performs symbolic actions, and that he employs figurative expressions quite peculiar to himself; as for example, *pasted-up eyes* for spiritual darkness; *morning red* for approaching happiness; the *remnant of olive-trees, vineyards, and orchards* for the remnant of the people which have been spared during the judgments of God; *rejected tendrils* or *branches* for enemies which have been slain."[2]

The same peculiarities of diction occur everywhere. Thus the title קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל (xli. 14, 16, 20, &c.), is found 14 times in the later chapters, 12 in the other part of the book. It is in 2 Kings xix. 22., the parallel passage to Isai. xxxvii. 23.; 3 times in the Psalms, twice in Jeremiah, l. 29., li. 5., where he imitates Isaiah; and in no other part of the bible, save that in Ezek. xxxix. 7. there is a near approach to it. Then נִקְרָא, *to be called*, is used for *to be*, i. 26., ix. 6., xxxv. 8., xlvii. 1, 5., xlviii. 8., lvi. 7. &c. Another common phrase is יֹאמַר לְ, iv. 3., xix. 18., lxi. 6., lxii. 4. Further, we have יֹאמַר יְהוָֹה in parentheses for אָמַר יְהוָֹה, used by other authors; אָבִיר, used of God, i. 24., xlix. 26., lx. 16.; צֶאֱצָאִים, a poetic word for *offspring*, xxii. 24., xlii. 5., xliv. 3., xlviii. 19., lxi. 9., lxv. 23.; רַהַב, for Egypt, xxx. 7., li. 9.; גֶּזַע, a *trunk*, xi. 1., xl. 24.: חָרוּץ, a *threshing instrument*, xxviii. 27., xli. 15.; יִבְלֵי מַיִם, *streams of water*, xxx. 25., xliv. 4.; נַעֲצוּץ, a *thorn-hedge* or *thicket*, vii. 19., lv. 13., and nowhere else in the bible; מֵאָז, *from ancient times, long since*, xvi. 13., xliv. 8., xlv. 21., xlviii. 3, 5, 7.; רָם וְנִשָּׂא, in conjunction, *high and lifted up*, ii. 13., vi. 1., lvii. 15.; הָיָה לְבָעֵר, *to be for a burning* or *destruction*, v. 5., vi. 13., xliv. 15.; שֹׁרֶשׁ, a *shoot*, xi. 10., liii. 2.[3]

Laying all the considerations together, of which a brief summary has now been given, it would seem impossible to deny that the later chapters proceeded from the prophet Isaiah. The difficulties on any other supposition are enormous. The whole weight of external evidence is in favour of the genuineness of the composition. And, though some plausible arguments have been collected from the examination of the contents, it is submitted that they are not more

[1] Undesigned Coincidences in the Old and New Test. part iii. 5. p. 238.

[2] Kitto, Cycl. of Bibl. Lit, art. Isaiah. See also Keil, Einleitung, § 72.

[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 72. See this topic largely illustrated by Kleinert, Ueber die Echtheit u. s. w. pp 220, &c.

formidable than ingenious men could frame against the genuineness of any ancient writing whatever; while they are met by internal proofs at least as forcible. A kind of compromise has been suggested by some critics: it is that there was an Isaiah, a man of the same name, who lived in times posterior to those of his better-known namesake. This, it is thought, would answer the requirements of external proof; so that an Isaiah might be cited, and truly, in the New Testament, who yet would not be the Isaiah of whom history tells, though he had the advantage, by reason of his name, of being bound up into a volume with *him*. A serious disproof of such a theory can scarcely be looked for: it is a guess, and a very improbable guess, a guess with not a tittle of evidence in favour of it. It is enough to say this. The thoughtful student, who believes that "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," will, it is confidently expected, accept the proof that one Isaiah delivered these oracles of God.]

III. The SCOPE of Isaiah's predictions is threefold; viz.

1. *To detect, reprove, and condemn the sins of the Jewish people especially*, and also the iniquities of the ten tribes of Israel, and the abominations of many Gentile nations and countries; denouncing the severest judgments against all sorts and degrees of persons, whether Jews or Gentiles.

2. *To invite persons of every rank and condition*, both Jews and Gentiles, to repentance and reformation, by numerous promises of pardon and mercy. It is worthy of remark that no such promises are intermingled with the denunciations of divine vengeance against Babylon, although they occur in the threatenings against every other people.

3. *To comfort all the truly pious* (in the midst of all the calamities and judgments denounced against the wicked) with prophetic promises of the true Messiah.[1] These predictions "seem almost to anticipate the gospel history, so clearly do they foreshow the divine character of Christ (vii. 14. compared with Matt. i. 18—23. and Luke i. 27—35.; vi., ix. 6., xxxv. 4., xl. 5, 9, 10., xlii. 6—8., lxi. 1. compared with Luke iv. 18., lxii. 11., lxiii. 1—4.); his miracles (xxxv. 5, 6.); his peculiar qualities and virtues (xi. 2, 3., xl. 11., xliii. 1—3.); his rejection (vi. 9—12., viii. 14, 15., liii. 3.); and sufferings for our sins (l. 6., liii. 4—11.)[2]; his death, burial (liii. 8, 9.), and victory over death (xxv. 8., liii. 10, 12.); and, lastly, his final glory (xlix. 7, 22, 23., lii. 13—15., liii. 4, 5.), and the establishment, increase (ii. 2—4., ix. 7., xlii. 4., xlvi. 13.), and perfection (ix. 2, 7., xi. 4—10., xvi. 5., xxix. 18—24., xxxii. 1., xl. 4, 5., xlix. 9—13., li. 3—6., lii. 6—10., lv. 1—3., lix. 16—21., lx., lxi. 1—5., lxv. 25.) of his kingdom; each specifically pointed out, and portrayed with the most striking and discriminating characters. It is impossible, indeed, to reflect on these, and on the whole chain of his illustrious prophecies, and not to be sensible that they furnish the most incontestable evidence in support of Christianity."[3]

[1] This scope of Isaiah's prophecies above given is abridged from Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, p. 616.

[2] See Acts viii. 32.

[3] Gray, Key, pp. 369, 370.

IV. The predictions of Isaiah are contained in sixty-six chapters; of which the first five are generally supposed to have been delivered in the reign of Uzziah; the sixth in the reign of Jotham; the seventh to the fifteenth, in the reign of Ahaz; and the remainder in that of Hezekiah. Various modes of classifying them have been proposed; some dividing them into three parts: 1. *Evangelico-legal,* denunciations of the divine vengeance, with evangelical promises; 2. *Historical,* the narrative part; and, 3. *Evangelical,* prophecies and promises relative to the deliverance of the Jews from captivity, and the yet greater deliverance of mankind from sin, by the Messiah. By others, the book is divided into, 1. *Reprehensory,* sharp reproofs, in which are mingled promises to the penitent; 2. *Minatory,* threatenings against the enemies of the Jewish church, and also against the Jews themselves; 3. *Narrative* or *historical;* and, 4. *Consolatory* and evangelical promises concerning Messiah and the church. Other classifications have been proposed, which it is not necessary to specify[1]; but the following synopsis will perhaps be found to exhibit a clear view of the various topics discussed by this prophet. The predictions of Isaiah, then, may be divided into six parts, each containing a number of discourses, delivered to various nations.[2]

PART I. *contains a general description of the estate and condition of the Jews, in the several periods of their history; the promulgation and success of the gospel, and the coming of Messiah to judgment* (i.—v.). *The predictions in this section were delivered during the reign of Uzziah king of Judah.*

1. (i.) This prophecy constitutes an entire piece of itself.[3] If delivered in the reign of Uzziah, it describes the calamities occasioned by Jehoash, king of Israel (comp. 2 Kings xiv. 12—14.). Dr. John Taylor thinks that this prediction was uttered in the reign of Ahaz, and intends the

[[1] Other writers have adopted different divisions of this book. Gesenius distributes it into four parts, exclusive of the historical chapters, xxxvi.—xxxix., viz. I. chaps. i.—xii.; II. xiii.—xxiii.; III. xxiv.—xxxv.; IV. xl.—lxvi. Keil regards the book as comprising two great groups of prophecies. He supposes chap. i. an address to Isaiah's contemporaries, and an introduction to the rest; and then the first group includes ii.—xxvii.; the second xxviii.—lxvi. The two great events of the time were the combination of Syria and Ephraim against Judah, and the invasion of Sennacherib; and to these, as the special objects, the mission of the prophet tended. The centre and nucleus of the first group is chap. vii.; of the second, chaps. xxxvi.—xxxix. And to these the rest of the predictions are subordinated, either as preparatory to them, or taking occasion from them to develop the future manifestation of God's kingdom (Einleitung, § 66.). Perhaps this arrangement is not quite satisfactory. No distinct principle seems to have moulded the book into its present form. Neither is chronological succession always observed; nor are the parts always disposed according to similarity of material.]

[2] These general divisions of the prophecy are according to the scheme proposed by Vitringa, Comment. in Esaiam, tom. i. p. 24., and Bishop Tomline, Elements of Christ. Theol. vol. i. p. 107.

[3] The former part of the title (i. 1.) seems properly to belong to this particular prophecy: the latter part, which enumerates the kings of Judah, seems to extend it to the entire collection of prophecies. Vitringa (with whom bishop Lowth agrees) supposes that the former part of the title was originally prefixed to this single prophecy; and that, when the collection of all Isaiah's prophecies was made, the enumeration of the kings of Judah was added, to make it at the same time a proper title to the whole book. As such it is plainly taken in 2 Chron. xxxii. 32., where the book of Isaiah is cited by the title of The Vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz. Vitringa, tom. i. pp. 25—29.; Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 4. [Vitringa's reasons will not bear examination. Kleinert has well exposed the weakness of them. Ueber die Echtheit, u. s. w. pp. 7, &c. See before, p. 780.]

invasion of Judah by Resin and Pekah, kings of Syria and Israel.[1] It contains a severe remonstrance against prevailing sins, with exhortations to repentance, and gracious promises.

2. (ii. iv.) contains the following particulars:—

1. The kingdom of Messiah, the conversion of the Gentiles, and their admission into it (ii. 1—5.).
2. The punishment of the unbelieving Jews; and the destruction of idolatry, in consequence of the establishment of Messiah's kingdom (ii. 6—20.).
3. Calamities of the Babylonian invasion (perhaps also of the invasion by the Romans), with an amplification of the distress of the luxurious daughters of Sion (iii. 1—26.[2] iv. 1.).
4. A promise to the remnant, of a restoration to God's favour (iv. 2—6.).

This was delivered in the time of Jotham, or perhaps of Uzziah.

3. (v.) A general reproof of the Jews for their wickedness, which is represented in the parable of the vineyard (vv. 1—5.); and a more express declaration of vengeance by the Babylonian invasion. (vv. 6—30.)

Part II. *comprises the predictions delivered in the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz* (vi.—xii.).

1. The vision of Isaiah in the year of Uzziah's death (vi.).[3] As this vision seems to contain a solemn designation of Isaiah to the prophetical office, it is supposed by many to be the first in order of his prophecies. Bishop Lowth, however, is of opinion that it is a new designation, to introduce, with the greater solemnity, a general declaration of the whole course of God's dispensations, and the fates of the nation—events which will not be fully accomplished until the final restoration of Israel.

2. (vii.—ix. 7.) Historical account of the occasion of the prophecy (vii. 1—3.), and a prediction of the ill success of the designs of the Israelites and Syrians against Judah (vii. 1—16.); denunciation of the calamities that were to be brought upon Judah by the Assyrians (vii. 17—25.). These predictions are repeated and confirmed in viii., where vv. 9, 10. give a repeated assurance that all the designs of the enemies of God's people shall ultimately be frustrated; and the discourse concludes, after various admonitions (viii. 11—22., ix. 1.), with an illustrious prophecy (ix. 2—7.), in the first instance, perhaps, of the restoration of prosperity under Hezekiah, but principally of the manifestation of the Messiah.

3. (ix. 8—x. 4.) Addressed to the kingdom of Israel, a denunciation of vengeance.

4. (x. 5—xii.) Foretells the invasion of Sennacherib, and the destruction of his army (x. 5—34., xi.); whence the prophet launches forth into a display of the spiritual deliverance of God's people by the Messiah: comp. Rom. xv. 12. The hymn in xii. may be applied to the times of the Messiah.

Part III. *contains various predictions against the Babylonians, Assyrians, Philistines, and other nations with whom the Jews had any intercourse* (xiii.—xxiii.)*: these predictions are contained in nine prophetic poems or discourses.*

1. (xiii. xiv. 1—27.) A prophecy foretelling the destruction of Babylon by the Medes, and Persians; probably delivered in the reign of Ahaz.

[1] Scheme of Scripture Divinity, chap. xxxiv. in vol. i. of bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts, pp. 143, 144.

[2] See a striking medallic illustration of Isai. iii. 26. in Vol. I. p. 198.

[3] For a particular elucidation of this sublime vision, see Bp. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. pp. 72—77.; and Dr. Hales, Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 436, &c., or vol. ii. pp. 400, &c. (edit. 1830.)

The captivity itself of the Jews at Babylon did not take place till about one hundred and thirty years after this prediction was delivered. And the Medes, who (in xiii. 7.) are mentioned as the principal agents, were at this time an inconsiderable people, and did not become a kingdom under Deioces, until about the seventeenth year of Hezekiah's reign. On the accomplishment of this prophecy, see vol. I. pp. 288, 289.

2. (xiv. 28—32.) Prophetic denunciations against the Philistines; the fulfilment of which is recorded in 2 Kings xviii. 8.

3. (xv. xvi.) is a prophecy against the Moabites, in the first year of Hezekiah, accomplished in his fourth year when Shalmaneser invaded the kingdom of Israel. Comp. Jer. xlviii.

4. (xvii.) is chiefly directed against Damascus or the kingdom of Syria, with whose sovereign Israel had confederated against Judah. Bishop Lowth conjectures that it was delivered, soon after the prophecies of chaps. vii. viii., in the commencement of Ahab's reign. It was fulfilled by Tiglath-Pileser's taking Damascus (2 Kings xvi. 9.), and over-running a very considerable part of the kingdom of Israel; and, still more fully in regard to Israel, by the captivity of the people a few years after by Shalmaneser. The last three verses contain a noble description of the formidable invasion and sudden overthrow of Sennacherib.

5. (xviii.) contains one of the most obscure prophecies in the whole book. Vitringa considers it as directed against the Assyrians: bishop Lowth refers it to the Egyptians; and Rosenmüller, and others, to the Ethiopians.

6. (xix. xx.) Prophecy against Egypt, the conversion of whose inhabitants to the true religion is intimated in xix. 18—25.

7. (xxi. 1—10.) A prediction of the taking of Babylon [1] by the Medes and Persians. Vv. 11, 12. contain a prophecy concerning Dumah or Idumæa, the land of the Edomites, Mount Seir; which is very obscure. The last five verses respect Arabia, and were fulfilled within a year.

8. (xxii.) A prophecy concerning the capture of the valley of vision, or Jerusalem (vv. 1—14.), the captivity of Shebna (15—19.), and the promotion of Eliakim (20—24.). The invasion of Jerusalem here announced is either that by the Assyrians, under Sennacherib, or by the Chaldæans, under Nebuchadnezzar. Vitringa is of opinion that the prophet had *both* in view; viz. the invasion of the Chaldæans, in vv. 1—5., and that of the Assyrians, in vv. 8—11. Comp. 2 Kings xxv. 4, 5. and 2 Chron. xxxii. 2—5.

9. (xxiii.) denounces the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar [2] (1—17.), its restoration, and the conversion of the Tyrians. See Acts xxi. 1—6.[3]

PART IV. *contains a prophecy of the great calamities that should befall the people of God, his merciful preservation of a remnant of them, and of their restoration to their country, of their conversion to the gospel, and the destruction of antichrist* (xxiv.—xxxv.).

1. (xxiv. xxv. xxvi.) Probably delivered before the destruction of Moab by Shalmaneser, in the beginning of Hezekiah's reign: Vitringa is singular in referring it to the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes; and bishop

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[1] Bishop Newton has collected and illustrated the various predictions of Isaiah and other prophets against Babylon. See his Dissertation on the Prophecies, vol. i. diss. x. See also Vol. I. pp. 288, 289.

[2] On the accomplishment of the various prophecies against Tyre, see bishop Newton's Dissertations, vol. i. diss. xi. See also Vol. I. pp. 284—286.

[3] Scott, on Isai xxiii. 18.

Lowth thinks it may have a view to all the three great desolations of the country, especially to the last. In vv. 21—23. it is announced that God shall revisit and restore his people in the last age; and then the kingdom of God shall be established in such perfection as wholly to eclipse the glory of the temporary typical kingdom. The prophet breaks out into a sublime song of praise (xxv.): this is followed by another hymn in xxvi. In v. 19. the deliverance of the people of God is explained by images plainly taken from the resurrection of the dead.

2. (xxvii.) treats on the nature, measure, and design of God's dealings with his people.

3. (xxviii.) A prophecy directed to Israel and Judah. The destruction of the former by Shalmaneser is manifestly denounced in vv. 1—5.; and the prophecy "then turns to Judah and Benjamin, who were to continue a kingdom after the final captivity of Israel."[1] In vv. 23—29. the wisdom of Providence is illustrated by the discretion of the husbandman.

4. (xxix.—xxxiii.) predicts the invasion of Sennacherib (xxix. 1—4.), the sudden deliverance by God's interposition, and the subsequent prosperous state of the kingdom under Hezekiah, with reproofs, and promises of better times (18—24., xxx.—xxxiii.).

5. (xxxiv. xxxv.) One distinct prophecy, consisting of two parts; the first containing a denunciation of the divine vengeance against the enemies of the church; the second describing its flourishing state, consequent upon the execution of those judgments. This chapter is to be understood of gospel times. The promises (xxxv. 5, 6.), were literally accomplished by our Saviour and his apostles.[2] In a secondary sense, bishop Lowth remarks, they may have a further view, and respect yet future events.

PART V. *comprises the historical part of the prophecy of Isaiah.*

(xxxvi.) History of the invasion of Sennacherib, and of the miraculous destruction of his army (xxxvii.). The answer of God to Hezekiah's prayer. On the subject of these chapters, see below, p. 804. Chaps. xxxviii. and xxxix. relate Hezekiah's sickness, recovery, and thanksgiving, with the embassy of the king of Babylon.

PART VI. (xl.—lxvi.) *comprises a series of prophecies, delivered, in all probability, towards the close of Hezekiah's reign.*

"The chief subject is the restoration of the church. This is pursued with the greatest regularity. . . . As the subject, however, of this very beautiful series of prophecies is chiefly of the consolatory kind, they are ushered in with a promise of the restoration of the kingdom, and the return from the Babylonian captivity, through the merciful interposition of God. At the same time, this redemption from Babylon is employed as an image to shadow out a redemption of an infinitely-higher and more important nature."[3] This part consists of twelve prophetic poems or discourses.

1. (xl. xli.) A promise of comfort, with declarations of the omnipotence and omniscience of Jehovah, and a prediction of the restoration of the Jews by Cyrus.

2. The advent and office of the Messiah are foretold (xlii. 1—17.); for rejecting whom the incredulity of the Jews is reproved (18—25.). A remnant of them, however, shall be preserved, and ultimately restored (xliii. 1—13.). The destruction of Babylon and the restoration of the

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[1] See Smith, Summary View of the Prophets, p. 56.
[2] Comp. Matt. xi. 5., xv. 30., xxi. 14.; John v. 8, 9.; Acts iii. 2., &c., viii. 7., xiv. 8—10.
[3] Smith, Summary View of the Prophets, p. 64. Comp. bp. Lowth's remarks.

Jews are again foretold, as also (perhaps) their return after the Roman dispersion (14—20.); and they are admonished to repent (21—28.).

3. promises of the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, intermingled with an exposure of the folly of idolatry (xliv. 1—20.). The prophet then announces by name the instrument of their deliverance, Cyrus (21—28., xlv. 1—5.)[1]; and, after adverting to the happy state of the people of God restored to their country, he proceeds to answer or prevent the cavils of the unbelieving Jews, disposed to murmur and to arraign the wisdom and justice of God's dispensations, in permitting them to be oppressed, and in promising them deliverance instead of preventing their captivity (6—25.). Comp. Rom. ix. 20, 21.

4. foretells the carrying away of the idols of Babylon (xlvi. 1—5.): the folly of worshipping them is then strikingly contrasted with the perfections of Jehovah (6—13.); and judgments upon Babylon are further denounced (xlvii.).

5. An earnest reproof of the Jews for their infidelity and idolatry (xlviii. 1—19, 21, 22.); their deliverance from the Babylonian captivity (20.).

6. The Messiah is here introduced in person, declaring the full extent of his commission, which is, not only to restore the Israelites, but to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, to bring them to be one church together with the Israelites, and to partake of the same common salvation, procured for all by the great Redeemer (xlix.).

7. The dereliction of the Jews for their rejection of the Messiah (l. 1—3.); whose sufferings and exaltation are foretold (4—11.). The prophet exhorts the believing Jews, after the pattern of Abraham, to trust in Christ, and foretells their restoration after the Babylonish captivity, as also their ultimate conversion to Christianity (li., lii. 1—12.).

8. predicts the humiliation of Christ, which had been intimated in l. 5, 6., and obviates the offence which would be occasioned by it, by declaring the cause, and foreshowing the glory which should follow (lii. 13—15., liii.).

9. foretells the amplitude of the church, when Jews and Gentiles should be converted (liv.).

10. An invitation to partake of the blessings of the gospel (lv., lvi. 1—8.).

11. denounces calamities against the inhabitants of Judah, who are sharply reproved. Bishop Lowth is of opinion that the prophet probably has in view the destruction of their city and polity by the Chaldeans, and perhaps by the Romans (lvi. 9—12., lvii.—lix. 15.).

12. chiefly predicts the general conversion of the Jews to the gospel, the coming in of the fulness of the Gentiles, the restoration of the Jews, and the happy state of the Christian church (lix. 16—21., lx.—lxvi.). In lx. and lxi. the great increase and flourishing state of the church of God, by the accession of the heathen nations to it, are set forth in such ample and exalted terms, as plainly show that the full completion of the prophecy is reserved for future times. The remarkable prophecy in lxiii. 1—6., which some expositors refer to Judas Maccabæus, bishop Lowth applies primarily to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish polity; which in the gospel is called the "coming of Christ," and the "days of vengeance" (Matt. xvi. 28.; Luke xxi. 22.); but he thinks it may ultimately refer to the yet unfulfilled predictions, which intimate a great slaughter of the enemies of God and his people. The last two chapters of this prophecy manifestly relate to the calling of the Gentiles, the establishment of the Christian dispensation, and the reprobation of the apostate Jews, with their destruction executed by the Romans.

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[1] See Dr. A. Clarke, on Isai. xliv. 28.

[Keil assigns chap. i. to the time of Hezekiah.[1] The description certainly suits better with what may be supposed the state of the country after Sennacherib's invasion; and therefore the supposition is probably just. The contents of the chapter are general; and therefore it is placed as a fit introduction to the whole book.

Some have, without sufficient reason, placed chaps. ii.—v. in the reign of Ahaz on account of iii. 12. Keil refers it to the early part of Jotham's reign, or to his regency during his father's incapacity.[2] It may possibly have belonged to the later years of Jotham. Chap. v. must be of nearly the same date. It has been imagined a little later, perhaps in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz.

Chap. vi. is dated the year of Uzziah's death; and there is no ground for questioning the certainty of this. The vision recorded seems to be the original designation of the prophet to his office. Lowth's opinion that it was after Uzziah died is of no weight.

Chaps. vii.—xii. are evidently of the reign of Ahaz; the last five Keil supposes not less than three quarters of a year after the first.[3]

The section xiii. 1—xiv. 27. must have been delivered some time before the destruction of Sennacherib's army, which is predicted in xiv. 24—27. There also appear to be references to the immediately-preceding chapters (comp. xiv. 5, 6. with ix. 4., x. 5, 24.); so that it may be taken as an amplification of the former declaration against Assyria. Accordingly Keil, following Vitringa and Drechsler, places it soon after x. 5.—xii. 6., that is, in the earlier part of the reign of Ahaz.[4]

Chap. xiv. 28—32 is fixed to the last year of Ahaz.

A probable date may be assigned to chaps. xv. xvi.; because Moab is represented as in possession of several cities which had belonged to the trans-Jordanic tribes. The Moabites, it is likely, found an opportunity of seizing these after Tiglath-pileser's deportation of the Israelites, 2 Kings xv. 29. chap. xvi. 14, again, may point to the time of Shalmaneser's march against Samaria, 2 Kings xviii. 9.[5] There is no ground for believing xvi. 13, 14, a later addition.

Keil would not have chaps. xvii. and xviii. separated: these with xix. are about the same date, and xx. a little later. Gesenius and Rosenmüller assign xix. to Manasseh's reign, and interpret the prophecy of the Egyptian dodecarchy and Psammeticus. But this is without sufficient grounds.[6]

Chap. xxi. may also be placed early in Hezekiah's reign; while xxii., according to Keil, must have been delivered at a time between the fall of Samaria and Sennacherib's invasion, which, vv. 8—11, is spoken of as yet future; whilst the threatening against Shebna, vv. 15—25. would seem to have been fulfilled in the exaltation of Eliakim before the invasion occurred.[7] But these reasons are not very satisfactory. For, if we compare xxii. 5. with xxxvii. 3., and xxii. 9—11. with 2 Chron. xxxii. 2—5., we shall see ground for believing that the prophecy was delivered near upon the time of the invasion.[8]

[1] Einleitung, § 67. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] Einleitung, § 69. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid.
[8] See Henderson, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, Introd. to chap. xxii.

Nor is the judgment pronounced on Shebna an objection. For, though certainly Eliakim is (xxxvi. 3, 22., xxxvii. 2.) said to be over the household, as Shebna had been described xxii. 15., yet in those very places Shebna still holds high office, and does not appear as yet under the disgrace predicted.

Keil places chap. xxiii. soon after the fall of Samaria, and supposes that Shalmaneser's unsuccessful siege of Tyre is intended; and xxiv.—xxvii. he believes to have immediately succeeded.[1] Chaps. xxviii.—xxxiii. refer to the Assyrian invasion, and must be dated within the first fourteen years of Hezekiah's reign. And, as in xxviii. 1—4. the destruction of Samaria is announced as impending, and in xxxiii. 7, 8. Sennacherib's invasion is spoken of as having actually occurred, these two chapters are pretty accurately fixed, the first not later than Hezekiah's third year, the last in his fourteenth. Some writers have tried to give more exact dates to these series of predictions, but without much success.[2] Chaps. xxxiv. and xxxv. may be assigned to the time of Sennacherib's expedition.

Chaps. xxxvi.—xxxix. are historical. The account contained in them is nearly the same with that in 2 Kings xviii. 13—xx. 19. It is a question whether one of these was derived from the other, or whether each was taken from a third source. The last supposition seems most probable. For there are particulars in each narrative respectively, not found in the other, which may best be explained by the existence of a more copious history from which each writer drew his materials. Now Isaiah himself wrote annals of Uzziah and Hezekiah, which seem to have been incorporated in "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chron. xxvi. 22., xxxii. 32.). It is likely that he composed a history of all the kings with whom he was contemporaneous; and this history, it is clear, cannot be the same book with his prophecies. Here the author of the book of Kings would find his materials; and from this the four chapters xxxvi.—xxxix. were most probably drawn, whether by Isaiah himself, or by some later editor it is difficult to determine. Keil decides it was the prophet.[3] But the death of Sennacherib is related; and it is hardly probable that Isaiah survived him.[4]

Chaps. xl.—lxvi., a series of connected prophecies, are assigned by Keil to the later years of Hezekiah's reign.[5]

Mr. H. Browne gives a compendious view of the dates of the various parts of Isaiah's prophecy. He differs in some particulars from the statements made above. The last chapters, xl.—lxvi., he places in the reign of Manasseh.[6]

[1] Einleitung, § 69.
[2] See Keil, ibid. § 70.
[3] Einleitung, § 71.
[4] Dr. Hinckes, in an able disquisition on the Chronology of the Reigns of Sargon and Sennacherib (Journal of Sacred Literature, July 1854.), states his belief that Sennacherib's army was destroyed B.C. 701. in the twenty-fifth year of Hezekiah and third of Sennacherib: Hezekiah, if this be established, died in the seventh of Sennacherib, the eighth year of whose reign was the first of Manasseh's.
[5] Einleitung, § 72.
[6] Ordo Sæclorum, chap. iv. Append. pp. 249—252.

V. The later chapters of Isaiah speak repeatedly of a "servant of the Lord." That this appellation is used in several senses, "no one," says Henderson, "familiar with" this prophet's "writings will deny. He applies it to himself, chap. xx. 3.; to Eliakim, xxii. 20.; to the Jewish people, xli. 8, 9., xliv. 1, 2, 21., xlv. 4., xlviii. 20.; and to a divine Legate, of whom a number of things are predicated, which cannot consistently be applied either to the Jews as a body, to their prophets collectively, or to any one of them in particular, xlii. 1—7., xlix. 1—9., l. 5—10., lii. 13., liii.; with which comp. Zech. iii. 8."[1] If we put together a few traits of the character described, we shall find that he was "called from the womb," fitted and prepared for the office in which he was to glorify God (xlix. 1—3.); he was endued with the Spirit, that he might be the source of blessing and deliverance to the world, and inaugurate a new dispensation (xlii. 1—7.); he was to be despised and to suffer, to be a sacrifice for sin, though not his own (liii. 1—10.), he was to have, however, as the fruit of his sufferings, a splendid recompence (liii. 11, 12.); his exaltation being as great as his humiliation had been before (lii. 13—15.).

There have been many conjectures as to the interpretation of these descriptions. Hengstenberg mentions five different views[2]; and others might be added; it will suffice, however, here to notice these: (1.) The Jewish people is described. But in xlix. 6. the "servant" is distinguished from the Jews, towards whom he is to perform an office. Besides, they do not correspond to the character portrayed xlii. 2, 3. Nor will it do to suppose that the better part of the nation is meant; the description lii. liii. plainly indicating a person. (2.) Cyrus is intended. But it is evident that of Cyrus it never could be said that he should "not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street" (xlii. 2.); and as little that he "was brought as a lamb to the slaughter" (liii. 7.). (3.) The prophet Isaiah himself. But liii. 11, 12, describing the great exaltation of this "servant" as a blessing to many nations, could never be applied to Isaiah. (4.) The prophets collectively. But the conversion of the heathen is never attributed to them (xlii. 6.). (5.) The Messiah. This is the only satisfactory interpretation. Hengstenberg meets the objections which Gesenius has made to it, and which indeed appear to be of little weight; viz. that the Messiah must be excluded, "since the subject is not merely a teacher of the heathen, endowed with the Spirit of God, but also the Deliverer of Israel." This objection is grounded on a literal understanding of Isai. xlii. 7. "No reason can be given why he should refer the second part to the deliverance of the people from exile, and not to the redemption of mankind from sin and error." The next objection is still more untenable: "this servant of Jehovah is not predicted as a future person, but is spoken of as one *already present.*" A sufficient answer is that in prophetic vision everything appeared as present. The proof of the Messianic interpre-

[1] The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, with a Commentary, note on xlii. 1.

[2] The Christology of the Old Testament (Arnold), on Isai. xlii. 1—9. pp. 207, &c., or vol. ii. pp. 195, &c. (Edinb. 1856.). Comp. Keil, Einleitung, § 72. pp. 275, &c.

tation is well and succinctly stated by Dr. Henderson. "First the passage (xlii. 1. &c.) is directly applied to our Saviour by the inspired evangelist, Matthew, chap. xii. 17—21; and part of the first verse is verbally adopted in the divine testimony to his Messiahship at the Jordan, iii. 17., and on the mount of transfiguration, xvii. 5.; Mark ix. 7.; Luke ix. 35. To which add the reference made to the sixth verse by Simeon in his inspired testimony, Luke ii. 32. Secondly, this interpretation is that of the Chaldee paraphrast, and is advocated by Kimchi and Abarbanel, notwithstanding the narrowness of their hereditary notions. The latter writer scruples not to assert that all those who do not interpret the prophecy of the Messiah have been struck with blindness, סנורים. Thirdly, the totality of character exhibited in the passage is such as to render it inapplicable to any but our Lord."[1]

It is true, as already said, that the phrase is not applied exclusively to Messiah. Dr. Alexander says very well that we have here exhibited "the Messiah and his people, as a complex person, and as the messenger or representative of God among the nations."[2] Sometimes therefore Christ, sometimes his people are more especially pointed to. Thus in xlii. 18—25., "the church or body of Christ, as distinguished from its Head, and representing him until he came, is charged with unfaithfulness to their great trust, and this unfaithfulness declared to be the cause of what it suffered."[3] The same writer calls attention to the analogy of Deut. xviii., where the "prophet" intended is not Christ in an exclusive sense, but rather as the Head of that prophetic body to whom his Spirit was imparted. The same may be said of the phrase "Abraham's seed," in the New Testament. "He whom Paul describes as the seed of Abraham, and Moses as a prophet like unto himself, in a personal but not an exclusive sense, is described by Isaiah as the servant of Jehovah, in his own person, but not to the exclusion of his people, so far as they can be considered his co-workers or his representatives. Objections founded on the want of agreement between some of these descriptions and the recorded character of Israel are connected with a superficial view of Israel considered simply as a nation and like other nations, except so far as it was brought into external and fortuitous connection with the true religion . . . Israel is sometimes described as he was meant to be; sometimes as he actually was . . . If it be asked how the different applications of this honourable title are to be distinguished, so as to avoid confusion or capricious inconsistency, the answer is as follows: Where the terms are in their nature applicable both to Christ as the Head and to his church as the body, there is no need of distinguishing at all between them. Where sinful imperfection is implied in what is said, it must of course be applied to the body only. Where a freedom from such imperfection is implied, the language can have a direct and literal reference only to the Head, but may be considered as descriptive of the body, in so far as its idea or design is concerned, though not in

[1] The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, &c. note on xlii. 1.
[2] The Prophecies of Isaiah, Earlier and Later, chap. xlii. p. 623. [3] Ibid.

reference to its actual condition. Lastly, when anything is said implying Deity or infinite merit, the application to the Head becomes not only predominant but exclusive."

In many, therefore, of the various interpretations given there is truth, but not the whole truth. The offices and excellencies borrowed in description from inferiors and typical personages have their full signification in One to whom they point; who "is more than a prophet, for the isles wait on his law; more than a priest, for he offers up himself; more than a king, for through his glory he makes kings to tremble. Not mere prophet, mere priest, mere king, is the servant of the Lord, who is none of them exclusively, but is all together; and they are only three emanations of his individual glory."[1] Nor is it just an ideal to which the prophet has ascribed personality; the notion is fully realized in Him who in the fulness of the time personally appeared in the world, and gathered round him the true Israel, connected with him and conformed to him, one living body, of which he is the Head and they the members.

VI. It is a question on what principle the prophecies of Isaiah have been arranged as we now find them, and another whether they were collected and arranged by Isaiah himself.

Of course, those who deny that all the prophecies of this book proceed from Isaiah do not believe that the arranging or editing (so to speak) belongs to him; though they may not be indisposed to admit that the prophet formed the groundwork of a collection to which additions were afterwards made.[2] Kleinert, too, imagines that the arrangement is due to a later hand; because we find the prophecies grouped rather according to the subject-matter than to the chronological sequence, and because there are not any that can be ascribed with certainty to Jotham's reign; and, as it is not likely that the prophet uttered none for so many years, some must in consequence have been lost before a collection was attempted.[3] These reasons are not very weighty; and accordingly they are rejected by Hengstenberg[4] and Keil.[5] The chronological arrangement is not greatly departed from; it may be, only to lay together prophecies which bear upon the same subject (comp. p. 798.) As to the non-appearance of any in Jotham's reign, Hengstenberg replies that, though it is unlikely that Isaiah was silent so long, "it is by no means unlikely that during this time he uttered no prophecy which he thought proper to preserve. Nay, it appears very probable, if we compare the rather-general character of chaps. i.—v., the contents of which would apply to the days of Jotham also, since during his reign no considerable changes took place; consequently the prophetic utterances moved in the same sphere with those preserved to us from the reign of Uzziah." This, though to a certain extent true, is far too low a view of the subject. We have the utterances, not just which an individual prophet

[1] Delitzch, in Rudelbach und Guericke's Zeitschrift, 1850. p. 54.
[2] See Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. pp. 57, &c., 176, &c.
[3] Ueber die Echtheit, u. s. w. pp. 110, &c.
[4] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Isaiah.
[5] Einleitung, § 73. p. 282.

"thought proper to preserve," but which God intended for the standing instruction of his church. Doubtless to many prophets and holy men of old revelations were divinely made which might be given forth at the time, but which the superintending Spirit did not prompt them to record for the ages to come after. And it was one part of the supernatural guidance to select what they should record, as it was another to keep them from error in recording (comp. Rev. x. 4.). When Ewald alleges the various inscriptions or titles, xvii. 1., xxi. 1, 13., xxii. 1., as betraying a later hand[1], he does not convince. It will, however, remain a point not easy to be decided, whether Isaiah really completed the collection of his prophecies. Keil's assertion of a clear principle regulating the whole arrangement, so that the book proceeds, as it were, "from one gush,"[2] is somewhat exaggerated.]

VII. Isaiah has, with singular propriety, been denominated the *evangelical prophet,* on account of the number and variety of his prophecies concerning the advent and character, the ministry and preaching, the sufferings and death, and the extensive permanent kingdom of the Messiah. So explicit and determinate are his predictions, as well as so numerous, that he seems to speak rather of things *past* than of events yet *future;* and he may be called rather an evangelist, than a prophet. No one, indeed, can be at a loss in applying them to the mission and character of Jesus Christ, and to the events which are cited in his history by the writers of the New Testament. This prophet, says bishop Lowth, abounds in such transcendent excellencies, that he may be properly said to afford the most perfect model of prophetic poetry. He is at once elegant and sublime, forcible and ornamented: he unites energy with copiousness, and dignity with variety. In his sentiments there is uncommon elevation and majesty; in his imagery, the utmost propriety, elegance, dignity, and diversity; in his language, uncommon beauty and energy; and, notwithstanding the obscurity of his subjects, a surprising degree of clearness and simplicity. To these we may add that there is such sweetness in the poetical composition of his sentences, whether it proceed from art or genius, that, if the Hebrew poetry at present is possessed of any remains of its native grace and harmony, we shall chiefly find them in the writings of Isaiah; so that the saying of Ezekiel may most justly be applied to this prophet,—

> "Thou art the confirmed exemplar of measures,
> Full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty." Ezek. xxviii. 12.

Isaiah also greatly excels in all the graces of method, order, connection, and arrangement[3]: though in asserting this we must not forget the nature of the prophetic impulse, which bears away the mind with irresistible violence, and frequently in rapid transitions from near to remote objects, from human to divine; we must likewise be careful

[1] Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. pp. 58, &c.

[2] Einleitung, § 73. p. 282.

[3] "One cannot say of Isaiah as of other prophets, that he had some special peculiarity or favourite mode of colouring. . . . As the subject requires, every kind of diction, and every change of method are respectively manifested." Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. p. 173.

in remarking the limits of particular predictions, since, as they are now extant, they are often improperly connected, without any marks of discrimination.

Bishop Lowth has selected chaps. xxxiv. xxxv. as a specimen of the poetic style in which Isaiah delivers his predictions, and has illustrated at some length the various beauties which eminently distinguish the simple, regular, and perfect poem contained in those chapters. But the grandest specimen of his poetry is presented in chap. xiv., which is one of the most sublime odes occurring in the bible.

The bishop's work must be referred to for his excellent criticism on this chapter, which he sums up by saying, "If I may be indulged in the free declaration of my own sentiments on this occasion, I do not know a single instance, in the whole compass of Greek and Roman poetry, which, in every excellence of composition, can be said to equal, or even to approach it."[1]

SECTION III.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Occasion of his prophecies.* – *Different collections of them.*—III. *Synopsis of their contents.*—*Their genuineness.*—IV. *Prophecies concerning the Messiah.*—V. *Observations on Jeremiah's style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 628—586.

I. THE prophet Jeremiah was of the sacerdotal race, being (as he himself records) one of the priests that dwelt at Anathoth (i. 1.) in the land of Benjamin, a city appropriated out of that tribe to the use of the priests, the sons of Aaron (Josh. xxi. 18.), and situate, as we learn from Jerome, about three Roman miles north of Jerusalem.[2] Some critics have conjectured that his father was the same Hilkiah, the high priest, who found the book of the law in the temple, in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 8.); but for this opinion there is no better ground than that he bore the same name, which was of frequent occurrence among the Jews; for, if the prophet's father had really been the high priest, he would doubtless have been distinguished by that title, and would not have been placed on a level with priests of the ordinary class. [Besides, Anathoth seems to have been appropriated to priests of the family of Ithamar, to which Abiathar belonged (1 Kings ii. 26.); while Hilkiah the high priest was descended from Eleazar (1 Chron. vi. 1—13.).] Jeremiah appears to have been very young when he was called to the exercise of the prophetical office, from which he modestly endeavoured to excuse himself, by pleading his youth and incapacity; but, being overruled by the divine authority, he set himself to discharge the

[1] Bishop Lowth, Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, vol. ii. pp. 84—86., vol. i. pp. 294—301.; and his Translation of Isaiah, vol. ii. pp. 230—232.; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. p. 367.

[2] Comm. in Jer. capp. i. xi. and xxxi.; Eusebius, Onomast. *voce* Anathoth.

duties of his function with unremitting diligence and fidelity during a course of at least forty-two years, reckoned from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign. [It was perhaps at Anathoth that he first received his divine commission. At Jerusalem, however, his most important prophecies were delivered (ii. 1., vii. 1, 2., xi. 2., &c. &c.). He was also commanded to utter his message in the various cities of Judah (xi. 6.). It was then, it would seem, that the inhabitants of his own town, where for a while possibly he might retain a domicile, sought to put him to death (xi. 21.).] In the course of his ministry he met with great difficulties and opposition from his countrymen of all degrees, whose persecution and ill usage sometimes wrought so far upon his mind, as to draw from him expressions, in the bitterness of his soul, which many have thought difficult to reconcile with his religious principles; but which, when duly weighed, may be found to demand our pity rather than censure. He was, in truth, a man of unblemished piety and conscientious integrity, a warm lover of his country, whose miseries he pathetically deplores, and so affectionately attached to his countrymen, notwithstanding their injurious treatment of him, that he chose rather to undergo all hardships in their company, than separately to enjoy a state of ease, which the favour of the king of Babylon would have secured to him. At length, after the destruction of Jerusalem, having followed the remnant of the Jews into Egypt, whither they had resolved to retire, though contrary to his advice, upon the murder of Gedaliah, whom the Chaldæans had left governor in Judæa, he there continued warmly to remonstrate against their idolatrous practices, foretelling the consequences that would inevitably follow. But his freedom and zeal are said to have cost him his life; for there is a tradition that the Jews at Tahpanhes were so offended at his faithful remonstrances, that they stoned him to death· which account is at least likely to be true, considering the temper and disposition of the parties concerned. Their wickedness, however, did not long pass without its reward; for, in a few years after, they were miserably destroyed by the Babylonian armies which invaded Egypt, according to the prophet's prediction (xliv. 27, 28.).[1] Some Jewish writers, however, affirm that he returned to Judæa; while others say that he went to Babylon, and died there; and a third class are of opinion that he died in Egypt, far advanced in years, and broken by the calamities which had happened both to himself and his country. This prophet's writings are all in Hebrew, except x. 11., which is Chaldee. His predictions concerning the seventy years of the captivity were known to and read by the prophet Daniel (ix. 2.).

II. The idolatrous apostasy and other criminal enormities of the people of Judah, and the severe judgments which God was preparing to inflict upon them, though not without a distant prospect of future restoration and deliverance, form the principal subjects of the prophecies of Jeremiah; except chap. xlv., which relates personally to Baruch; and the six following chapters, which respect the fortunes of some particular heathen nations.[2]

[1] Dr. Blayney's Translation of Jeremiah, pp. 221, 222. 2d edit. [2] Ibid. p. 222.

It is evident, from various passages, that there were four distinct collections of Jeremiah's prophecies. The first was that mentioned xxxvi. 2., and made by divine command in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim. In this collection were contained all the predictions which he had delivered and published, to that time, as well against other nations as against the Jews: the prophecies against the Gentiles are, in our bibles, placed by themselves at the end of the book, as being in some measure unconnected with those denounced against the Jews; but in the present copies of the Septuagint they follow immediately after xxv. 14.[1] This *first* collection comprised i.—xx. xxv. xxvi. xxxv. xxxvi. xlv.—li. inclusive.

The *second* collection is that mentioned in xxx. 2., and contained xxvii.—xxxi. inclusive: it was made in the reign of Zedekiah, and, as may be inferred from xxviii. 1., after the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah.

The *third* collection was made soon after the destruction of Jerusalem; as is plainly indicated by the prophet himself in the general preface to his book, where he says that the word of Jehovah came to him "in the days of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and came in the days of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, until the completion of the eleventh year of Zedekiah the son of Josiah king of Judah, *until the carrying away of Jerusalem into captivity in the fifth month*" (i. 1—3). Consequently, this third collection included xxi.—xxiv. xxxii.—xxxiv. and xxxvii.—xxxix.

The *fourth* collection, containing xl.—xliv. inclusive, presents us with an account of Jeremiah himself, and of the other Jews who were left in Judæa by the command of Nebuchadnezzar. Chap. lii. was probably added by Ezra[2] as a preface to the book of Lamentations. It is chiefly taken out of the latter part of the second book of Kings, with additions, which Ezra might supply out of the inspired records, and forms a very useful appendage to the prophecies of Jeremiah, as it illustrates their fulfilment in the destruction of the kingdom, city, and temple, which are the subject of the Lamentations.

III. From the preceding statements it is obvious that the prophecies of Jeremiah are not arranged in the chronological order in which they were originally delivered; the cause of their transposition it is now impossible to ascertain.

Professor Dahler of Strasbourg, in his French version of this prophet, divides the book into fifty-five sections, which he disposes in the following manner; viz.

1. *Discourses published during the reign of Josiah.*

Chapter	Year of Reign.	Chapter	Year of Reign.
i. 1—19.	13.	iii. 6—iv. 4.	after 18.
iv. 5—vi. 30.	after 18.	xvii. 19—27.	after 18.
ii. 1—iii. 5.	after 18.	xlvii. 1—7.	uncertain.

[1] Carpzov has written an elaborate disquisition on the variations between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, in the order of Jeremiah's prophecies; and has given a table illustrating those variations. See his Introd. ad Libros Biblicos Vet. Test. pars iii. c. iii. §. 4. pp. 144—152. See below, p. 823.

[2] Carpzov ascribes it to Baruch, or some other inspired man. Introd. pars iii. p. 152.

2. *Discourses published during the reign of Jehoiakim.*

Chapter	Year of Reign.	Chapter	Year of Reign.
vii. 1—ix. 25.	1 or 2.	xx. 14—18	
xxvi. 1—24.	1 or 2.	xxiii. 9—40.	uncertain.
xlvi. 2—12.	3 or 4.	xxxv. 1—19.	4 or 5.
x. 1—16.	4.	xxv. 1—38.	4 or 5.
xiv. 1—xv. 21.	4.	xxxvi. 1—32.	5.
xvi. 1—xvii. 18.	uncertain.	xlv. 1—5.	5.
xviii. 1—23.	uncertain.	xii. 14—17.	7 or 8.
xix. 1—xx. 13.	uncertain.	x. 17—25.	11.

3. *Discourse published during the reign of Jeconiah.*

Chap. xiii. 1—27.

4. *Discourses published during the reign of Zedekiah.*

Chapter	Year of Reign.	Chapter	Year of Reign.
xxii. 1—xxiii. 8.	1.	xxxiv. 1—7.	10.
xi. 1—17.	1.	xxxvii. 1—10.	10.
xi. 18—xii. 13.	1.	xxxiv. 8—22.	10.
xxiv. 1—10.	1.	xxxvii. 11—21.	10.
xxix. 1—32.	1 or 2.	xxxviii. 1—28.	10.
xxvii. 1—xxviii. 17.	4.	xxxix. 15—18.	10.
xlix. 34—39.	4.	xxxii. 1—44.	10.
li. 59—64.	4.	xxxiii. 1—26.	11.
xxi. 1—14.	9.	xxxix. 1—10.	11.

5. *History of Jeremiah, and discourses addressed by him to the Jews who were left in Palestine after the capture of Jerusalem.*

Chapter	Year after Jer. taken.	Chapter	Year after Jer. taken.
xxxix. 11—14.	1.	xlii. 1—xliii. 7.	1.
xl. 1—xli. 18.	1.	xxx. 1—xxxi. 40.	1

6. *Discourses addressed to the Jews in Egypt.*

Chapter	Year after Jer. taken.
xliii. 8—13.	1.
xliv. 1—30.	17 or 18.
xlvi. 13—28.	uncertain.

7. *Discourses of uncertain date concerning foreign nations.*

xlvi. 1., xlix. 1—6. concerning the	Ammonites.
xlviii. 1—47.	Moab.
xlix. 7—22.	Edom.
xlix. 23—27.	Damascus.
xlix. 28—33.	Kedar and Hazor.
l. 1—li. 58.	Babylon.

8. *An historical appendix,* chap. lii. 1—34.

A somewhat-different arrangement, and more simple than the preceding, was proposed by the Rev. Dr. Blayney in his version of the writings of Jeremiah; who has endeavoured, with great judgment, to restore their proper order. According to his arrangement, the predictions of Jeremiah are to be placed in the following order; viz.

1. *The prophecies delivered in the reign of Josiah,* containing i.—xii. inclusive.

2. *The prophecies delivered in the reign of Jehoiakim,* comprising xiii.—xx. xxii. xxiii. xxxv. xxxvi. xlv.—xlviii. and xlix. 1—33.

3. *The prophecies delivered in the reign of Zedekiah,* including xxi. xxiv. xxvii.—xxxiv. xxxvii.—xxxix. xlix. 34—39. and l. li.

4. *The prophecies delivered under the government of Gedaliah* from

the taking of Jerusalem to the retreat of the people into Egypt, and the prophecies of Jeremiah delivered to the Jews in that country, comprehending xl.—xliv. inclusive.

As this arrangement throws much light upon the predictions of Jeremiah, it has been adopted in the following synopsis, which accordingly consists of four parts, and thirty-one prophetic discourses:—

The introduction to the book contains its title (i. 1—3.), [intended, it would seem, to apply to chaps. i.—xxxix., as several of the following prophecies were after "the carrying away of Jerusalem captive in the fifth month:" Keil, however, is of a different opinion [1]], the call of Jeremiah to the prophetical office, and the commission given him by God (4—10.); the purport of which is explained by two symbolical images or visions, that of an almond-tree (11.), indicating the nearness, and the vision of a seething-pot (13.), typifying the severity, of the divine judgments. The face of the pot being turned from the north denoted that they were to be inflicted by the Babylonians and Chaldæans, who would invade Judæa from the north, and whose multitudes like a thick vapour would overspread the land.

PART I. *comprises such prophecies as were delivered in the reign of Josiah* (ii.—xii.).

1. God professes to retain his ancient kindness for the Jews (ii. 1—3.), with whom he expostulates (4—13.), and shows that it was their own wickedness which subjected them to calamities (14—30.). This discourse concludes with exhorting the Jews to return to God (31—37., iii. 1—5.). Dr. Blayney thinks that this prophecy was delivered soon after the commencement of Jeremiah's prophetic commission; and therefore in the thirteenth or fourteenth of Josiah.

2. Here are two parts. The *first* is a complaint against Judah for having exceeded the guilt of Israel (iii. 6—11.). The charge of Judah with hypocrisy (10.) points out the date as after the reformation in the eighteenth year of Josiah. The prophet then announces pardon on repentance, and the hope of a glorious restoration in after times, when the Gentiles were to become a part of the church (12—21.). The children of Israel, confessing their sins, have comfortable assurances repeated (22—25., iv. 1, 2.). In the *second* part, prefaced by an exhortation to repentance (iv. 3—5.), the Babylonian invasion is predicted; and the depravity of the people is stated to be the cause (iv. 6—31., v., vi.).

3. Dr. Blayney thinks it probable that this was delivered shortly after the preceding. False prophets took upon themselves to flatter the people. Jeremiah, therefore, reproves their falsehood, and shows that God would assuredly do by his house at Jerusalem what he had done unto Shiloh (vii. 1—16.). God justifies the severity of his proceedings (17—20.). Their sacrifices would be unacceptable, while they continued deaf to the calls of God's messengers (21—28.): they were gross idolatries with which they were defiled; and, therefore, a heavy sentence of divine vengeance is pronounced (29—34., viii. 1—3.). Then the prophet, at first, in the name of Jehovah, reproves the Jews, who vainly thought that he would save them because they had his law among them, though they kept not that law (viii. 4—17.). Next, in his own person, Jeremiah laments the calamities which the Chaldæans would inflict (18—22., ix.), and earnestly dissuades his

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[1] Einleitung, § 78.

countrymen from idolatry (x. 1—18.), setting forth the vanity of idols. Jerusalem is then introduced, as lamenting the completion of her ruin, and humbly supplicating the divine mercy (19—25.). In this part the transitions are quick.

4. This was probably delivered towards the close of Josiah's reign[1]; when the people are supposed to have relapsed into neglect of the divine law. The prophet proclaims anew the terms of the covenant, and, rebuking them sharply (xi. 1—8.), denounces severe judgments (9—17.). Informed of the conspiracy of the men of Anathoth against his life, he prays against them, and is authorized to foretell their destruction (18—23.); he then expostulates with God concerning the prosperity of the wicked (xii. 1—6.), who answers the expostulation (7—13.), and promises the future restoration of his people, with a retaliation in kind upon their heathen neighbours; though such as would embrace the worship of the true God would be received into his church (14—17.).

PART II. *contains the prophecies delivered in the reign of Jehoiakim.*

1. A prophecy, which, under two symbols, foretells the utter destruction of the whole Jewish nation (xiii. 1—14.). An exhortation to repentance is subjoined (15—21.); and their incorrigible wickedness is assigned as the cause of all the evils that awaited them (22—27.). The particular mention of the downfall of the king and queen in v. 18., Dr. Blayney thinks, will justify the opinion which ascribes this prophecy to the commencement of the reign of Jehoiakim, whose fate, with that of his queen, is in like manner noticed together in xxii. 18.

2. Probably delivered shortly after the preceding. It predicts a severe famine, to punish the Jews, but which does not bring them to repentance (xiv. 1—22.), and announces God's peremptory decree to destroy Judah, unless they should speedily repent (xv. 1—9.). The prophet, complaining that he is become an object of hatred, receives an assurance of divine protection, on condition of fidelity on his part (10—21.).

3. The utter ruin of the Jews is foretold in the type of the prophet being forbidden to marry and to feast (xvi. 1—13.); and immediately afterwards their future restoration is announced (14, 15.), as well as the conversion of the Gentiles (16—21.); with severe reproofs of the Jews (xvii. 1—18.).

4. A distinct prophecy relative to the strict observance of the sabbath-day (xvii. 19—27.).

5. Under the type of a potter, God's absolute authority is shown over nations, to regulate their condition at his own discretion (xviii. 1—10.). The prophet is then directed to exhort the Jews to avert their impending dangers by repentance and amendment, and, on their refusal, to foretell their destruction (11—17.). The Jews conspiring against him, Jeremiah implores judgment against them (18—23.).

6. Under the type of breaking a potter's vessel is foretold the desolation of Judah and Jerusalem (xix.); and a severe judgment is denounced against Pashur for punishing Jeremiah (xx. 1—6.), who complains of the persecutions he met with (7—18.).

7. Supposed to have been delivered immediately after the preceding, and in the precincts of the temple. It commences with an address to the king and people, recommending an adherence to justice as the only means of preventing ruin (xxii. 1—9.). The captivity of Shallum is declared to be irreversible (10—12.). Jehoiakim is reproved, and his miserable end

[1] Reeves and other commentators refer it to the commencement of Jehoiakim's reign.

foretold (13—19.). His family is threatened: the captivity of his son Jeconiah is set forth, together with the perpetual exclusion of his posterity from the throne (20—30.). Promises of future blessings; of the establish ment of Messiah's kingdom, and of the subsequent restoration of Israel (xxiii. 1—8.).

8. The divine judgments against false prophets (xxiii. 9—40.).

9. Their subjugation, with that of the neighbouring nations, to the king of Babylon for seventy years (xxv. 1—11.), after which Babylon was to be destroyed (12—14.): the destruction of various countries is prefigured by their being called to drink of a cup of wine (15—38.).

10. Jeremiah, being directed to foretell the destruction of Jerusalem (xxvi. 1—6.), is accused before the council, but is acquitted (7—19.). The persecution and death of Urijah (20—24.).

11. The Jews' disobedience to God contrasted with the obedience of the Rechabites to Jonadab their father. A blessing is promised to them (xxxv.).

12. Jeremiah causes Baruch to write all his former prophecies in a roll, and to read them to the people (xxxvi. 1—10.). The princes send for Baruch, who reads the roll before them (11—15.). Filled with consternation, they advise Jeremiah and Baruch to hide themselves (16—19.): they acquaint the king, who sends for the roll, cuts it to pieces, and burns it (20—26.). Jeremiah is told to write it anew, and to denounce judgment against Jehoiakim (27—31.). Baruch writes a new copy with additions (32.), and is assured that his life should be preserved by a special providence (xlv.).

13. A series of prophecies against several heathen nations (xlvi. 1.), which are supposed to have been placed towards the close of the book of Jeremiah, as being in some measure unconnected with the others. As, however, in point of time, they were delivered during the reign of Jehoiakim, they may be referred to the present section.

(1.) A prophecy of the defeat of the Egyptians, by the Chaldæans (xlvi. 2— 2.), and of the conquest of their country (13—28.).

(2.) Subjugation of the land of the Philistines, including Tyre (xlvii.), and also of the Moabites (xlviii.).

(3.) The conquest of the Ammonites (xlix. 1—6.), and likewise of the land of Edom (7—22.), of Damascus (23—27.), and of Kedar (28—33.).

PART III. *contains the prophecies delivered in the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah.*

1. A prediction of the conquest of Elam or Persia by the Chaldæans, delivered in the beginning of Zedekiah's reign (xlix. 34—39.). On the final subversion of the Babylonish monarchy, Elam was restored (as promised in v. 39.) to its former possessors.

2. Under the type of good and bad figs, God represents to Jeremiah the different manner in which he should deal with those already gone into captivity, and with Zedekiah and his subjects who were left behind (xxiv.).

3. The Jews at Babylon are warned not to believe such as pretended to foretell their speedy return (xxix. 1—23.); and judgment is denounced against Shemaiah for writing against Jeremiah to the Jews at Jerusalem (24—32.). Dr. Blayney has remarked that, in the Septuagint version, v. 15. of this chapter is read immediately after v. 20., which seems to be its original and proper place. [Henderson, after Maurer, disagrees.]

4. Prophecies of the restoration of the Jews from Babylon, but chiefly from their dispersion by the Romans, on their general conversion (xxx.); and their happy state afterwards (xxxi. 1—26.), with a fuller prophecy describing the gospel state, as also the state of the Jews after their con-

version (27—38.). The accomplishment of the earlier event would confirm the expectation of the other.

5. Zedekiah, in the fourth year of his reign, being solicited to join in a confederacy against the king of Babylon, Jeremiah is ordered to admonish them, especially Zedekiah, quietly to submit, and not to listen to the suggestions of false prophets (xxvii.): the death of Hananiah, one of them, is foretold within the year (xxviii. 1—16.), who died two months after (17.).

6. A prophecy concerning the fall of Babylon, with predictions concerning the redemption of Israel and Judah (l., li. 1—58.). This prophecy was delivered in the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign, and sent to the Jews at Babylon: after which it was to be sunk in the Euphrates, as a type of the perpetual destruction of Babylon (59—64.).[1]

7. Probably delivered in the ninth year of Zedekiah. Jeremiah foretells a severe siege and miserable captivity, and advises the people to yield to the Chaldæans (xxi. 1—10); and the members of the royal house are warned to prevent the effects of God's indignation by doing justice, and not to trust to their strong-hold (11—14.).

8. Two distinct prophecies. The *first*, probably delivered towards the close of the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, announces to the Jewish monarch the burning of Jerusalem, his own captivity, peaceful death, and honourable interment (xxxiv. 1—7.). The *second* prophecy, announced some time after, when the Chaldæans had broken off the siege in order to encounter the Egyptian army, threatens the Jews for their perfidious violation of the covenant they had newly made (8—22.).

9. The retreat of the Egyptians, and the return of the Chaldæans to the siege of Jerusalem, which should be taken and burnt (xxxvii. 1—10.). For this the prophet was put into a dungeon (11—15.), from which he was released, but still kept a prisoner (16—21.).

10. The promised return of the Jews is confirmed, by Jeremiah's being commanded to buy a field (xxxii.).

11. The restoration of Israel and Judah (xxxiii. 1—9.), so that the land should again flourish (10—13.); whence the prophet confirms God's former promise of establishing a perpetual kingdom of righteousness under the Messiah (14—26.). This evangelical prediction is, as yet, unfulfilled.

12. The last transaction in which Jeremiah was prophetically concerned before the taking of Jerusalem. His imprisonment in a dungeon (xxxviii. 1—6.), his deliverance thence (7—13.), and advice to Zedekiah to submit himself to the Chaldæans (14—27.). The capture of the city, the flight of Zedekiah, and his punishment are then related (xxxix. 1—10.), together with the kind treatment of the prophet (11—13.). In conclusion, the piety of Ebed-melech is rewarded with a promise of personal safety (15—18.).

PART IV. *contains a particular account of what passed in the land of Judah, from the taking of Jerusalem to the retreat of the Jewish people into Egypt, and the prophecies of Jeremiah concerning them while in that country.*

1. Jeremiah has his choice either to go to Babylon, or to remain in

[1] Jer. li. closes with the following sentence: *Thus far are the words of Jeremiah*; which, Dr. Blayney thinks, was added by the person (whoever it might be) that collected his prophecies, and digested them in the order in which we now find them in the Hebrew bibles. This sentence does not occur in the Septuagint version, where indeed it could not be introduced at the end of this chapter, because the chapters are arranged differently in that version; and chap. li. forms only the twenty-eighth of the collection. The disposition of Jeremiah's prophecies is, apparently, so arbitrary, that it is not likely that it was made under the prophet's direction.

Judæa (xl. 1—6.), whither the dispersd Jews repaired to Gedaliah the governor (7—12.); who being treacherously slain (13—16., xli. 1—10.), the Jews left in Judæa intend to go down to Egypt (11—18.), from which course the prophet dissuades them (xlii.).

2. The Jews going into Egypt (xliii. 1—7.), Jeremiah foretells to them the conquest of that kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar (8—13.): he predicts destruction to all the Jews that willingly went into Egypt (xliv. 1—14.), whose obstinate idolatry is related (15—19.), destruction is denounced against them, and the dethronement of Pharaoh Hophrah king of Egypt (Apries) is foretold (20—30.).

The conclusion of Jeremiah's prophecy, containing the fifty-second chapter, was added after his time[1], subsequently to the return from captivity, of which it gives a short account, and forms a proper introduction to the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

[Attempts have been made to discover some principle on which the present arrangement of Jeremiah's prophecies was made. Blayney was unable to detect such a principle. But Ewald, after examining the various formulæ which introduce different prophecies, and observing the notes of time, proposes the following scheme. He considers the book in its present form, chaps. i.—xlix., substantially in the state in which it was left by the prophet or his amanuensis. He divides these chapters into five books,

I. The introduction, i.

II. Reproofs of the sins of the Jews, ii.—xxiv., in seven sections, viz. ii.; iii.—vi.; vii.—x.; xi.—xiii.; xiv.—xvii. 18.; xvii. 19—xx.; xxi.—xxiv.

III. General review of all nations, heathen and Israel, in two sections, viz. xlvi.—xlix. (which have been transposed); xxv.; with a historical appendix of three sections, xxvi.; xxvii.; xxviii., xxix.

IV. Two sections picturing brighter times, viz. xxx., xxxi.; xxxii., xxxiii.; with another historical appendix of three sections, xxxiv. 1—7.; xxxiv. 8—22.; xxxv.

V. The conclusion in two sections, viz. xxxvi.; xlv.

He thinks that these were arranged in Judæa after the capture of Jerusalem; and that in Egypt three sections were added, viz. xxxvii.—xxxix.; xl.—xliii.; xliv. At the same time xlvi. 13—26. was added to the former prophecy respecting Egypt, and some other additions were made.[2]

According to Keil the book of Jeremiah may be divided into two parts.

I. Domestic prophecies and histories, i.—xlv., including,

1. Longer discourses, describing the punishment coming on Judah for their sins (i.—xxiv.); in which we have the prophet's call (i.), threatenings and promises of the time of Josiah (ii.—x.), those of the times of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin (xi.—xx.), those which in part belong to the time of Zedekiah (xxi.—xxiv.).

2. Special predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the seventy years' captivity, of the times of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah; placed together

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[1] See p. 811. *supra.*

[2] Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B., vol. ii. pp. 16., &c.; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Jeremiah.

an account of the subject being the same, introduced by an announcement of the judgment of many nations, uttered in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (xxv.—xxix.).

3. Announcements of the future deliverance and exaltation of Israel, belonging to the last time of Zedekiah, united because of their similar contents (xxx.—xxxiii.).

4. Shorter utterances on occasions of special events, with a particular account of these events, of the times of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah (xxxiv.—xxxix.).

5. Narrative of what Jeremiah did, after the destruction of Jerusalem, among the people whom the Chaldæans left, and after their flight into Egypt (xl.—xliv.), with a consolatory message to Baruch, of the fourth year of Jehoiakim (xlv.).

II. Prophecies against foreign nations.

1. On occasion of Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Pharaoh Necho, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim,
against Egypt (xlvi.).
against the Philistines (xlvii.).
against Moab (xlviii.).
against Ammon (xlix. 1—6.).
against Edom (xlix. 7—22.).
against Damascus (xlix. 23—27.).
against Kedar and Hazor (xlix. 28—33.).

2. Utterance against Elam at the beginning of Zedekiah's reign (xlix. 34—39.).

3. Prophecy against Babylon (l., li.) in the fourth year of Zedekiah (li. 59—64.).

A historical appendix (lii.) concludes the whole.[1]

Against the notion of Ewald and Hitzig, that chap. i. was not written till after the fall of Jerusalem see Hävernick.[2]

Some critics have been inclined to place chaps. vii.—x. in the reign of Jehoiakim[3]; and indisputably some portions favour the idea. Thus idolatry is described as openly practised "in the streets of Jerusalem" (vii. 17, 18.); which we can hardly suppose that Josiah during his reign would have permitted. The evidence, however, is not decisive. Hengstenberg, and Keil after him, regard chaps. ii.—x. not as separate oracles, but as a kind of "resumé" of Jeremiah's prophetic ministry in Josiah's reign, collected and summed up by himself.[4] But these chapters are evidently not a continuous whole; and, besides, there is a fresh title, vii. 1., and a direction where to deliver the message he was charged with anew.

Keil ascribes xi.—xx. to the reigns of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin.[5] It is possible that the section beginning xii. 7. may have been written after Josiah's death. Chap. xiii. 18. would seem to refer to Jehoiachin and the queen-mother (comp. xxii. 26., xxix. 2.; and 2 Kings xxiv. 12.) Chaps xviii—xx. have been supposed to belong to Jehoiachin's reign. But there can be little certainty as to the precise dates of all three chapters; and critical opinions vary.

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 75. pp. 287, 288. Browne, Ordo Sæclorum, § 182. divides the book of Jeremiah into seven parts; some of his divisions coinciding with those above given, pp. 178, &c.
[2] Einleitung, § 223. II. ii. p. 208.
[3] Henderson, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, transl. &c. Introd. to chap. vii.
[4] Keil, Einleitung, § 75.
[5] Ibid.

"Chaps. xxi.—xxiv. contain the announcement," says Keil, "of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the people (xxi.); the cause of which is exhibited in a description of the depravity of the pastors, the ungodly civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the nation, kings and princes, prophets and priests (xxii. xxiii.), and confirmed by the communication of a previous vision of the state of the kingdom (xxiv.). Though this prophecy is dated at the siege of Jerusalem under Zedekiah (xxi. 1.), yet there is collected in the description of the corrupt rulers all that Jeremiah had ever said about them; and to the whole there is added a vision at the beginning of Zedekiah's reign (xxiv. 1.) which exhibits the fate of those carried away with Jehoiachin, and of the people left in the country."[1]

"Chaps. xxxii. and xxxiii., in which the prophet, during the siege of Jerusalem in the eighth [tenth] year of Zedekiah, predicts the capture and burning of Jerusalem, and also the deliverance of Israel and Judah, and the establishment of the theocracy, precede in point of time the more elevated and comprehensive announcement of glory for Israel and Judah in chaps. xxx. xxxi., which, from the direction xxx. 1—3., were not uttered in their present state, but, having been revealed before, were reduced to writing for the benefit of both contemporaries and posterity. The reason why xxx. xxxi. are put first in the collection is, not as Hitzig imagines because xxxii. xxxiii. were already written when the command xxx. 2. was issued, which view Hävernick opposes, but, as in the case of xxv. being placed before xxvi., because they are of a more comprehensive character."[1]

As in the case of Isaiah, so with this prophet, though not to the same extent, interpolations and additions by other authors have been alleged. Thus the passage chap. x. 1—16. is objected to: vv. 6—8, 10. (which are wanting in the LXX.) are interpolated, and the rest is the production of the writer of the last chapters of Isaiah.[3] The reasons for this conclusion are that the verses contain warnings against soothsaying and idolatry, which in the opinion of some modern critics it would have been very improper for Jeremiah to give; that v. 11. is in Chaldee; and that the style resembles that of the later parts of Isaiah. Hence the writer must have lived in the exile. Reasons such as these are of little weight. It is freely admitted that there is a difficulty about v. 11. The advocates for its genuineness urge that it is the answer which the Jews, when removed into Babylon, were to make to those who would allure them there into idolatry; but, as Henderson well remarks, in that case the introductory words, "Thus shall ye say unto them," would have been in Hebrew, whereas they too are Chaldee.[4] The sense, also, is interrupted; it seems, therefore, probable that the verse is a gloss. But this is all the concession that can be made. Why should not Jeremiah warn against idolatry? In the preceding chapter he had declared that it was for their idolatry that the Jews were to be scattered among the heathen (see ix. 13.—16.). And the style resem-

[1] Einleitung, § 75 [2] Ibid.

[3] De Wette, Einleitung, § 217. c.: see a list of the chief alleged interpolations in Smith's Dict. of the Bible, 1860, art. Jeremiah.

[4] The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, note on x. 11.

bles the later chapters of Isaiah! It is very likely. Jeremiah was accustomed to imitate the expressions of earlier prophets. But with this resemblance there are intermingled words and phrases peculiar to Jeremiah, as הֶבֶל, used of idols, vv. 3, 15.: comp. ii. 5.; אוֹתָם, for אֶתְּם, v. 5.: comp. i. 16., iv. 12., &c. &c.; בְּעֵת פְּקֻדָּתָם, v. 15.: comp. vi. 15., viii. 12., xi. 23., xlix. 8. Ewald and Umbreit, however, with no sufficient reason maintain the converse, that the writer of the later part of Isaiah imitated Jeremiah here.[1]

The following passages are also pronounced interpolations, xxv. 11 (second part)—14. (first part), xxvii. 7, 16—21., xxxiii. 14—26., xxxix. 1, 2, 4—13., but on insufficient grounds. The objection to the first-named passage is that it specifies seventy years as the duration of the exile. The objectors do not believe in definite predictions. As to v. 13., it is assumed that Jeremiah had not then prophesied against various nations. Yet in xxxvi. 1, 2. of the same date he is said to have spoken "against all the nations." And besides, in the verses immediately succeeding that in question, and recorded at the same time, judgments are denounced against many peoples. It is not unreasonable to apply the words to them. The verses xxvii. 7, 16—21. are rejected because the prophecy is specific; and xxxiii. 14—26. because the critics have not been willing to see how the house of David, though the temporal kingdom was forfeited for their sins, had its noblest sovereignty in the dominion of Messiah. Other objections, taken from the supposed disagreement of xxxix. 11—14. and xl. 1—6., and from the omission of any of these passages by the LXX. are of little weight.[2]

Chaps. xxvii.—xxix. are said to have been worked over, partly because the forms יִרְמְיָה and צִדְקִיָּה, &c. occur instead of יִרְמְיָהוּ and צִדְקִיָּהוּ, &c., and partly because the appellation הַנָּבִיא, "the prophet," is frequently added to Jeremiah's name (*e.g.* xxviii. 5, 6, 10—12, 15., xxix. 1.). But the different forms of the proper names are used interchangeably (see xxviii. 12.); and הַנָּבִיא is added, as Hitzig supposes, because it is given to the false prophet Hananiah in the same connection.[3]

Chaps. xxx.—xxxiii. are also said to have been elaborated by the writer of the later chapters of Isaiah. There is literally no proof of this, except that the style of the two compositions is somewhat similar; a fact easy to be accounted for. "The hypothesis of Movers, that Zechariah (chap. viii. 7, 8.) quotes xxxi. 7, 8, 33., and speaks of their author as having lived at the time when the foundation of the temple was laid under Zerubbabel, is rejected by Hitzig as entirely unsupported by external evidence."[4]

Chap. xlviii. is said to be interpolated by the (so-called) Pseudo-Isaiah, and to have had additions by some other still later writer; because it re-produces the oracle of Balaam and of Isaiah against

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 76. pp. 290, 291. Comp. Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. pp. 63, 410.
[2] See Keil, pp. 292, 293. and writers there referred to.
[3] See Henderson, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, note on xxviii. 5.
[4] Ibid., note on xxxi. 8, 9.

Moab, and evinces ignorance of geographical and historical relations, and want of mastery over the Hebrew language.[1] The latter charge is baseless; and, as to the former, Dr. Lee properly refers to this chapter as exemplifying the general law of prophecy, according to which there are "constant references by the Old Testament writers to the labours of their predecessors." "We have, in point of fact, but this one prophecy against Moab; and yet in what various forms is it repeated by the prophets! The language of Isaiah, in his fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, as well as that of Zephaniah referring in like manner to this same subject, are equally based upon the original prediction in the Pentateuch. Again, among the announcements of Jeremiah, we find an epitome of the denunciations of Obadiah against Edom. In all these cases, however, certain points of difference are observable, which prevent such instances of parallelism from degenerating into mere imitation, or becoming simple repetitions."[2]

Chaps. l. li. are by some critics considered altogether spurious, by some interpolated. The reasons as summed up by Keil are:—

That there are frequent repetitions, and that the style of Jeremiah appears in them in particular only, though in numerous passages, and that the repeated places are often altered. But it may be replied that it is the custom of Jeremiah to repeat himself. And, though it is rejoined that his genuine repetitions are more in the mass, and a more accurate transcript of what he had before said, this is not borne out by facts. His repetitions are appropriate to the new places into which they are introduced; but they are generally made with great freedom.

It is also said that in these chapters there are ideas foreign to Jeremiah, and betokening a later date. Babylon is represented as already taken by Cyrus, and, though unexpectedly for the present spared, yet degenerate and helpless to avert its fate. There is a prophetic invective against the Chaldean tyrants; and a summons to the Jewish brethren to flee from the doomed city; and, further, a special designation of the Medes and other northern tribes as the deadly foes of Babylon. But though we find נִלְכְּדָה בָבֶל in l. 2., yet a variety of places (*e.g.* l. 3, 8, 9, 14—16, 18, 21, 26, 29, 34, &c., 41—46., li. 1, &c.), show that the judgment is impending, not yet past; besides, in l. 9. we have the future תִּלָּכֵד. The invectives against the Chaldeans and call to quit Babylon only show that the prophet did not speak according to the feeling which as a private man he might personally have had, but that as God's prophet he denounced vengeance against God's foes. The naming of the Medes, moreover, is an argument for Jeremiah's authorship: Cyrus was denominated king of the Persians by the post-exilian writers. It must be added, as heretofore observed, that an indisposition to allow of specific prophecy is at the root of all objections of this kind.

It is further said that there are plays upon words; as שֵׁשַׁךְ for בָּבֶל, li. 41.; לֵב קָמָי, *heart of my adversaries*, for כַּשְׂדִּים, li. 1.; and others of a

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 76. p. 293.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 225. II. ii. pp. 233, &c.

[2] The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, (2nd edit.) lect. vii. pp. 326—328.

similar kind. But the word ששך occurs xxv. 26.; and other plays on names xx. 3. and elsewhere.

It is said, moreover, that peculiar words, used by Ezekiel and other later writers, are met with in these chapters; as סגן, פחה, li. 23, 28, 57; גללים, l. 2.; בדים, *prophets causing to err*, l. 36.; החרים, *to banish*, l. 21, 26, li. 3. But the last word occurs in xxv. 9.; בדים is from Isaiah xliv. 25.; גללים is in Lev. xxvi. 30.; Deut. xxix. 16.; and, as to the rest, surely those known to Ezekiel need not be unknown to Jeremiah his contemporary.

Once more, it is objected that there is a remarkable similarity between l. 27., li. 40., and Isai. xxxiv. 6, &c.; between l. 39., and Isai. xxxiv. 14., and other places. But this proves only that Jeremiah was acquainted with Isai. xxxiv., and has made use of it.

Chap. lii. is a historical appendix, nearly coinciding with 2 Kings xxiv. 24—xxv. 30. From the subscription, li. 64., it would seem not to be from Jeremiah's hand; and it can hardly be supposed that the prophet survived to write vv. 31—34. Keil imagines that Jeremiah or Baruch registered the facts which proved the fulfilment of the predictions delivered, and that the compiler of the book added chap. lii., an extract from these annals.[1] This of course is but conjecture.

A writer in the Princeton (U. S.) Review[2], who believes that Jeremiah collected and arranged his own prophecies, sees a systematic disposition through the whole book. Leaving out lii., which is a historical appendix, he divides the rest into three parts: —

I. Prediction of the judgment upon Judah, and the future restoration (i.—xxxiii.); comprising,

1. General denunciation of the people as a whole (i.—xx.).
2. Denunciation of their civil and spiritual leaders (xxi.—xxiii.).
3. The design and duration of the judgment (xxiv.—xxix.).
4. The blessings which would succeed it (xxx.—xxxiii.).

II. The history of the judgment (xxxiv.—xlv.); including

1. Evidences of ripeness for judgment (xxxiv.—xxxviii.).
2. The destruction of the city (xxxix.).
3. The fortunes of the surviving remnant (xl.—xlv.).

III. Predictions respecting foreign nations (xlvi.—li.).

The writer supports his view with much ability, and remarks upon the dependence of the sacred penmen on their predecessors, as not "evidencing a lack of original and independent thought, or a period of declining taste," but serving "to mark the unity of the book of revelation." Thus Jeremiah makes use of Isaiah—not alone "those portions which modern criticism allows to pass as genuine, but quite as frequently those which have been pronounced spurious, and alleged to proceed from some nameless author at or near the close of the exile." He rightly insists on this as a proof that Jeremiah must have been in possession of the book of Isaiah's prophecies, and that that book was of the same compass then as now. And with becoming

[1] Einleitung, § 76.
[2] Reprinted in the British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April 1860. pp. 396—413.

severity he exposes the criticism which would dismiss everything that looks like a testimony to Isaiah's genuineness as an interpolation: "'Die Schreibart ist pseudo-jesaianisch;' and this settles the matter. It might not be difficult upon the same method to maintain that the American Declaration of Independence was a forgery produced within the last decennium; and, when confronted with proof that it had been mentioned, quoted, and referred to long before, the reply would be always ready, that all such allusions prior to the date assumed were interpolations, made by the forger himself in these various works. Such proofs of an erroneous text may be estimated at what they are worth."

There are some remarkable differences between the Hebrew text and the LXX. translation of Jeremiah. Thus the arrangement of the prophecies against foreign nations varies according to the following table.

Masoretic text.	LXX.
Chap. xlix. 34—39.	Chap. xxv. 34—39.
xlvi. 2—12.	xxvi. 1—11.
13—28.	12—26.
l. li.	xxvii. xxviii.
xlvii. 1—7.	xxix. 1—7.
xlix. 7—22.	7—22.
1—6.	xxx. 1—5.
28—33.	6—11.
23—27.	12—16.
xlviii.	xxxi.
xxv. 15—39.	xxxii.
xxvi.—xlv.	xxxiii.—li.
lii.	lii.

Hence the order of the denunciations against the nations is,

Hebrew.	LXX.
Egypt.	Elam.
Philistines.	Egypt.
Moab.	Babylon.
Ammon.	Philistines.
Edom.	Edom.
Damascus.	Ammon.
Kedar.	Kedar.
Elam.	Damascus.
Babylon.	Moab.

But the differences are greater and more various than a mere change in the order of position. Some passages existing in Hebrew do not appear in the LXX., *e.g.* xxvii. 19—22., xxxiii. 14—26., xxxix. 4—14., xlviii. 45—47.[1]

In chap. lii. the LXX. follows the text of 2 Kings xxv. And, further, throughout the book there are almost-countless variations in gender, number, and tense, synonymous ideas exchanged, metaphors lost, and, conversely, metaphors introduced where there were none, particles and other words inexactly paraphrased, additions, omissions, transpositions, mistakes arising from the absence of points, Hebrew words left untranslated and merely put into Greek characters, similar letters mistaken, attempts to conform the prophecies, especially those affecting Egypt, to the relations of the time, &c. &c. Of all these

[1] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Jeremiah.

Keil produces a mass of examples, for which his book may be referred to [1], and argues strongly in behalf of the integrity of the Masoretic text against that of the LXX., appealing to the facts that in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20 there is a reference to Jer. xxvii. 7., a place which is wanting in the LXX.; that the New Testament writers agree in their quotations from Jeremiah more nearly with the Hebrew text than the Greek (*e.g.* Matt. ii. 18., and Jer. xxxi. 15.); and that the authority of Josephus is to the same effect.

Keil is substantially right; but he has perhaps pushed his view too far. It must be admitted that there are some questionable readings in the Hebrew text. And it is perplexing to understand why the LXX. should exhibit here such extraordinary variations, beyond what we find in other books. Many critics resort to the hypothesis of a double recension, and believe that the true text is exhibited neither in the Masoretic copies, nor in the LXX. exclusively, and that from a careful examination and use of both the nearest approach might be made to the original examplar.[2]]

IV. Although the greater part of Jeremiah's predictions related to the Jews, many of whom lived to behold their literal fulfilment, and thus attested his prophetic mission, while several of his predictions concerned other nations; yet two or three so clearly announce the Messiah, that it would be a blamable omission, were we to pass them unnoticed.

In xxiii. 5, 6. is foretold the mediatorial kingdom of the Messiah, who is called the Lord our Righteousness. On this passage Dr. Hales has cited the following remark from the ancient rabbinical book of *Ikkarim*, which (he observes) well expresses the reason of the appellation: "The scripture calls the name of the Messiah, JAOH, our Righteousness, to intimate that he will be a mediatorial God, by whose hand we shall obtain *justification* from the Name: wherefore it calls him by the name of the Name (that is, the ineffable name JAOH, here put for God himself)." [3]

Again, in Jer. xxxi. 22. we have a distinct prediction of the miraculous conception of Jesus Christ [4]; and in xxxi. 31—36. and xxxiii. 8. the efficacy of Christ's atonement, the spiritual character

[1] Einleitung, § 77. Comp. De Wette, Einleitung, § 218.; who is too favourable to the LXX.

[2] See Movers, De Utriusq. Vaticinior. Jerem. recensionis indole et origine, Hamb. 1837; Henderson, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Introd. sect. iv.

[3] Dr. Hales, Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 481., or pp. 442, 443. (edit. 1830.), who cites Buxtorf's Lexicon, *voce* יְהוָה. Dr. H. thinks that Paul derived the declarations he has made concerning Jesus Christ, in 1 Cor. i. 30. and Phil. ii. 9—11., from the above-cited passage of Jeremiah.

[4] Professor Dahler considers this simply as a proverbial expression; and the modern Jews, and a few Christian interpreters, particularly the late Dr. Blayney in his translation of Jeremiah, have denied the application of this prophecy to the Messiah; but the following remarks will show that this denial is not authorized. According to the first evangelical promise, concerning the *seed of the woman*, followed this prediction of the prophet: *The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass a man* (Jer. xxxi. 22.) That new creation of a man is therefore *new*, and therefore a creation, because wrought in a woman only, without a man, compassing a man. This interpretation is ancient, literal, and clear. The words import a miraculous conception: the *ancient Jews* acknowledged this sense, and applied it determinately to the Messiah. This prophecy is illustrated by that of Isaiah vii. 14. Bp. Pearson on the Creed, art. iii. p. 171. edit. 1715. folio.

of the new covenant, and the inward efficacy of the gospel, are most clearly and emphatically described. Comp. Heb. viii. 8—13., and x. 16, &c.

V. The style of Jeremiah, though not deficient in elegance or sublimity, is considered by bishop Lowth as being inferior in both respects to Isaiah. Jerome [1], after some Jewish writers, has objected to the prophet a certain rusticity of expression, which however it is very difficult to trace. Though the sentiments of Jeremiah are not always the most elevated, nor his periods uniformly neat and compact, yet his style is in a high degree beautiful and tender, especially when he has occasion to excite the softer passions of grief and pity, which is frequently the case in the earlier parts of his prophecies.[2] These are chiefly poetical. The middle of his book is almost entirely historical, and is written in a plain prosaic style, suitable to historical narrative. On many occasions he is very elegant and sublime, especially in xlvi.—li. 58, which are wholly poetical, and in which the prophet approaches very near the sublimity of Isaiah.[3]

SECTION IV.

ON THE LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH.

I. *Author, date, and argument of the book.*—II. *Synopsis of its contents.*— III. *Observations on its style and structure.*

I. [This book is called by the Jews אֵיכָה, *how,* that being the first word; also, from the contents קִינוֹת. In the LXX. the title is Θρῆνοι.] That Jeremiah was the author of the Elegies or Lamentations which bear his name is evident, not only from a very ancient and almost-uninterrupted tradition, but also from the argument and style of the book, which correspond exactly with those of his prophecies.[4]

[The Lamentations are expressly ascribed to Jeremiah in a verse prefixed to the Septuagint version, which has been adopted in some other translations. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this verse ever belonged to the Hebrew text. But it is a valuable testimony of the early belief of the Jeremian authorship. And the contents, tone, and language, in the judgment of most critics, harmonize with this belief.

Objections have been taken mainly from such a supposed difference between the various chapters of this book as that, it is said, they could not all proceed from the same hand. Thenius, who urges these objections, dwells particularly upon the incompatibility of ii., iv. with iii. 1—20., and declares the last-named passage foreign to

[1] Prolog. in Jerem.
[2] See the whole of ix., xiv. 17, &c., and xx. 14—18.
[3] Lowth, Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 88, 89.
[4] Pareau has amply proved this point from a general collation of the prophecies of Jeremiah with select passages of this book, in the preliminary Dissertation to his Latin version of the Lamentations (Lugd. Bat. 1790, 8vo.), illustrated with notes.

the style and cast of thought of the prophet Jeremiah. The images are too varied, the expressions too strong. Other grounds are alleged; but, as being less pressed, they cannot here be specified. The student must consult the critic's own work.[1]

But sufficient proof may be produced to show the futility of these objections. Thus the writer is an eye-witness of the calamities he bemoans; see ii. 11., iv. 17—20., v. The expressions of grief are similar to those with which Jeremiah describes the coming evils: comp. iii., with Jer. xv. 15, &c., xvii. 13, &c., xx. 7, &c.; iii. 64—66., with Jer. xvii. 18.[2] Here, just as in Jeremiah's prophecies, the dispersion of the people and the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple are ascribed to the iniquities of Israel: comp. i. 5, 8, 14, 22., iii. 39, 42., iv. 6, 22., v. 16., with Jer. xiii. 22, 26., xiv. 7., xvi. 10, &c., xvii. 1, &c. A sinful trust in false prophets and reckless priests is described in both books: comp. ii. 14., iv. 13—15., with Jer. ii. 7, 8., v. 31., xiv. 13., xxiii. 11., &c.; as also a baseless hope of security in Jerusalem: comp. iv. 12., with Jer. vii. 3—15.; and a vain confidence in feeble allies: comp. i. 2, 19., iv. 17., with Jer. ii. 18, 36., xxx. 14., xxxvii. 5—10.[3] The diction, moreover, is very similar, with a great number of characteristic words and expressions: thus מְגוּרַי מִסָּבִיב, ii. 22., compared with מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב, Jer. vi. 25., xx. 3, 10., xlvi. 5., xlix. 29.; the frequent use of שֶׁבֶר and שֶׁבֶר בַּת עַמִּי, ii. 11, 13., iii. 47, 48., iv. 10., compared with Jer. iv. 6, 20., vi. 1, 14., viii. 11, 21., xiv. 17., xxx. 12.; of מַיִם or יָרַד דִּמְעָה, i. 16., ii. 11, 18., iii. 48., compared with Jer. viii. 23., ix. 17., xiii. 17., xiv. 17.[4] Only a few peculiar words, it may be added, are found in Lamentations.

There is therefore no reason to doubt that Jeremiah was the author. And, though the connection between the five poems is not very clearly marked, yet the leading idea is the same, and we need not imagine that all were composed at one time. This will sufficiently account for their independence one of another.]

Josephus[5], Jerome, Junius, archbishop Ussher, Michaelis, Dathe[6], and others are of opinion that the Lamentations of Jeremiah were the same which are mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. as being composed by the prophet on the death of the pious king Josiah, and which are there said to have been perpetuated by "an ordinance in Israel." But, whatever may have become of those Lamentations, it is evident that these cannot possibly be the same; for their whole tenor plainly shows that they were not composed till after the subversion of the kingdom of Judah. The calamities which Jeremiah had foretold in his prophecies are here deplored as having actually taken place, viz. the impositions of the false prophets who had seduced the people by their lying declarations, the destruction of the holy city and temple, the overthrow of the state, and the extermination

[1] Die Klaglieder erklärt.
[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 129. p. 430.
[3] Ibid. pp. 430, 431.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 315. III. p. 515.
[4] Keil, ibid. p. 431.; where additional places are referred to.
[5] Antiq., lib. x. cap. v.
[[6] Michaelis and Dathe afterwards acknowledged their error. See Keil, Einleitung, § 128. p. 429.]

of the people. But, though it be allowed that the Lamentations were primarily intended as a pathetic description of present calamities, yet it has with great probability been conjectured that, while Jeremiah mourns the desolation of Judah and Jerusalem, he may be considered as prophetically painting the still greater miseries they were to suffer at some future time; and this seems plainly indicated by his referring to the time when the punishment of their iniquity shall be accomplished, and they shall no more be carried into captivity (iv. 22.)[1]

II. This book, which in our bible is divided into five chapters, consists of five distinct elegies; viz.

1. The prophet begins with lamenting the reverse of fortune of his country, confessing that all her miseries were the just consequences of the national rebellion against God. He then introduces Jerusalem, continuing the complaint, and humbly soliciting the divine compassion. Jahn is of opinion that, in this elegy, Jeremiah deplores the deportation of king Jehoiachin, and ten thousand of the principal Jews, to Babylon. Comp. 2 Kings xxiv. 8—17., and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10.

2. Jeremiah gives a melancholy detail of the dire effects of the divine anger in that extreme misery to which every class was reduced. He represents the wretchedness of his country as unparalleled, and charges the false prophets with having betrayed her into ruin. In this desolate condition, the astonishment and by-word of all who see her, Jerusalem is directed earnestly to implore the removal of those heavy judgments which God, in his displeasure, had inflicted upon her. Jahn thinks that this elegy was composed on the storming of Jerusalem by the Babylonian army.

3. The prophet, by describing his own most severe afflictions, and setting forth the inexhaustible mercies of God, exhorts his countrymen to be patient. He asserts the divine supremacy, and argues that no man has a right to complain, when he is punished according to his deserts. He recommends his fellow-sufferers to examine themselves, and to turn to God with contrite hearts; and expresses his hope that the same Providence, that had formerly delivered him, would frustrate the malice of his present enemies.

4. This exhibits a striking contrast between the present deplorable condition of the Jewish nation and their former flourishing affairs, and ascribes the change chiefly to their profligacy. The people lament their hopeless condition. The elegy concludes with predicting the judgments impending over the Edomites, together with a final cessation of Zion's calamities.

5. This is an epilogue or conclusion to the preceding chapters or elegies. In the Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate versions, this chapter is entitled the Prayer of Jeremiah; but no such title appears in the Hebrew copies, or in the Septuagint version. It is rather, as Dr. Blayney has remarked, a memorial representing, in the name of the whole body of Jewish exiles, the numerous calamities under which they groaned, and humbly supplicating God to restore them once more to his favour.

III. The Lamentations are evidently written in metre, and contain a number of plaintive effusions composed after the manner of funeral dirges. Bishop Lowth is of opinion that they were originally

[1] Bishop Tomline, Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. pp. 112, 113.

written by the prophet, as they arose in his mind, in a long course of separate stanzas, and that they were subsequently collected into one poem. Each elegy consists of twenty-two periods, according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet; although it is in the first four chapters only that the several periods begin (after the manner of an acrostic) with the different letters following each other in alphabetical order. Thus the metre is more precisely marked and ascertained, particularly in the third chapter, where each period contains three verses, all having the same initial letter. Chaps. i., ii., in like manner, consist of triplets, excepting only the seventh period of the first and the nineteenth of the second, each of which has a supernumerary line. Chap. iv. resembles the three former in metre, but the periods are only couplets; and in chap. v. the periods are couplets, though of a considerably shorter measure. [In ii., iii., iv., the verse beginning with פ stands before that beginning with ע: there is, however, no occasion to believe the text corrupted. Bertholdt and Ewald account for the want of alphabetical structure in v. by supposing that the writer was somehow hindered from putting the last hand to his work.[1]]

Although there is no artificial or methodical arrangement of the subject in these incomparable elegies, yet they are totally free from wild incoherency or abrupt transition. Never, perhaps, was there a greater variety of beautiful, tender, and pathetic images, all expressive of the deepest distress and sorrow, more happily chosen and applied than in the Lamentations of this prophet; nor can we too much admire the full and graceful flow of that pathetic eloquence, in which the author pours forth the effusions of a patriot heart, and piously weeps over the ruin of his venerable country.[2]

SECTION V.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET EZEKIEL.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Canonical authority and genuineness of the prophecies of Ezekiel.*—III. *Their scope.*—IV. *Analysis of them.*—V. *Observations on the style of Ezekiel.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 595—536.

I. EZEKIEL, whose name imports the *strength of God*, was the son of Buzi, of the sacerdotal race, and one of the captives carried by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, with Jehoiachin king of Judah; it does not appear that he had prophesied before he came into Mesopotamia. The principal scene of his predictions was some place on the river Chebar, or Chaboras, which flows into the Euphrates about two

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 128. p. 430

[2] Dr. Blayney, Jeremiah, pp. 455. &c.; Bishop Lowth, Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, lect. xxii. *in fine*.; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 415—417.; Carpzov. Introd. ad Libros Biblicos, pars iii. cap. iv. pp. 177—197.

hundred miles to the north of Babylon, where the prophet resided; though he was, occasionally, conveyed in vision to Jerusalem. He commenced his prophetic ministry in the thirtieth year of his age, according to general accounts; or rather, as Calmet thinks, in the thirtieth year after the covenant was renewed with God in the reign of Josiah, which answers to the fifth year of Ezekiel's and Jehoiachin's captivity (Ezek. i. 1., xl. 1.), the era whence he dates his predictions; [more likely from the era of Nabopolassar; though Hitzig thinks the reckoning is from a jubilee year[1],] and it appears from xxix. 17. that he continued to prophecy about twenty-one years and three quarters. The events of his life, after his call to the prophetic office, are interwoven with the detail which he has himself given of his predictions; but the manner of its termination is nowhere ascertained. The pseudo-Epiphanius, in his lives of the prophets, says that he was put to death in the place of his exile, by the prince of the Jews, who was addicted to idolatry, and could not bear his reproaches. No reliance, however, can be placed on this account. Jerome is of opinion that, as Ezekiel was in part contemporary with Jeremiah, who prophesied in Judæa while Ezekiel delivered his predictions beyond the Euphrates, their prophecies were interchanged for the consolation and encouragement of the captive Jews. [But this is improbable]. There is, indeed, a striking agreement in the subject-matter of their respective prophecies; but Ezekiel is more vehement than Jeremiah in reproving the sins of his countrymen, and abounds more in visions, which render some passages of his book exceedingly difficult to be understood. On this account no Jew was, anciently, permitted to read the writings of this prophet, until he had completed his thirtieth year.[2]

II. Until of late years the prophecies of Ezekiel have always been acknowledged to be canonical; nor was it ever disputed that he was their author. The Jews, indeed, say that the sanhedrim deliberated for a long time whether his book should form a part of the sacred canon. They objected to the great obscurity at the beginning and end of his prophecy, and to what he says in xviii. 20., that the son should not bear the iniquity of his father, which they urged was contrary to Moses, who declares (Exod. xx. 5.) that God visits the "sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth *generation.*" But Moses himself (Deut. xxiv. 16.) says the very same thing as Ezekiel.[3]

The genuineness of certain chapters of this prophet has been impugned by some writers, both on the continent and in our own country.

[Oeder and Vogel denied the genuineness of xl.—xlviii.; and Corrodi, in addition, doubted xxxviii., xxxix. Their arguments were that the chapters were obscure, that they contained commands not afterwards obeyed, that the prophet could not have recollected the

[1] Der Proph. Ezekiel erklärt, 1847, pp. 2, 3.
[2] Jerome, Procem. in lib. i. Comm. in Ezech.
[3] Calmet, Préface sur Ezekiel. Comment. Litt. tom. vi. pp. 353, 354.

numbers of so many measurements, &c. It is sufficient to say that Jahn refuted them.[1]]

In England, an anonymous writer[2] has denied that "the prophecies in chapters xxv.—xxxii. xxxv. xxxvi. xxxviii. and xxxix. are Ezekiel's. His reasons are so exceedingly trifling, that they are not worthy of refutation.[3]

Josephus ascribes to this prophet two books concerning the Babylonian captivity[4], and says that, having foretold in Babylon the calamities which were coming upon the people, he sent accounts of them to Jerusalem.[5] But these circumstances are not recorded in the predictions now extant; nor have we any means of ascertaining what foundation Josephus had for his assertion. Most commentators are of opinion that the Jewish historian divided the prophecy we now have into two books, and that he took that part of the prophecy which contains a description of the temple (xli.—xlviii.), for a distinct book, because it treats on a subject wholly different from the topics discussed in the former part of his writings.

[Zunz has conjectured that this book belongs to the Persian period. His arguments are not of weight; such as that there is no trace of Ezekiel's imagery in his alleged contemporary Jeremiah; that he does not seem to have rightly comprehended the shape of the cherubim; that there is a particularity in his predictions (*e.g.* xii. 12., &c.) which does not belong to a true prophet; that his style has an Aramaic colouring, and in several places betrays an imitation of Jeremiah, &c. &c.[6] It is enough to refer the student to the refutation of these objections by Hävernick.[7]]

III. The chief design of Ezekiel's prophecies is to comfort his brethren in captivity, who deplored their having too lightly credited the promises of Jeremiah, who had exhorted them speedily to submit to the Chaldees, on account of the approaching ruin of Jerusalem. As these captives saw no appearance of the fulfilment of Jeremiah's predictions, God raised up Ezekiel to confirm them in the faith, and to support by new prophecies those which Jeremiah had long before published, and even then continued to announce in Judæa. In pursuance of this design, Ezekiel predicts the dreadful calamities which soon after were inflicted upon Judæa and Jerusalem, and on the false prophets and prophetesses; the punishments that awaited the Ammonites, Edomites, and Philistines, for their hatred of the Jews; the destruction of Tyre; the conquest of Egypt; the restoration of Israel and Judah from their several dispersions; and their ultimately happy state after the advent and under the government of the Messiah.

IV. The prophecies of Ezekiel form, in our bibles, forty-eight chapters; and, as he is extremely punctual in dating them, we have

[1] Prof. Turner's Translation of Jahn, p. 403. Comp. Hävernick, Einleitung, § 232. II ii. pp. 270, 271.; De Wette, Einleitung, § 223. p. 308.
[2] Monthly Magazine, March 1798, p. 189.
[3] See Prof. Turner's Translation of Jahn, pp. 404, 405.
[4] Antiq. Jud. lib. x. cap. 5. § 1. [5] Ibid. lib. x. cap. 7. § 2.
[6] Die Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden, pp. 157, &c.
[7] Einleitung, § 232. II. ii. pp. 271—273.

little or no difficulty in arranging them in chronological order.[1] They may be divided into four parts; viz.

PART I. *Ezekiel's call to the prophetic office* (i. 1. to the first part of verse 28.), *his commission, instructions, and encouragements for executing it* (i. 28. latter clause, ii. iii. 1—21.).

PART II. *Denunciations against the Jewish people* (iii. 22—27., iv.—xxiv.).

1. Under the emblem of a siege delineated upon a tile is represented the manner in which the Chaldæan army would surround Jerusalem during the reign of Zedekiah (iii. 22—27., iv. 1—3.).[2] By Ezekiel's lying upon his right and left side a certain number of (prophetic) days, is exhibited the number of years, during which God had borne with the iniquities of Israel (4—8.).

2. By the destruction of the prophet's hair (v. 1—4.), judgments against Jerusalem are symbolized (5—17.).

3. Divine judgments denounced against the Jews (vi. 1—7.); but a remnant shall be saved (8—14.).

4. The final desolation of the Jews (vii. 1—22.); the severity of their captivity (23—27.).

5. The prophet is carried in a vision to Jerusalem (viii. 1—16.), where he is shown the idolatries committed within the precincts of the temple.[3] The prophet then denounces vengeance against the wicked, and foretells the preservation of the pious Jews (17, 18., ix.); and under the command to scatter coals of fire over the city (x. 1—7.), and the vision of the Shechinah departing from the temple (8—22.), are prefigured the destruction of Jerusalem, and Jehovah's forsaking the temple. The same threatenings repeated and confirmed, with promises of future good (xi.).

6. The captivity of Zedekiah prefigured and speedy judgment denounced[4] (xii.).

7. False prophets reproved and threatened (xiii.).

8. Divine judgments against the idolatrous elders and their false prophets; yet a remnant shall be saved (xiv.).

9. The utter rejection of Jerusalem (xv.).

10. The natural state of the Jewish nation, and the great love of God

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[1] The arrangement proposed by De Wette coincides very nearly with that given in this work. He divides the predictions of Ezekiel into three parts, viz. I. From chap. i. to chap. xxiv., containing prophecies relating to the Jews and anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, in chronological order; II. From chap. xxv. to chap. xxxii., containing prophecies relating to various heathen nations, disposed according to the order of subjects; III. From chap. xxxiii. to xlviii., containing prophecies posterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, in chronological order. Einleitung, § 222. p. 308. See notice of other modes of division in Keil, Einleitung, § 80. pp. 309, 310.

[2] The prophetical types and figures are often adapted to the genius and education of the prophets. Amos, for instance, derives his figures from objects which were familiar to a shepherd or a husbandman. As Ezekiel seems to have had a peculiar talent for architecture, several of his representations are suitable to that profession. "And they that suppose the emblem here made use of to be below the dignity of the prophetical office may as well accuse Archimedes of folly for making lines in the dust." W. Lowth on Ezek. iv. 1.

[3] Bp. Warburton has an excellent illustration of this prediction in his Divine Legation of Moses, book iv. sect. 6. Works, vol. iv. pp. 295—299.; the most material parts of which are inserted in bp. Mant's and Dr. D'Oyly's Commentary on the Bible.

[4] Josephus informs us that Zedekiah, thinking the prophecy of Ezekiel, xii. 13., inconsistent with the prediction of Jeremiah (xxxii. 4. and xxxiv. 3.), determined to give no credit to either of them. Both prophecies, as we have already seen (Vol. I. pp. 283, 284.) were literally fulfilled; and the event convinced him that they were not irreconcilable. Comp. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. x. cap. vii. § 2. cap. viii. § 2. with 2 Kings xxv. 4—7., and Jer. lii. 8—11.

to it in Egypt, as well as afterwards, emblematically shown. Mercy promised under his new and everlasting covenant (xvi.).

11. God's judgment upon the Jews, for revolting from Babylon. The preaching of the gospel, and the universal kingdom of the Messiah, are foretold (xvii.).

12. Vindication of God's eternal rules of justice (xviii.).

13. The cruelty and captivity of Jehoahaz, who was deposed by the king of Egypt[1], and of Jehoiakim, who was deposed by the king of Babylon.[2] The desolation of the whole Jewish people (xix.).

14. Ezekiel reminds the elders of God's mercies to them, and of their rebellions against him (xx. 1—39.). Their return is foretold, and also that the twelve tribes shall serve God at Jerusalem (40—44.).

15. The destruction of Jerusalem, and of the Ammonites, by Nebuchadnezzar (xx. 45—xxi. 32.)

16. A recital of sins; for which the severest judgments are denounced (xxii.).

17. The idolatries of Samaria and Jerusalem (xxiii.).

18. The destruction of Jerusalem and its inhabitants (xxiv. 1—14.). The calamities of the Jews shall be so astonishing as to surpass all expressions of sorrow (15—27.).

PART III. *comprises Ezekiel's prophecies against various neighbouring nations, enemies to the Jews* (xxv.—xxxii.).

1. The judgments of God denounced against the Ammonites (xxv. 1—7.), Moabites (8—11.), Edomites (12—14.), and Philistines (15—17.). According to archbishop Ussher and Josephus, these predictions were fulfilled by Nebuchadnezzar, about five years after the destruction of Jerusalem.[3]

2. The destruction of Tyre (xxvi., xxvii., xxviii. 1—19.). This prediction[4] was accomplished, nineteen years after its delivery, by Nebuchadnezzar, who captured Tyre, after besieging it for thirteen years, and utterly destroyed that city. The destruction of Zidon (20—23.). Promises to the Jews (24—26.).

3. The deposition and death of Pharaoh-Hophrah (or Apries) king of Egypt (xxix. 1—8.), and the conquest of that country by Nebuchadnezzar (9—21. xxx.—xxxii.), are foretold. These predictions were in the tenth, twenty-seventh, eleventh, and twelfth years of Jehoiachin's captivity.

PART IV. *contains a series of exhortations and consolatory promises to the Jews, of future deliverance under Cyrus, but principally of their final restoration and conversion under the kingdom of Messiah* (xxxiii. —xlviii.). *These predictions were probably delivered in the twelfth year of Jehoiachin's captivity* [chaps. xl. &c. were in the fourteenth year after the taking of Jerusalem.].

1. The duty of a prophet or minister of God (xxxiii. 1—9.). Exhortation to repentance, and vindication of the equity of the divine government (xxxiii. 10—20.). Tidings being brought of the destruction of Jerusalem

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[1] See 2 Kings xxiii. 33. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4.

[2] See 2 Kings xxiv. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

[3] Ussher, Annales, ad A.M. 3419.; Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. x. cap. 11. § 1.

[4] Though these predictions chiefly relate to Old Tyre, yet Dr. Prideaux is of opinion that they also comprehend New Tyre, which was erected on an island about half a mile distant from the shore, and was conquered by Alexander the Great. Connection, part i. book ii. *sub anno* 573. vol. i. pp. 91, 92. See Vol. I. pp. 284—286. for the proofs of the literal accomplishment of Ezekiel's prophecy, that Tyre should be a place "to spread nets upon," and be "built no more" (xxvi. 14.).

(21, 22.), the prophet predicts the utter desolation of Judæa, and reproves the hypocrisy of those Jews who were of the captivity (23—33.).

2. Reproofs and consolatory predictions (xxxiv.).

3. Denunciations against the Edomites (xxxv.).[1]

4. The general restoration of the Jews, of which the return of the two tribes from Babylon may be considered an earnest, and the incorporation of Israel and Judah into one state and church, which will enjoy the blessings of the gospel under the Messiah (xxxvi. xxxvii.).

5. Prophecy against Gog and his allies, with a promise of the final restoration and conversion of the Jews to the gospel (xxxviii. xxxix.). This prophecy relates to the latter ages of the world, and will be best understood by its accomplishment.

6. A representation, partly literal and partly mystical, of Solomon's temple; also a mystical representation of the city of Jerusalem, and mystical directions concerning the division of the Holy Land; all which were designed to give the Jews a greater assurance of their returning into their own country from the Babylonish captivity; and, more remotely, of their return after their general conversion to Christianity, and of the lasting and firmly settled and prosperous state they shall then enjoy in their own country.[2] Whatever was august or illustrious in the prophetic figures, and not literally fulfilled in or near their own times, the ancient Jews justly considered as belonging to the times of the Messiah. This section comprises the last nine chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy; of which a particular analysis has been given by Dr. Smith.[3]

[That Ezekiel collected his own prophecies and arranged them as we have them is most probable.[4]]

V. Most biblical critics concur in opinion as to the excellency and sublimity of Ezekiel's style. Grotius[5] observes that he possessed great erudition and genius; so that, setting aside his gift of prophecy, which is incomparable, he may deserve to be compared with Homer, on account of his beautiful conceptions, his illustrious comparisons, and his extensive knowledge of various subjects, particularly of architecture. Bishop Lowth, in his twenty-first lecture on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, gives us the following description of the peculiar and discriminating characteristics of this prophet. "Ezekiel," says he "is much inferior to Jeremiah in elegance; in sublimity he is not even excelled by Isaiah; but his sublimity is of a totally-different kind. He is deep, vehement, tragical: the only sensation he affects to excite is the terrible: his sentiments are elevated, fervid, full of fire, indignant: his imagery is crowded, magnificent, terrific, sometimes almost to disgust: his language is

[1] This prophecy was accomplished in the conquest of the Edomites, first by the Nabatheans, and secondly by John Hyrcanus, who compelled them to embrace the Jewish religion; in consequence of which they at length became incorporated with that nation. Dr. Prideaux, Connection, part ii. book v. *sub anno* 129. vol. ii. pp. 307, 308.

[2] See particularly 1 Cor. iii. 16.; 2 Cor. vi. 16.; Eph. ii. 20—22.; 1 Tim. iii. 15. The same metaphor is also pursued in 2 Thess. ii. 4., and occurs repeatedly in the Revelation of St. John, who not only describes the heavenly sanctuary by representations taken from the Jewish temple (see Rev. xi. 19., xiv. 17., xv. 5, 8), but also transcribes several of Ezekiel's expressions (Rev. iv. 2, 3, 6., xi. 1, 2., xxi. 12. &c., xxii. 1, 2.), and borrows his allusions from the state of the first temple, not of the second temple which existed in our Saviour's time; as if the former had a more immediate reference to the times of the gospel. Comp. Rev. iv. 1. &c. with Ezek. i. 6., &c. Lowth on Ezek. xl.

[3] View of the Prophets, pp. 153, 154.

[4] See Keil, Einleitung, § 82. pp. 312, 313.

[5] Præf. ad Ezechiel. in Crit. Sacr. tom. iv. p. 8.

pompous, solemn, austere, rough, and at times unpolished: he employs frequent repetitions, not for the sake of grace or elegance, but from the vehemence of passion and indignation. Whatever subject he treats of, that he sedulously pursues, from that he rarely departs, but cleaves as it were to it; whence the connection is in general evident and well preserved. In many respects he is perhaps excelled by the other prophets; but, in that species of composition to which he seems by nature adapted, the forcible, the impetuous, the great and solemn, not one of the sacred writers is superior to him. His diction is sufficiently perspicuous: all his obscurity consists in the nature of the subject. Visions (as, for instance, among others, those of Hosea, Amos, and Jeremiah) are necessarily dark and confused. The greater part of Ezekiel, towards the middle of the book especially, is poetical, whether we regard the matter or the diction." His periods, however, are frequently so rude, that bishop Lowth expresses himself as being often at a loss how to pronounce concerning his performance in this respect. In the same place the same learned prelate remarks that Ezekiel should be oftener classed among the orators than the poets; and he is of opinion that, with respect to style, we may justly assign to Ezekiel the same rank among the Hebrews as Homer, Simonides, and Æschylus hold among the Greeks.

From this high praise of bishop Lowth's, his learned annotator, Michaelis, dissents; who is disposed to think the prophet displays more art and luxuriance in amplifying and decorating his subject, than is consistent with poetical fervour, or, indeed, with true sublimity. Michaelis further pronounces Ezekiel to be, in general, an imitator, who possesses the art of giving an air of novelty and ingenuity, but not of grandeur and sublimity, to all his compositions; and, since the prophet lived at a period when the Hebrew language was visibly on the decline, he thinks that, if we compare him with the Latin poets who succeeded the Augustan age, we may find some resemblance in the style, something that indicates the old age of poetry. In these sentiments the English translator of bishop Lowth's lectures partially acquiesces, while Eichhorn minutely discusses his claims to originality.[1] Archbishop Newcome, however, has completely vindicated the prophet's style.[2]

[Ezekiel seems to have a marked and decided character. Having been trained under priestly influences, he shows a mind imbued with ritual lore, of which he could well discern the symbolic and spiritual import. He had great richness of fancy; and a wonderful fire burns in his discourses. He was, as Hengstenberg describes him, of a mighty, gigantic nature, peculiarly fitted to contend with the Babylonish spirit of the period, which assumed such strange and powerful shapes; and,

[1] Bishop Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 89—95.

[2] See archbishop Newcome's Preface to his translation of Ezekiel, pp. xxvii. xxviii. To justify the character given, he descends to particulars and produces apposite examples, not only of the *clear*, the *flowing*, and the *nervous*, but also of the sublime. He concludes his observations on the style of Ezekiel by stating it to be his deliberate opinion, that, if the prophets' "style is the old age of the Hebrew language and composition, it is a firm and vigorous one, and should induce us to trace its youth and manhood with the most assiduous attention." Ibid. pp. xxviii.—lxii.

though he stood alone, his weight was that of a hundred of the prophet-scholars. We see the influence he possessed in the fact that the elders of his people used to assemble at his house to hear the word of the Lord by him, a proof of the open acknowledgment of his spiritual dignity among the Jewish exiles.[1] The estimate which De Wette and others have formed of him is therefore too low, when he is represented as wanting in depth of intellect and largeness of thought, and as falling into constraint and confusion when he attempts in symbolic description to rise above his ordinary level.[2]

The forms of Ezekiel's compositions are varied. Sometimes the strain is didactic, in which proverbial expressions are interwoven, as in xii. 22. &c., xvi. 44. &c., xvii. 1. &c., xviii. 2., and extends itself in long-drawn sentences, with oratorical fulness; at other times it rises to poetic dignity and lyric spirit. Then, again, we find allegorical representation, unfolding a vast richness of majestic ideas and colossal symbols, including not unfrequently symbolic actions. Hence there is much that is dark and mysterious in his prophecies; as Jerome long ago observed.[3]

Ezekiel's style is characterized by a mass of peculiar and frequently-recurring expressions and forms; and, though he shows a dependence on earlier models, on the Pentateuch in particular, he has words and word-forms of his own, together with Aramaisms and corruptions, evidencing the decline of the Hebrew language, and testifying to the prophet's residence in a foreign land.

The following are some of his peculiarities:—the constant application of the title "son of man" to himself, ii. 1, 3, 6, 8., iii. 1, 3, 4. &c.; the designation of the people as בֵּית מְרִי, "a rebellious house," ii. 5, 6, 7, 8., iii. 9, 26, 27., xii. 2, 3, 9., xvii. 12., xxiv. 3., xliv. 6.; the expressions, "they shall know that I am the Lord," v. 13., vi. 10., vii. 4, 27., xii. 15., xiv. 8., xv. 7. &c.; "they shall know that there hath been a prophet among them," ii. 5., xxxiii. 33.; "the hand of the Lord was, or fell, upon me," i. 3., iii. 22., viii. 1., xxxvii. 1.; "set thy face against," iv. 3, 7., vi. 2., xiii. 17., xxi. 2, 16., xxv. 2., xxviii. 21., &c.; חַי אָנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה, "as I live, saith the Lord Jehovah," v. 11., xiv. 16, 18, 20., xvi. 48., xvii. 16., xviii. 3., xx. 31, 33., xxxiii. 11., xxxv. 11.; and the perpetually-recurring phrase כֹּה אָמַר, or נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה, ii. 4., iii. 11, 27., v. 5, 7, 8., vi. 3, 11., vii. 2, 5., xi. 8, 21., xii. 25., &c. &c.[4] Keil further gives a long list of peculiar words and word-forms, as בִּתֵּק, to cut or hew, xvi. 40., דָּלַח, to trouble or make turbid, xxxii. 2, 13., טָעָה for תָּעָה, to wander, xiii. 10., גַּלָּב, a barber, v. 1., with many others, for which the student must be referred to his book.[5]

There are various Messianic prophecies in Ezekiel. Besides those in earlier parts of the book, the last three sections, xxxvi. xxxvii., xxxviii. xxxix., and xl.—xlviii. are eminently such. On the precise meaning of these there is much difference of opinion.[6]]

[1] Christology (Arnold), p. 675.
[2] Einleitung, § 223.
[3] Præf. in lib. xiv. Comm. in Ezech.
[4] Keil, Einleitung, § 79. pp. 307, 308.
[5] Ibid., pp. 308, 309.
[6] Comp Henderson, The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Ezekiel.

SECTION VI.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Analysis of its contents.*—III. *Observations on its canonical authority and style. — Objections to its authenticity refuted.* — —IV. *Account of the spurious additions made to it.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 606—534.

I. DANIEL, the fourth of the greater prophets, if not of royal birth (as the Jews affirm), was of noble descent, and was carried captive to Babylon at an early age, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, in the year 606 before the Christian era, and seven years before the deportation of Ezekiel.

[In Daniel i. 1. it is said that "in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem and besieged it." This statement De Wette pronounces "evidently false; because, according to Jer. xxv. 1., xlvi. 2., the fourth year of Jehoiakim is the first of Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to Jer. xxv. 9., neither in the fourth of Jehoiakim, nor, according to Jer. xxxvi. 9., in the fifth of Jehoiakim had the Chaldeans come up to Jerusalem."[1] The reply is not very difficult. The years of Nebuchadnezzar in Kings and Jeremiah are enumerated from an earlier epoch than the actual beginning of his reign. They date from his victories in Judæa and Syria, as lieutenant or colleague of his father, Nabopolassar.[2] Daniel, however, ii. 1., dates from his actual accession to undivided sovereignty. Jehoiakim, who was placed on the Jewish throne by Pharaoh Necho (2 Kings xxiii. 34.), reigned, as his vassal, three years. On the war between Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh, in which the latter was defeated (Jer. xlvi. 2.), Jerusalem was occupied before or just after the battle of Carchemish by the Chaldeans, and captives, among whom was Daniel (i. 1.), were carried to Babylon. Jehoiakim was then for three years tributary to Nebuchadnezzar, but afterwards rebelled; and the Chaldean forces, it is said, subsequently marched against him (see before, pp. 465, 466.). Then was accomplished that which we read (Jer. xxii. 18, 19.) of the disgraceful end of the Jewish king. His son Jehoiachin succeeded, but after a nominal sovereignty of three months was deposed and carried to Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 8., &c.; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10.). It is difficult to say whether the Chaldean expedition against Jehoiakim (2 Chron. xxxvi. 5—7.) is that in his fourth year, or in the closing part of his reign. It will be observed that Daniel (i. 1.) speaks of the third year of Jehoiakim, while the battle of Carchemish is said to have been in his fourth year. It may be supposed that Nebuchadnezzar's march commenced in the third but that the objects of the campaign were not fully attained till the fourth year. Mr. Browne dates the years of his reign from the first of Nisan[3]; and an event beginning before and extending beyond that day might be placed indifferently in one year or the other. There is something analogous

[1] Einleitung, § 253.
[2] See Browne, Ordo Sæclorum, part i. chap. iii. sect. i. §§ 161. &c.
[3] Ibid.

in our own practice, as has been already shown.[1] But we are told that Jer. xxv. 6—9. and xxxvi. 9. forbid us to believe that any Chaldean invasion had then occurred; *i. e.* in the fourth and fifth years of Jehoiakim. Is it possible that any such inference drawn from these passages can satisfy a reasonable mind? Anything whatever may be proved, with or without arguments, if proofs of this kind are to be held good. Let us look into the matter. It is maintained, from the promise, Jer. xxv. 6., "I *will* do you no hurt," that no calamity had *as yet* befallen the Jewish people. The history of the previous years exclaims against such a deduction. Jeremiah is recounting the pains God had taken to bring the Jews to repentance from the thirteenth of Josiah to the fourth of Jehoiakim; and to say that at the latter date no judgments had as yet been inflicted is to defy the plainest testimony of facts. For within the space of time named (2 Kings xxiii.) Josiah had perished in battle; Jehoahaz or Shallum, whom the Jews had placed on the throne, was deposed and made prisoner by Pharaoh; a large sum of money was exacted by the king of Egypt; Jehoiakim, the late king's brother, was made king, but merely as an Egyptian vassal; and in order to pay the appointed tribute he had to lay heavy taxes upon the people. Surely these were sore judgments. It cannot be denied, in spite of the words in question, that the capital had been occupied by a hostile Egyptian force; why should they be held to make the fact of its occupation by a hostile Chaldean force incredible? And, seeing that all these judgments had produced no effect, a yet more dreadful destruction is threatened (vv. 8—11.); which was ultimately inflicted in the deportations under Jehoiachin and Zedekiah. The argument from xxxvi. 9., that, because a fast was proclaimed in Jehoiakim's fifth year, no enemy had as yet taken Jerusalem, really cannot require any serious refutation.[2]]

Having been instructed in the language and literature of the Chaldeans, which at that time was greatly superior to the learning of the ancient Egyptians, Daniel afterwards held a very distinguished office in the Babylonian empire (Dan. i. 1—4.). He was contemporary with Ezekiel, who mentions his extraordinary piety and wisdom (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20., xxviii. 3.). He continued in great credit with the Babylonian monarchs; and his uncommon merit procured him the same regard from Darius and Cyrus the first two sovereigns of Persia. He lived throughout the captivity; but it does not appear that he returned when Cyrus permitted the Jews to revisit their native land. The pseudo-Epiphanius says that he died at Babylon; and this assertion has been adopted by most succeeding writers; but, as the last of his visions was in the third year of Cyrus, about 534 years before the Christian era, when he was about ninety-four years of age, and resided at Susa on the Tigris, it is not improbable that he died there.

Although the name of Daniel is not prefixed to his book, the many passages in which he speaks in the first person sufficiently prove that he was the author. He is not reckoned among the prophets by the Jews, since the time of Jesus Christ, who say that he lived the life of

[1] See before, p. 468. [2] See Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Jehoiakim.

a courtier in the court of the king of Babylon, and that, though he received divine revelations, yet these were only by dreams and visions of the night, which they consider as the most imperfect mode of revelation. But Josephus accounts Daniel one of the greatest of the prophets, and says that he conversed familiarly with God, and not only predicted future events (as other prophets did) but also determined the time of their accomplishment.[1]

II. This book may be divided into two parts. The first is historical: the second is strictly prophetical, and comprises the visions and prophecies which enabled Daniel to foretell events relative to the monarchies of the world, the time of the advent and death of the Messiah, the restoration of the Jews, and the conversion of the Gentiles.

PART I. *contains the historical part of the book of Daniel* (i.—vi.), *forming six sections;* viz.

1. A history of the carrying away of Daniel and his three friends to Babylon, and of their education and employment (i.).

2. Nebuchadnezzar's dream of an image composed of different metals (ii. 1—13.)[2]; the interpretation communicated to Daniel (14—23.) who reveals it to the monarch (24—35.), and interprets it of the four great monarchies. The head of gold represented the Babylonian empire (32.); the breast and arms, which were of silver, the Medo-Persian empire (32, 39.); the brazen belly and thighs the Macedo-Grecian empire (32, 39.): the legs and feet, which were partly of iron and partly of clay, represented the Roman empire (33, 40—43.), which would break to pieces every other kingdom, but in its last stage should be divided into ten smaller kingdoms, denoted by the ten toes of the image. The stone, "cut out of the mountain without hands, which brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold" (34, 35.), represented the kingdom of the Messiah, which was "to fill the whole earth," and stand for ever, unchangeable and eternal (44, 45.). This section concludes with an account of the promotion of Daniel and his friends to distinguished honour.

3. An account of the miraculous preservation of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (iii.).

4. Nebuchadnezzar, having been punished with the loss of his reason, is restored to reason and to his throne, and proclaims to the world Daniel's interpretation of his dream, and extols the God of heaven (iv.). For an account of the nature of his insanity, see Vol. III. pp. 553, 554.

5. The history of Daniel under Belshazzar; who, while profaning the sacred vessels which had been carried away from Jerusalem, is terrified with a hand inscribing certain words on the wall, which Daniel promptly reads and interprets. In that same night, Belshazzar is slain; and the Babylonian empire is transferred to the Medes and Persians (v.).

6. Daniel being promoted under Darius the Mede, a conspiracy is formed against him. The prophet, having been cast into a den of lions, is miraculously preserved; and Darius publishes a decree that all men should glorify the God of Daniel (vi.).

PART II. *comprises various prophecies and visions of things future, until the advent and death of the Messiah, and the ultimate conversion of the Jews and Gentiles to the faith of the gospel, in four sections* (vii.—xii.).

[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. x. cap. 11. § 7.

[2] It has been asserted, on very insufficient grounds, that this vision occurred in the latter part of Nebuchadnezzar's reign; it is needless to rebut the assertion. Jahn, Introduction by Professor Turner, p. 406.

	Machiavel.[1]	Mede.[2]	Bishop Lloyd[3] and Dr. Hales.[4]	Sir I. Newton.[5]	Bishop Newton.[6]	Elliott.[7]	
						A. D. 486–90.	A. D. 532.
1. The first horn.	The Ostrogoths in Mœsia.	The Britons.	The Huns, A. D. 356.	Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa.	The senate of Rome, who revolted from the Greek emperors, and claimed the privilege of choosing a new emperor.	Anglo-Saxons.	Anglo-Saxons.
2. The second horn.	The Visigoths in Pannonia.	The Saxons in Britain.	Ostrogoths, 377.	The Suevians in Spain.	The Greeks in Ravenna.	Franks.	Franks of central France.
3. The third horn.	The Sueves and Alans in Gascoigne and Spain.	The Franks.	Visigoths, 378.	The Visigoths.	The Lombards in Lombardy.	Allemans.	Alleman Franks of eastern France.
4. The fourth horn.	The Vandals in Africa.	The Burgundians in France.	Franks, 407.	The Alans in Gallia.	The Huns in Hungary.	Burgundians.	Burgundic Franks of south-eastern France.
5. The fifth horn.	The Franks in France.	The Visigoths in the south of France and part of Spain.	Vandals, 407.	The Burgundians.	The Alemanni in Germany.	Visigoths.	Visigoths.
6. The sixth horn.	The Burgundians in Burgundy.	The Sueves and Alans in Gallicia and Portugal.	Sueves and Alans, 407.	The Franks.	The Franks in France.	Suevi.	Suevi.
7. The seventh horn	The Heruli and Thuringi in Italy.	The Vandals in Africa.	Burgundians, 407.	The Britons.	The Burgundians in Burgundy.	Vandals.	Vandals.
8. The eighth horn.	The Saxons and Angles in Britain.	The Alemanni in Germany.	The Herules, Rugians, and Thuringians, 476.	The Huns.	The Goths in Spain.	Heruli.	Ostrogoths in Italy.
9. The ninth horn.	The Huns in Hungary.	The Ostrogoths, who were succeeded by the Lombards in Pannonia, and afterwards in Italy.	The Saxons, 476.	The Lombards.	The Britons.	Bavarians.	Bavarians.
10. The tenth horn.	The Lombards, first upon the Danube, and afterwards in Italy.	The Greeks in the residue of the empire.	The Longobardi in Hungary, 526; who were seated in the northern parts of Germany about 483.	The kingdom of Ravenna.	The Saxons in Britain.	Ostrogoths.	Lombards.

[1] Hist. Flor. lib. i. [2] Works, p. 851. [3] In Lowth's Commentary on the Prophets, pp. 381, 382.
[4] Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 536—538., or pp. 492, 493. (edit. 1830.) [5] On Daniel, chap. vi. p. 47. [6] Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. i. p. 267.
[7] Horæ Apocal. (edit. 1851), vol. iii. pp. 124, 128. For various lists at different dates, see Birks, Four Prophetic Empires, 1844, chap. viii. pp. 131—152. But comp. Tregelles, Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel, 1852, pp. 75, 76.

1. The vision of the four beasts concerning the four great monarchies of the world: it was delivered about forty-eight years after Nebuchadnezzar's dream related in ii., but with some different circumstances. The first beast (4.) represented the Babylonian empire; the second (5.) the Medo-Persian empire; the third (6.), the Macedo-Grecian empire; and the fourth (7.), the Roman empire. The ten horns of this beast denote ten kingdoms or principalities which arose out of it, and were signified by the ten toes of the image (ii. 41, 42.). These ten kingdoms or principalities are variously enumerated by different writers. The table on the preceding page will exhibit the result of their researches.

The number of these kingdoms was not constantly ten, there being sometimes more and sometimes fewer; but Sir Isaac Newton observes, whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *ten kings* from their first number. Besides these ten horns or kingdoms, there was to spring up another little horn (vii. 8, 24.), which Grotius and others have applied to Antiochus Epiphanes; but which is conceived to denote the pope of Rome, whose power as a horn or temporal prince was established in the eighth century. All the kingdoms above described will be succeeded by the kingdom of Messiah (9—13, 27.).

2. In the vision of the ram and the he-goat is foretold the destruction of the Medo-Persian empire (typified by the ram, the armorial ensign of Persia) by the Greeks or Macedonians under Alexander, represented by the he-goat; because the Macedonians, at first, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated *Ægeadæ*, or the goat's people, as their first seat was called Ægeæ or Ægæ, or goat's town, a goat being their ensign (viii. 1—7, 20—22.). The four "notable" horns, that sprang up on the fracture of the great horn (8, 23.), denote the four kingdoms of Greece, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt, erected by Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy. The little horn, which is described as arising among the four horns of the Grecian empire (9—12, 23, 24.), is by many understood to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, to which hypothesis Mr. Wintle inclines; but Sir Isaac Newton, bishop Newton, and Dr. Hales, have shown that the Roman temporal power, and no other, is intended; for, although some of the particulars may agree very well with that king, yet others can by no means be reconciled to him; while all of them correspond exactly with the Romans, and with no other power whatever (13, 14, 24, 25, 26.). The effect of the vision on Daniel is described (17, 27.).

3. While Daniel, understanding from the prophecies of Jeremiah (comp. Jer. xxv. 11, 12., xxix. 10.) that the seventy years' captivity was now drawing to a close (Dan. ix. 1, 2.), was humbling himself, and earnestly imploring the restoration of Jerusalem (3—19.), the angel Gabriel is sent to him (20—23.). He announces that the holy city should be re-built and peopled (comp. Neh. iv. 7, &c., vi. 15.), and should subsist for seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years; at the expiration of which it should be utterly destroyed for putting the Messiah to death (25—27.). The latter part of the prediction (27.) relates to the subversion of the Jewish temple and polity, and the second coming of the Messiah.[1]

4. Daniel's fourth and last prophetic vision, in the third year of Cyrus, in which he is informed of various particulars concerning the Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, and the kingdom of the Messiah (x.—xii.).

An introductory narrative states the occasion of the vision, viz. Daniel's fasting and supplication (probably on account of the obstruction of the

[1] Of this illustrious prophecy, which Sir Isaac Newton has justly pronounced to be the foundation of the Christian religion, Dr. Hales has given some chronological computations slightly differing from the above. See his Analysis, vol. ii. pp. 559., &c. or pp. 514, &c. (edit. 1830.).

building of the temple[1]), and describes the glorious person who appeared to the prophet (Dan. x. 1—21., xi. 1.). The prediction then describes the fate of the Persian empire (xi. 2.), which was destroyed by Alexander (3.): the partition of his dominions into four kingdoms (4.), and the wars between Egypt (to the south-west of Judæa) and Syria (to the north-east of the Holy Land) are then foretold, together with the conquest of Macedon by the Romans (5—36.). The prophecy also declares the tyranny of the papal Antichrist, which was to spring up under the Roman empire (36—39.), and the invasion of the Saracens and of the Turks in the *time of the end*, or latter days of the Roman monarchy (40—45.). It concludes with foretelling the general resurrection (xii. 1—4.), and with announcing the time when all these great events were to have their final consummation, when the Jews were to be restored, Antichrist destroyed, the fulness of the Gentiles brought in, and the millennium, or reign of saints, was to begin (5—13.). But the exact period, until Providence shall open more of the seals, cannot be fully ascertained.[2]

"What an amazing prophecy is this! . . . What a proof of a divine providence, and of a divine revelation! for who could thus declare the things that shall be with their times and seasons, but HE only who hath them in his power; whose dominion is over all, and whose kingdom endureth from generation to generation?"[3]

[Various other widely-different interpretations have been given. Thus Hitzig and Redepenning understand Nebuchadnezzar by the head of gold (chap. ii.), Belshazzar, by the silver breast and arms, the Medo-Persian empire by the body of the image, and the Grecian by the legs and feet. According to Bertholdt and Stuart, the four monarchies are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, that of Alexander, and that of his successors. Eichhorn, Von Lengerke, and Ewald will have the first the Babylonian, the second the Median, the third the Persian, the fourth that of Alexander and his successors.[4]

According to this last theory, the four wings of the leopard (chap. vii.) are Persia, Media, Babylonia, and Egypt, which were under the sway of Cyrus, while the four heads are that monarch's successors somehow made into four. For the ten horns of the fourth beast ten kings of Syria are found in the seven from Seleucus Nicator to Seleucus Philopater, together with three who should have reigned, but were supplanted by Antiochus Epiphanes, the eleventh little horn; who is also intended by the little horn in chap. viii.; and whose career is afterwards more fully described xi. 21—45.

A very strong proof against the identification of the fourth beast with Alexander's empire is the fact that in Matt. xxiv. 15., Mark xiii. 14. our Lord refers to Dan. ix. 26, 27. as predicting the ruin of the Jewish state by the Romans. Answers have been attempted; but they do not seem satisfactory.

It belongs to a commentary rather than to a work like the present to examine and interpret the predictions contained in the book of Daniel. Besides, even to state the different theories, and to supply

[1] See Ezra iv. 4, 5.: comp., also, Dan. x. 13., with Ezra iv. 24., vi. 15.
[2] The reader is referred to the writings of Sir Isaac Newton, bishop Newton, Mr. Faber, and Dr. Hales, for information on the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecies.
[3] Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. i. pp. 413, 414.
[4] See Keil, Einleitung, § 134, p. 443.

an outline of the arguments by which they are supported would occupy a far greater space than can possibly be allowed in the present volume. And (after all) for full satisfaction the student would have to be referred to other writers. A disquisition on the seventy weeks of chap. ix., and on the days of chap. xii., whether they are to be understood as literal days, or as years would also be out of place here. It may, however, be observed that Messiah the Prince, ix. 25., is by some critics believed not to intend the Lord Jesus Christ.

It only remains to add that the utmost modesty and caution should be shown by such as desire to explain these prophecies. Events have demonstrated the fallacy of many systems recommended by their plausibility and advanced with confidence. The humble believer will watch and wait; and God will in his own time make all his purposes plain. In addition to the works on the prophetical interpretation of this book already cited may be named Hävernick's Comm. über d. Buch Daniel, Hamb. 1832; Auberlen's Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenb. Johannis, Bas. 1857 (2nd. edit.)—a most valuable book; Birks's First Two Visions, and Two Later Visions of Daniel (Christian's Family Library); Tregelles' Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel, 1852; Barnes's Notes on the Book of Daniel, Lond. 1853; besides many other critics and commentators.]

III. Though the style of Daniel is not so lofty and figurative as that of the other prophets, it is more suitable to his subject, being clear and concise: his narratives and descriptions are simple and natural; and, in short, he writes more like an historian than a prophet.

[That the whole of the book of Daniel proceeded from one author is, in spite of objections heretofore made, now generally allowed. Keil, after De Wette, gives, in proof of this, the following examples of references from one section to another; iii. 12. to ii. 49.; v. 2. to i. 2.; v. 11. to ii. 48.; v. 18, &c. to iv. 22, &c.; vi. 1. to v. 30, (E. V. v. 30, 31.); viii. 1. to vii. 1.; ix. 21. to viii. 15, &c.; x. 12. to ix. 23. The historical and prophetical divisions, too, are closely connected. There is also a general relationship between chaps. ii. vii. and viii.; and, more particularly, comp. ii. 28., iv. 2, 7, 10, (E. V. 5, 10, 13.) with vii. 1, 2, 15.; v. 6, 9. with vii. 28.; iv. 16. (E. V. 19.), v. 6, 10. with vii. 28.; iii. 4, 7, 31. (E. V. iv. 1.), v. 19., vi. 26., (E. V. 25.) with vii. 14, &c. &c.[1]]

Of the genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel we have every possible evidence, both external and internal.

1. With regard to the external evidence, we have not only the general testimony of the whole Jewish church and nation, which have constantly received this book as canonical; but we have the particular testimony of Josephus, who (we have seen) commends Daniel as the greatest of prophets; of the Jewish Targums and Talmuds, which frequently appeal to his authority; of Jesus Christ himself, who has styled him "Daniel the prophet" (comp. Dan. ix. 26, 27. with Matt. xxiv. 15. and Mark xiii. 14.); and likewise of

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 134. p. 443.: see also De Wette, Einleitung, § 256. p. 350.

the apostle Paul, who has frequently quoted or alluded to him (comp. Dan. iii. 23—25. and vi. 22. with Heb. xi. 33, 34., and Dan. xi. 36. with 2 Thess. ii. 4.), as also of St. John, whose Revelation derives great light from being compared with the predictions of Daniel. To these testimonies we may add that of Ezekiel, a contemporary writer, who greatly extols his character (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20., xxviii. 3.), and also that of profane historians, who relate many of the same transactions.[1]

2. The internal evidence is not less convincing; for

1. The language, style, and manner of writing, are all perfectly agreeable to that age, and prove that it was written about the time of the Babylonish captivity. Part of the book, viz. ii. 4—vii. 28., is written in Chaldee (which, however, so abounds with Hebraisms as to prove that none but a Hebrew could have written it); because that portion treats of the Chaldæan affairs: the rest of the book is pure Hebrew, except four words which have been supposed to be Greek, the occurrence of which, however, is satisfactorily accounted for.[2]

2. The extraordinary accuracy, which this book exhibits in its historical statements and allusions, is another important internal evidence of its authenticity. To adduce one or two examples: —

(1.) The first chapters represent Daniel as having attained, while yet a young man, a reputation for extraordinary wisdom and devotion. How satisfactorily does this explain the language of Ezekiel, his contemporary (Ezek. xiv. 13, 14., xxviii. 2, 3.)! Can this be accounted for in any other way, than by supposing just such facts as are recorded in the book of Daniel?

(2.) The truth with which the characters of certain kings are drawn deserves attention. The last king of Babylon is represented by Xenophon as an effeminate, but cruel and impious, voluptuary. Is not this Belshazzar? The same historian represents Cyaxares as weak and pliable, easily managed for the most part, but ferocious in his anger. Is not this Darius[3], who allowed his nobles to make laws for him, and then repented, suffered Daniel to be cast into the lions' den, and then spent a night in lamentation, and at last, in strict conformity

[1] The most important of these testimonies are collected by the writers referred to in the preceding pages.

[2] The occurrence of Greek words (some German critics have objected) indicates a period not earlier at the farthest than the middle of the reign of Darius Hystaspes, when (they assert) Daniel could not have been living. Of these words Bertholdt reckons ten. But four of them have been traced by later critics to the old Persian; and Gesenius himself maintains that the Chaldees and Assyrians were of Medo-Persian origin. Another of these ten words is admitted by the same distinguished scholar to be Syriac. The remaining four are the names of musical instruments occuring in the fifth verse of the third chapter. The *similarity* of these to certain Greek words may be accounted for in either of these ways: 1. From the ancient intercourse between the Greeks and Babylonians, mentioned by Strabo, Quintus Curtius, and Berosus; 2. On the supposition, that the Shemitic and Greek languages bore a common relation to an older tongue; 3. On the supposition, that the names of musical instruments were in the first instance onomapoetic, and therefore might be analogous in languages totally distinct. Nothing more need be added than a statement of the fact, that the latest writer on the wrong side of the question (Kirms) has yielded this whole ground of opposition as untenable. Philadelphia Biblical Repertory, vol. iv. p. 51. [Comp. Keil, Einleitung, § 136. pp. 453, 454.]

[3] The difference of name is explained at length by Dr. Hengstenberg.

with Xenophon's description, condemned to death, not only his false counsellors, but all their wives and children?

(3.) In this book, certain events are mentioned as a contemporary would be apt to mention them; that is, without minute detail, as being perfectly familiar to his immediate readers. Thus we are told that Daniel survived the first year of Cyrus, the year of the return from exile. A later writer would have been very likely to explain why this was mentioned as a sort of epoch.

3. A distinct but analogous body of internal evidence is furnished by the accurate acquaintance which the writer of this book evinces with the manners, usages, and institutions of the age and country in which it is alleged to have been written. Thus,

(1.) Daniel never speaks of adoration being rendered to the kings of Babylon, according to the ancient oriental usage. Why? Arrian informs us that Cyrus was the first who received such homage; which arose from a notion that the Persian kings were incarnations of the Deity. For the same reason, their decrees were esteemed irrevocable; while no such doctrine seems to have prevailed under the Chaldee monarchs. Daniel accordingly asserts no such thing of any but Darius.

(2.) The *land of Shinar* was the name used by the natives. It occurs nowhere in the historical parts of scripture, after Genesis, until Dan. i. 2. A resident in Palestine would not have thought of using it.

(3.) Nebuchadnezzar commands (i. 5.) that the young men chosen for his service should be fed from his table. That this was the oriental custom we are informed by Ctesias and others.

(4.) Daniel and his companions, when selected for the royal service, received new names (i. 7.). In 2 Kings xxiv. 17. "the king of Babylon made Mattaniah king, and changed his name to Zedekiah." Two of these names, moreover, are apparently derived from those of Babylonish idols.

(5.) In Dan. ii. 5., iii. 6. there are tokens of an accurate acquaintance with the forms of capital punishment in use among the Chaldees; while (vi.) a new sort is described as usual with the Medes and Persians.

(6.) The description of the image (iii.) corresponds remarkably with what is known from other sources of the Chaldee taste in sculpture; and the use of music at the worship of it completely tallies with their well-known fondness for that art.

(7.) We find in v. 2. that women were present at the royal banquet. So far was this from being usual in later times, that the Septuagint translators have expunged it from the text. And yet we know, from Xenophon, that before the Persian conquest such was indeed the practice of the Babylonian court.

4. There are some things peculiar to the prophecies of this book, which clearly indicate that he who was the organ of them was a *bonâ fide* resident in Babylon. Thus,

(1.) In the earlier predictions of this book, as in Zechariah and Ezekiel, we find less poetry, and more of symbolical language, than in the pure Hebrew prophets. Everything is designated by material emblems. Beasts are the representatives of kings and kingdoms.

The imagery likewise appears cast in a gigantic mould. All this is in accordance with the Babylonish taste, with which the prophet was familiar, and to which the Holy Spirit condescended to accommodate his teachings. A striking confirmation of this exegesis is, that this mode of exhibition ceases with the Chaldee dynasty. The last four chapters, which were written under the Medo-Persian domination, are without a trace of it.

(2.) Again, Daniel's visions, like those of Ezekiel, have the banks of rivers for their scene (Dan. viii. 2, x. 4.; Ezek. i. 1, 3.). Does not this imply that the author had resided in a land of lordly streams? This minute local propriety would scarcely have been looked for in a Canaanitish forger, though writing in full view of the very "swellings of Jordan."

(3.) Lastly, Daniel, like Ezekiel, displays a chronological precision unknown to earlier seers, but in keeping with the character of one who had been naturalized among the great astronomers and chronologers of the old world.[1]

5. But the most satisfactory internal evidence is to be found in the exact accomplishment of Daniel's prophecies, already fulfilled and now fulfilling. So clear indeed are his predictions concerning the advent of the Messiah, and other important events, that Porphyry[2], in the third century, alleged against them that they must have been written after the occurrence of the events. He further affirmed that they were not composed by Daniel, but by some person in Judæa, about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; because all the prophecies to that time contained true history, but all beyond that period were manifestly false. But this method of opposing the prophecies, as Jerome has rightly observed[3], affords the strongest testimony to their truth; for they were fulfilled with such exactness, that, to infidels, the prophet seemed not to have foretold things future, but to have related things past. With respect to the particular prophecy (Dan. xi.) relating to the kings of Syria, and Egypt, which Porphyry affirmed was written *after* the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, we may remark that the book of Daniel was translated into the Greek language, it has been thought, *before* he lived, and was in the hands of the Egyptians, who did not cherish any great kindness towards the Jews and their religion. But, if this were not so, yet the prophecies which foretold the successes of Alexander (Dan. viii. 5., xi. 3.) were shown to him by the Jews, in consequence of which he conferred upon them several privileges.[4]

[1] For the above proofs of the genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel we are indebted to Hengstenberg, whose vindication of this prophet is analyzed at considerable length in the Biblical Repertory, vol. iv. Philadelphia, 1832. pp. 65—68.

[2] Porphyry seems to have been the first who impugned the genuineness and authority of Daniel's writings, in the twelfth of his fifteen books against the Christians. Dr. Lardner has collected such of his objections as are extant, together with Jerome's answers to them. Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, chap. xxxvii. Works, vol. viii. pp. 185—204. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 214—225. 4to. Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius, also wrote answers to Porphyry, which have long since perished.

[3] Præf. ad Danielem, et Procem. ad Comment. in Daniel.

[4] Michaelis has *demonstrated* that the Hebrew and Chaldee text of Daniel was the original, and more ancient than the genuine Septuagint version of this *book*, in the fourth volume of his (German) Bibliotheca Orientalis. See an English version of this demonstration in Dr. Apthorp's Discourses on Prophecy, vol. i. pp. 244—250.

[In the book itself Daniel distinctly claims the authorship: see vii. 2, 4, 6., &c., 28., viii. 1., &c., 15., &c., ix. 2., &c., x. 2., &c., xii. 5—8. De Wette's reply is that similar claims are made in Deuteronomy, Ecclesiastes, the books of Wisdom and Tobit; which are none of them genuine.[1] But there is a sufficient rejoinder: the books of Wisdom and Tobit are apocryphal: that Deuteronomy was from the pen of Moses we strenuously maintain; and it is by no means satisfactorily proved that Solomon was not the author of Ecclesiastes; in which, besides, Solomon is never distinctly named.

Keil enumerates a variety of particulars tending to show the existence of the book of Daniel before the Maccabean age, to which it has been attributed. Some of these are as follows. According to Josephus (Antiq. xi. 8.), the prophecies of Daniel were shown to Alexander the Great on his entry into Jerusalem; and he, on account of them, treated the Jews with special lenity. The author of the book of Baruch, which was produced in the time of the Maccabees, made use of Daniel: comp. chaps. i. ii. with Dan. ix. The first book of Maccabees shows an acquaintance with the LXX. version of Daniel: comp. i. 54. with Dan. ix. 27.; ii. 59., &c., with Dan. iii. Now the LXX. translation must have been made considerably later than the Hebrew original; else the liberties we find would not have been taken; yet that it was not much after Antiochus is clear by its special allusions to the persecutions he directed, as if they were then fresh in memory.[2]

Then, again, the language is such as we might expect from a writer of the captivity. It resembles that of Ezekiel. Thus, we find בֶּן אָדָם, viii. 17., *son of man*, as in Ezekiel; זֹהַר, *brightness*, xii. 3., as Ezek. viii. 2.; חַיֵּב, *to endanger*, or *cause to forfeit*, i. 10., and חוֹב, a *forfeit* or *debt*, only in Ezek. xviii. 7.; כְּתָב, for סֵפֶר, x. 21., as Ezek. xiii. 9.; לְבוּשׁ בַּדִּים, *clothed in linen*, x. 5., as Ezek. ix. 2, 3.; פַּתְבַּג, *the king's meat*, i. 5., בַּג, *meat*, Ezek. xxv. 7.; הַצְּבִי, *the pleasant land*, of the land of Israel, viii. 9., see also xi. 16, 41., as Ezek. xx. 6, 15.: comp. also Jer. iii. 19.; קָלָל, *polished*, x. 6., as Ezek. i. 7., &c. &c.

There is, further, a striking resemblance between the Aramæan of Daniel and that of Ezra, clearly distinguished from the Chaldee of the oldest Targums; as the using of ה for א in feminine *nouns*; *e. g.* חֲבוּלָה, vi. 23.; אָכְלָה and רָפְסָה, vii. 7.; see a similar form, רְעוּת, Ezra vii. 18.; also of ה in Aphel, after the Hebrew Hiphil, *e.g.* הַעֵל, ii. 24., הַשְׁכַּחַת, 25.; הַרְגִּשׁוּ, vi. 7., הַצְלַח, 29.; as הַרְגִּזוּ, Ezra v. 12., הֵיבֵל, 14.; הַקְרִבוּ, Ezra vi. 17., &c. &c. So, also, ה is used in Ithpael, iii. 27., in the infinitive of Pael, ii. 14., as Ezra v. 3., vii. 14.; and for א as the last radical of verbs, ii. 16., iv. 8. Dagesh forte is, moreover, resolved not merely by restoring the נ, which had been omitted, but also by inserting it in words and forms to which it did not belong; as אִנְבְּא (אנבה) for אבא, iv. 9, 18.; see also ii. 25., iv. 3., vi. 19. Then there is the *Pathach furtivum*, v. 24., and Ezra vii. 14., which is foreign

[1] Einleitung. § 255. c.

[2] Keil, Einleitung, § 135. pp. 444. &c.; Hävernick, Einleitung, § 272. II. ii. pp. 452. &c. See also Stuart, Hist. of Old Test. Canon, sect. x. pp. 218, 219.

to Chaldee; dual forms, יְדַיִן *two hands*, ii. 34.; see also vii. 4, 7.; Ezra vi. 17. (in the Targums the words are יְדִין, &c.). There is also a peculiar formation of a perfect passive from the participle passive, v. 27, 28, 30., vi. 4., vii. 4, 11, 12.; Ezra v. 14.; the retention of the ה characteristic of Aphel in the future and participle; the use of Hophal, instead of Ittaphal, which is never found in Daniel or Ezra; and the treating of יְדַע as if the first radical were נ, ii. 9, 21, 30., iv. 3, 22.; Ezra iv. 15.: only one example of this kind has been discovered in the Targums, viz. Ruth iv. 4. It is clear, then, according to the judgment of Michaelis, that the books of Daniel and Ezra must have been composed about the same time. And it cannot be alleged that the similarity was produced by the writer of Daniel copying Ezra's style; for there are still remarkable differences between the two; as for example, the pronoun-forms in Ezra, לְכוֹם, לְהוֹם, are in Daniel לְכוֹן, הוֹן; and in the latter both the two forms הִמּוֹן and הִמּוֹ occur, ii. 34, 35., iii. 22.; while Ezra has only the apocopated word: הוּךְ is used in Ezra, אֱזַל in Daniel, vi. 19., גִּזְבַּר, *a treasurer*, Ezra i. 8., vii. 21.; גְּדָבְרַיָּא in Daniel, iii. 2, 3. The adverbs אָסְפַּרְנָא, Ezra v. 8., vi. 8., אַדְרַזְדָּא, Ezra vii. 23., do not appear in Daniel; and, whereas נְוָלִי, *a dunghill*, occurs Dan. ii. 5., we have in Ezra vi. 11. נְוָלוּ.[1]

Of the objections taken from the *apocalyptic* character of Daniel's prophecies, their particularity, and the doctrinal colouring of the book, as evidence of a late origin, little can here be said. Such objections assume that the critic is to judge in what way God is to reveal his will. And there is *not* the difference in these respects alleged between Daniel and other sacred writers. For discussion of this part of the subject the student is referred to Keil[2], and Hävernick.[3]]

Conclusive as the preceding evidences are, for the genuineness of Daniel's predictions, many objections are still urged. All these have been refuted in detail by Hengstenberg, in his treatise on the Authenticity of Daniel and the Integrity of Zechariah.[4] From this treatise the following observations have been selected[5]: —

1. Daniel is not mentioned by the son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlvii.—xlix.).

If this proves anything, it proves too much. It proves that no such man as Daniel ever lived, nor Ezra, nor Mordecai, nor any of the minor prophets; not one of whom is mentioned.

2. The book of Daniel, in the Hebrew bibles, stands near the end of the Hagiographa, not among the prophets.

This Bertholdt explains by saying that this third division of the Old Testament was not formed until after the other two were closed. The compilers of the canon intended to make two great classes, the law and the prophets. The books of Joshua, &c., were included in the second, merely because there was no third. A third was eventually formed to receive

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[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 135.

[2] Einleitung, § 136. pp. 461. &c.

[3] Einleitung, § 274. II. ii. pp. 469, 470., and in Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Daniel, Book of.

[4] Die Authentie des Daniel und die Integrität des Sacharjah, erwiesen von Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg. Berlin, 1831. 8vo. Translated by the Rev. B. P. Pratten, Edin. 1848.

[5] These refutations of neologian objections are abridged from the Biblical Repertory printed at Philadelphia, vol. iv. N. S. pp. 51—58.

those writings which afterwards laid claim to inspiration. To this explanation Dr. Hengstenberg objects that it rests on mere assumptions, and is flatly contradicted by all Jewish authorities. His own solution is: The distinction between the prophets and the Hagiographa is not of a chronological kind, but is founded on the peculiar character and office of the writers. The prophetic *gift* must be discriminated from the prophetic *office*. The one was common to all who were inspired; the latter to the regular official prophets. The books written by these prophets, as such, formed the second great division. The third contains the inofficial prophecies. Why else should Jeremiah's Lamentations be disjoined from his Prophecies?

[The remarks of Dr. Tregelles on this topic, are well worth citing. "What bearing this argument has on the question is not very apparent to any one who regards these books [the Hagiographa] as being, all of them, holy scripture: it must be supposed (as it seems) that this place was one of less honour than among the prophets; and the Jews must be imagined to have placed Daniel there, as a book of whose origin or authority they were in doubt. It is difficult to suppose that such arguments could be *seriously* alleged. It may be quite sufficient to remark that the *Psalms* stand in the same division of the collection, that the Jews at the Christian era (as witnessed by Josephus) considered Daniel as a super-eminent prophet, that we do not know on what principle many parts of the collections of sacred writings were arranged, and that Daniel stands, after all, in a by-no-means-unnatural place, between other writings relating to the captivity, and that his book is partly historical, and partly prophetic."[1]]

3. The authors of the Talmud and the modern Jews regard the book of Daniel with contempt.

The Talmudists have been misapprehended; and the prejudice of the modern Jews has naturally sprung from their hatred to the gospel, and whatever tends to prove its authenticity.

4. A fourth objection is founded on Dan. ix. 2. "In the first year of his reign, I, Daniel, understood by *books* the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem." The Hebrew word translated *books* has the article prefixed. This, Bleek considers as synonymous with *biblia*, or *the scriptures*, and a decisive proof that the Old Testament canon was already closed, and in the hands of the writer of this book.

First, We have no proof of these *books* containing any other matter than the prophecies of Jeremiah. *Secondly*, The technical term in use among the later Jews to designate the canon was not "the books," but "the writings." *Thirdly*, A forger never would have hinted at the canon's being closed, when his very object was to have his book included. *Fourthly*, Before the adjustment of the canon, there were private collections of the sacred books, as appears not only from the nature of the case, but from the fact, that Jeremiah quotes and imitates Moses, Isaiah, Obadiah, and Micah, as admitted both by Eichhorn and De Wette. These reasons are sufficient, without appealing, as Pareau does, to the Jewish

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[1] Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel, 1852. p. 260.: see before, p. 35.; and comp. Stuart, Hist. of Old Test. Canon, sect. xii. pp. 247, 248.

tradition, that the sacred books were secured by Jeremiah before the burning of the temple, and intrusted to the care of Daniel.

["Further, סֵפֶר, *a book*, in the *plural* commonly means *a letter*; the only places where it is otherwise rendered are Eccles. xii. 12., 'books;' Jer. xxxii. 14., 'evidences;' and this passage in Dan. ix. Elsewhere (and it occurs eighteen times) it is always translated in our version quite correctly, *a letter* or *letters*. The reference in Dan. ix. 2., is assuredly to the letter mentioned in Jer. xxix. 10."[1]]

5. The lavish expenditure of signs and wonders, without any apparent object, is unworthy of the Deity.

One of those who urge this difficulty has supplied an answer. This is Griesinger, who innocently observes, that no better reason seems assignable for all these miracles than a disposition to exalt Jehovah above other gods! Can a better be desired? It is true, the adversaries still object, *cui bono?* We need only condense Dr. Hengstenberg's three replies into as many sentences. 1. That the faith and hope of the exiles might be maintained. 2. That a way might be opened for their restoration. 3. That the heathen might be awed into forbearance and respect towards God's peculiar people.

6. The book of Daniel contains historical inaccuracies.

(1.) The grossest of these is said to be the statement in viii. 1, 2. Berthōldt's objections are, 1. that Elam is mentioned as a province of the Babylonish empire, in which Daniel acted as a royal officer (v. 27.), whereas it was a province of the Median empire, as appears from Isaiah xxi. 2. and Jeremiah xxv. 25. 2. That a palace is spoken of at Shushan; whereas the palace there was built by Darius Hystaspes, as appears from Pliny.[2] 3. That the name *Shushan* itself (which signifies a *lily*) was not given until long after Darius, and was intended to express the beauty of the edifices which that prince erected.

First, The subjection of Elam by the Chaldees is predicted by Jeremiah (xlix. 34.), and the fulfilment recorded by Ezekiel (xxxii. 24.). The prediction quoted by Bertholdt (Jer. xxv. 25.) represents Elam, not as a province of Media, but as an independent monarchy, and intimates its overthrow. This prophecy was uttered in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, that of Daniel in the third of Belshazzar's. But, even admitting the assertion of the adversary, there is no departure from the truth of history. Daniel was at Shushan only "in a vision;" as appears from a strict translation of the passage. The scene of his vision, so to speak, was there, because Shushan was to be the capital of the empire whose fortunes he foresaw. *Secondly*, Pliny's statement as to the building of the palace, and indeed the whole city, by Darius Hystaspes, is contradicted by all Greek and oriental writers, who represent it as extremely ancient. *Thirdly*, Athenæus and others state that the city was called *Shushan*, from the multitude of lilies growing in that region; a fact reconcilable with any date whatever.[3]

(2.) Another passage which has been objected to, is what De Wette calls the laughable description (vi.) of a lions' den like a cistern, with a stone to close the orifice.

We know nothing about the lions' dens in that part of the world; but we know that in Fez and Morocco they are subterraneous, and that criminals are often thrown into them. Who knows how large the stone was in the case before us?

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[1] Tregelles, Remarks on the Proph. Visions, &c. p. 269.
[2] Hist. Nat. lib. vi. 27.
[3] See Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Elam.

(3.) A third objection of the same kind is that Belshazzar is represented (Dan. v. 11, 13, 18, 22.) as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, whereas, according to profane historians, he was his fourth successor.

No fact is more familiar, than that *father* denotes an *ancestor; son*, a *descendant.*

(4.) Other historical objections are that Cyaxares II. is by Daniel called Darius; and that, in i. 1., Jerusalem is said to have been taken by Nebuchadnezzar, in the third year of Jehoiakim; while it appears from Jer. xlvi. 2. that the battle of Carchemish, which must have preceded that event, occurred in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and from Jer. xxv. 1. that this same fourth year was the first of Nebuchadnezzar.[1] Dr. Hengstenberg's solution of these difficulties carries him so far into minutiæ that we can neither follow, copy, nor abridge his argument. Suffice it to say that it is wholly satisfactory.

7. The book of Daniel contains various inconsistencies and contradictions.

These alleged inconsistencies and contradictions are merely apparent, not real. Chap. i. 21. has been represented as at variance with x. 1.; as though the former intimated that he lived no longer! A similar objection has been founded on Belshazzar's not knowing Daniel (v. 14.), who had been exalted to such honour by Nebuchadnezzar (ii. 48, 49.); a circumstance explained by the very characters of the prophet and the king, which were too opposite to admit of intimacy. Daniel would naturally stand aloof from so debauched a court.

Again, it is asked, how could Nebuchadnezzar be ignorant (iii. 14.) whether the Hebrews served his God, when he had himself (ii. 47.) acknowledged theirs to be a God of gods and Lord of lords? This inconsistency is chargeable not upon the sacred writer, but upon the heathen king. His former acknowledgment resulted not from a change of heart, but from astonishment and terror—a distinction which the psychology of rationalists knows nothing of. The same may be said of the objection started to the diverse exhibitions of this same king's character in chaps. i.—iii. and iv.

8. Opinions and usages are mentioned in this book, which are of later date than that claimed for the book itself.

(1.) Dan. vi. 11. It is objected that there are allusions to three modern customs, that of praying towards Jerusalem, that of praying thrice a day, and that of having a chamber appropriated to prayer.

The custom of *praying towards Jerusalem* was an ancient practice. The law of Moses required all sacrifices to be offered at the place which the Lord should choose "to put his name there" (Deut. xii. 5, 6.). Prayer would of course accompany oblation. "Their burnt-offerings," says the Lord by the mouth of Isaiah, "and their sacrifices, shall be accepted upon my altar; for mine house shall be called a *house of prayer* for all people" (Isai. lvi. 7.). "In thy fear," says David, "will I worship *toward thy holy temple*" (Psal. v. 7., cxxxviii. 2.). "I lift up my hands *toward thy holy oracle*" (xxviii. 2.). Now, if in the temple prayer was offered toward the oracle or sanctuary, and in the city toward the temple, surely those who were out of the city, whether far or near, would be likely to offer theirs toward Jerusalem itself. Comp. 1 Kings viii. 44. Nor would the practice cease, because the temple was destroyed. Its very site was regarded by the Jews as holy. "Remember this mount Zion, wherein thou hast dwelt. They have," &c. (Psal. lxxiv. 2, 7.)

The custom of *praying thrice a day* is so natural, that we find it among those with whom the Jews could have had no intercourse, the

[1] See before, p. 468.

Brahmins for example. And what says David? "Evening, and morning, and at noon, will I pray and cry aloud" (Psal. lv. 17.).

The third particular—that of having *a chamber appropriated to prayer*—rests upon mere assumption. There is nothing said about a chamber used exclusively for devotional purposes; and, if there was, there can be no ground for the assertion, that this was an invention of the later Jewish formalists. Our Lord commands his disciples to go into their closets, and not to pray in public, like the Pharisees (Matt. vi.). On the other hand, David "went up to the chamber over the gate," if not to pray, at least to vent his grief (2 Sam. xviii. 33.); and Elijah went "into a loft," and "cried unto the Lord" (1 Kings xvii. 20.). Was this a modern pharisaical invention, as affirmed by Bertholdt?

(2.) The advice of Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar (iv. 27.) is represented by Bertholdt as ascribing an efficacy to alms-giving, which was never dreamed of in the days of old. He translates the verse, "Buy off (compensate or atone for) thy sins by gifts, and thy guilt by doing good to the poor." Hengstenberg shows that the true sense is that of our own translation, "Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor." The adversary has the credit, therefore, not of the objection only, but of the fault objected to!

(3.) A similar objection has been raised by Gramberg, in relation to the doctrine of *meritorious* fasting, as implied in ix. That religious fasting was a most ancient usage of the Jews, any compendium of biblical antiquities will show. That the popish notion of merit should be found in a passage where such words as these occur—"We do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousness, but for thy great mercies" (Dan. ix. 18.)—argues something rather worse than inadvertence in the caviller who finds it there.

[There are other objections made, which must not be left without notice.

The laudatory expressions which we find, i. 17, 19, &c., v. 11, &c., vi. 4., ix. 23., x. 11., would never, it is said, have been recorded by Daniel of himself, and are proof that he did not collect his own writings. But, as Keil has remarked, it is not easy to see in what these differ from the language of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 10.; 2 Cor. xi. 5, &c., xii. 2., &c. Besides, some of them, as ix. 23., x. 11., were used in the address of the angel; others, as v. 11, 12., are the recommendation of Daniel to Belshazzar, by the queen: as for those in i. 17, 19, 20., they are absolutely required, to show God's wonderful providence, in conferring gifts unexpected on his servants; and, without vi. 4. &c., the narrative would be well nigh unintelligible.[1] There is no reason, therefore, to deny that the prophet put his book into its present shape.

One more charge shall be adverted to, remarkable for the triumphant confidence with which it has been urged, and for the signal refutation which modern research has supplied. Of chap. v., it has been declared that the account of Belshazzar is pure invention, that it contradicts Berosus, and that it unmistakably proves the "unhistorical" character of the whole narrative[2]. The last monarch was not, it was asserted, in the city when Cyrus took it, and afterwards, when he was made captive at Borsippa, he was kindly treated by the Persian

[1] See Keil, Einleitung, § 136.

[2] See De Wette, Einleitung, § 255. a, p. 345.

conqueror. But, in 1854, Sir H. Rawlinson discovered documents at Mugheir, the ancient Ur, which proved that Nabonadius associated with him, during the last years of his reign, his son Bil-shar-uzur, and allowed him the royal title. He it was, therefore, no doubt, that conducted the defence of Babylon within the walls, while his father commanded without. Now, if Nabonadius, the father, married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and Bil-shar-uzur was the issue of that marriage, vv. 11, 13, 18, 22. are accounted for. It is also explained, as there were two sovereigns, why Daniel was made, v. 29., only "*third* ruler of the kingdom." Some difficulty has, indeed, been felt from the supposed youth of Bil-shar-uzur; but it is not of consequence; as there are instances in eastern story of important commands being intrusted to very young men. Thus Herod the Great was appointed governor of Galilee at fifteen. Besides, the interference of the queen, as related in Daniel, is some presumption of Belshazzar's youth. With regard to minor details, however, we need not be very solicitous. The main fact, that a Belshazzar, whose existence was denied, is now distinctly proved to have reigned, may teach a lesson of modesty to those who impugn the scripture narratives.[1]]

IV. In the Vulgate Latin edition of the bible, as well as in Theodotion's Greek version, which was adopted by all the Greek churches in the East in lieu of the incorrect Septuagint translation above alluded to, there is added, in Dan. iii. between vv. 23, 24., the song of the three children, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, who were cast into the fiery furnace. The version of Theodotion also introduces, at the *beginning* of this book, the history of Susanna, and, at the *end*, the stories of Bel and the Dragon; and this arrangement is followed by the modern version in use in the Greek church. But, in the Latin Vulgate, both these apocryphal pieces were separated by Jerome from the canonical book, and were dismissed to its close, with an express notice that they were NOT found by him in the Hebrew, but were translated from Theodotion. Later, however, they were improperly made a continuation of Daniel, being numbered chapters xiii. and xiv.; an arrangement followed in all the modern versions from the Vulgate in use among Romanists, and sometimes (as in the Dublin edition of the Anglo-Romish version of the bible printed in 1825) with the unjustifiable omission of the cautionary notice of Jerome. The narratives of Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon do *not* exist in the genuine Septuagint version of Daniel, recovered in the middle of the eighteenth century: placed at the end they are distinguished by separate headings; nor were these apocryphal additions ever received into the canon of holy writ by the Jewish church. They are not extant in the Hebrew or Chaldee languages; nor is there any evidence that they ever were so extant. The occurrence of Hebraisms in them proves nothing more than that they were written by a Hebrew in the Greek tongue, into which he transferred the idioms

[1] See Rawlinson, The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records, lect. v. pp. 168—171., and notes, pp. 442—444, 536—538.; Loftus, Chaldæa and Babylonia, Lond. 1857. pp. 132, 133.

of his own language; and that they were thus originally written in Greek by some Hellenistic Jew, without having any higher source whence they could be derived, is evident from this circumstance, that, in the history of Susanna, Daniel, in his replies to the elders, alludes to the *Greek* names of the trees, under which, they said, the adultery charged upon Susanna was committed; which allusions cannot hold good in any other language.[1] The church of Rome, however, allows these spurious additions to be of the same authority with the rest of the book of Daniel; and, by a decree of the fourth session of the council of Trent, has given them an equal place in the canonical scriptures. But they were never recognized as part of the sacred volume by the ancient fathers of the Christian church. Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and Apollinarius rejected these pieces, not only as being uncanonical, but also as fabulous; and Jerome, who has been followed by Erasmus and other modern writers, has given the history of Bel and the Dragon no better title than that of *The Fable of Bel and the Dragon.* And others, who have admitted them for instruction of manners, have nevertheless rejected them from the canonical scriptures; in which conduct they have been followed by the protestant churches, who exclude them from the canonical, and class them among the apocryphal writings.[2]

[The Alexandrine translation aims at beauty and purity of style, so far as it adheres to the original text, from which it departs in particular expressions (*viz.*, i. 3, 11, 16., ii. 8, 11, 28., &c., vii. 6, 8., ix. 25, 27.). There are, besides, great additions (*viz.*, the prayer of Azariah, iii. 24., &c., the song of the three children, iii. 51., &c.), and amplifications (as iv. 34., vi. 20, 22—29.), considerable abbreviations and omissions (iii. 31—34., iv. 3—6., v. 17—25, 26—28.), and other departures from the Hebrew (iii. 46—50., iv. 28., &c., v. 1—3., and in vi.).

Some have supposed that a later elaboration of the original was the basis of all these variations, but this supposition is incorrect. They arise from an attempt to render the narratives clearer, and to adapt the whole more to the spirit of the times.[3]

Theodotion's version seems to have been a kind of revision of the LXX.; and it has itself been re-modelled and interpolated after the Septuagint, so as to make it impossible to present it in its original state.

[1] In the examination of the elders, when one of them said he saw the crime committed *ὑπὸ σχῖνον, under a mastich-tree*, Daniel is represented as answering, in allusion to *σχῖνον*, "The angel of God hath received sentence of God, ΣΧΙΣΑΙ *σε μέσον, to cut thee in two.*" And, when the other elder said that it was *ὑπὸ πρῖνον, under a holm-tree*, Daniel is made to answer, in allusion to the word *πρῖνον*, "The angel of the Lord waiteth with the sword, ΠΡΙΣΑΙ *σε μέσον, to cut thee in two.*" Jerome, Procem. ad. Comm. in Daniel.

[2] Dr. Prideaux, Connection, part i. book iii. *sub anno* 534. vol. i. pp. 164, 165. edit. 1720.; Calmet, Dictionary, voce *Daniel*, and his Préface sur Daniel, Comm. Litt. tom. vi. pp. 609—612. The fullest vindication of the genuineness and canonical authority of the prophecies of Daniel is to be found in bishop Chandler's Vindication of the Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, in Dr. Samuel Chandler's Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, both published at London in 1728, in 8vo.; and in Dr. Hengstenberg's treatise already referred to in the course of this section. See also Auberlen, Der Prophet Daniel, u. s. w., Einleitung, pp. 1, &c.

[3] Keil, Einleitung, § 137. p. 467.

De Wette believes that the prayer and the song proceeded from different hands; in proof of which he would compare iii. 38. with 53, 55, 84, 85. (E. V. 15, 31, 32, 62, 63.), and thinks that traces of an original Chaldee text are apparent.[1] But he has no doubt that the history of Susanna, and the story of Bel and the Dragon were first written in Greek.[2] Possibly there might be some foundation in fact, for the history of Susanna. Bel and the Dragon is evidently fictitious.[3]

The time when these pieces were composed is uncertain. Some have supposed them known to Josephus, and written a century or two before Christ. This is nothing more than a conjecture. It is a mistake to say that Ignatius and Clement mention Susanna. The passage relied on in the former writer is spurious, and no allusion can be discovered in Clement's two genuine epistles.]

SECTION VII.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HOSEA.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Occasion and scope of the prophecy.*—III. *Synopsis of its contents.*—IV. *Observations on its style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 810—725.

I. CONCERNING the family of Hosea, we have no certain information, except what is furnished to us by the first verse of his prophecy, which states that he was the son of Beeri, whom some Jewish commentators confound with Beerah, a prince of the Reubenites, who was carried into captivity with the ten tribes by Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria. He prophesied during the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, and Ahaz, and in the third year of Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and during the reign of Jeroboam II. king of Israel; and it is most probable that he was an Israelite, and lived in the kingdom of Samaria, as his predictions are directed chiefly against their wickedness. But, with the severest denunciations of vengeance, he blends promises of mercy; and the transitions from the one to the other are frequently sudden. Rosenmüller and Jahn, after Calmet, believe that the title of this book is a subsequent addition, and that Hosea did not prophesy longer than from forty to sixty years, and that he died, or at least wrote his predictions, before the year 725 before the Christian æra.

[No dependence is to be placed on the story that Hosea was born at Belemoth in the tribe of Issachar. That he was an Israelite, however, it is reasonable to suppose. His predictions have to do for the most part with the kingdom of the ten tribes; and, had a prophet been sent from Judah to utter them, the fact, as in analogous cases, 1 Kings xiii.; Amos i. 1., vii., would probably have been noted. Additional proof is his rough Aramaizing diction which seems to indicate the north as his residence. Further reasons have been alleged;

[1] Einleitung, § 258. pp. 352, 353. [2] Ibid. § 259. pp. 353, 354.
[3] See Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. arts. Daniel Book of, and Apocryphal Addenda to, also Smith's Dict. of the Bible, 1860, arts. Daniel, Book of, and Apocryphal Additions to.

as that in i. 2. he calls the land of Israel "the land," and in vii. 5. the king "our king," also that he evinces acquaintance with the localities of the country, *e. g.* in v. 1., vi. 8, 9., xii. 11., xiv. 6., &c.; but these are worthless.[1] The last-cited passages do not show particular acquaintance with Israelitish localities; and, if they did, such acquaintance might easily be possessed by a native of Judah. But the fact is that, in some of them, Israelitish localities are necessarily named, because the oracle had to do with Israel; others are proverbial expressions elsewhere occurring.

The genuineness of the superscription Hos. i. 1., has been attacked by De Wette, Hitzig and others, and defended by Hävernick[2], Keil[3], Eadie[4], &c. Some critics, who disbelieve that it was prefixed by Hosea himself, admit its truth with the exception of the statement that the prophet's ministry lasted into the reign of Hezekiah. It is evident that i. 4. must have been written before the death of Jeroboam II.; and there is strong reason for concluding that passages in the book describe the state of Judah under Ahaz; *e. g.* comp. v. 10. with 2 Kings xvi. 10, &c. The proof relied on for concluding that the prophet lived into the time of Hezekiah is taken from x. 14. If Shalman be Shalmaneser, and Beth-arbel be Arbela in Galilee, the reference is to the facts mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 3, &c., xviii. 9, &c., in Hezekiah's reign. But Shalman has been supposed by some an unknown Assyrian king, and Beth-arbel, Arbela on the Tigris.[5] This last supposition is, to say the least, unlikely. The chief ground of objection to the including of Hezekiah is the long continuance of Hosea's ministry. It would then be sixty or sixty-five years. The prophet must in such a case have been commissioned young, and must have been far advanced in life at his death. But there is no such mighty improbability in this, to outweigh any positive evidence.

Ewald supposes that after residing in Israel the prophet came into Judah, and there composed his book.[6] There is no sufficient proof of this. That the book was soon known in Judah is likely; because the northern kingdom was soon laid desolate. Hitzig and Hävernick believe that Isaiah has alluded to it (comp. Isai. i. 23. with Hos. ix. 15., and Isai. xxx. 1., with Hos. viii. 4.); but Keil deems the passages they allege inconclusive.[7] Jeremiah, indeed, seems to have used Hosea in his representations of Israel.

This prophet arranged his predictions, it is generally allowed, as we now have them; the integrity of which no critic, save Redslob[8], has called in question. His objections, such as they are, have been conclusively refuted.[9]]

II. The ten tribes (whom this prophet often collectively terms Ephraim, Israel, and Samaria), having revolted from Rehoboam to Jeroboam, who set up the two idol calves at Dan and Bethel, consequently deprived themselves of the pure worship of Jehovah at

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 84.
[2] Einleitung, § 234. II. ii. 280, 281.
[3] Einleitung, § 84. p. 318.
[4] In Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Hosea.
[5] Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. p. 157.
[6] Ibid. pp. 118, 119.
[7] Einleitung, § 85.
[8] Ibid.
[9] See Hävernick, Einleitung, § 236. II. ii. pp. 289, 290.

Jerusalem, and speedily fell into the grossest idolatry.[1] Jeroboam II. was equally wicked with the first sovereign of that name; and the Israelites were but too prone to follow the bad examples of their wicked kings, especially if their affairs were prosperous, as we learn those of Jeroboam II. were (comp. 2 Kings xiv. 25—27.). In his days, therefore, Jehovah raised up the prophet Hosea, to convince them of their apostasy, and recover them to the worship of the true God. Bishop Horsley, however, is of opinion that Hosea's principal subject is that which is the principal subject of all the prophets, viz. "the guilt of the Jewish nation in general, their disobedient refractory spirit, the heavy judgments that awaited them, their final conversion to God, their re-establishment in the land of promise, and their restoration to God's favour, and to a condition of the greatest national prosperity, and of high pre-eminence among the nations of the earth, under the immediate protection of the Messiah, in the latter ages of the world. He confines himself more closely to this single subject than any other prophet. He seems, indeed, of all the prophets, if I may so express my conception of his peculiar character, to have been the most of a Jew. Comparatively, he seems to care but little about other people. . . . . His own country seems to engross his whole attention; her privileges, her crimes, her punishment, her pardon. He predicts, indeed, in the strongest and clearest terms, the ingrafting of the Gentiles into the church of God. But he mentions it only generally. . . . . He makes no explicit mention of the share which the converted Gentiles are to have in the re-establishment of the natural Israel in their ancient seats; subjects which make so striking a part of the prophecies of Isaiah, Daniel, Zechariah, Haggai. . . . . He alludes to the calling of our Lord from Egypt, to the resurrection on the third day: he touches, but only in general terms, upon the final overthrow of the antichristian army in Palestine, by the immediate interposition of Jehovah; and he celebrates, in the loftiest strains of triumph and exultation, the Saviour's final victory over death and hell. But yet, of all the prophets, he certainly enters the least into the detail of the mysteries of redemption. . . . . His country and his kindred is the subject next his heart. . . . . It is a remarkable dispensation of Providence, that clear notices, though in general terms, of the universal redemption, should be found in a writer so strongly possessed with national partialities. This Judaism seems to make the particular character of Hosea as a prophet. Not that the ten tribes are exclusively his subject. His country is indeed his particular and constant subject; but his country generally, in both its branches, not in either taken by itself."[2]

According to this view of the subject, the general argument of Hosea's prophecy "appears to be the fortunes of the whole Jewish nation in its two great branches; not the particular concerns (and least of all the particular temporal concerns) of either branch exclusively. And to this grand opening the whole sequel of the prophecy

[1] Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum p. 656.
[2] Bishop Horsley's Hosea, Preface, pp. vi.—viii.

corresponds. In setting forth the vices of the people, the picture is chiefly taken, as might naturally be expected, from the manners of the prophet's own times. . . . Still the history of his own times in detail in either kingdom is not the prophet's subject. It furnishes similes and allusions, but it makes no considerable part, indeed, it makes no part at all, of the action (if I may so call it) of the poem. The action lies in events beyond the prophet's times; the commencement, indeed, within them; but the termination, in times yet future, and, although we may hope the contrary, for ought we know with certainty, remote. The deposition of Jehu's family, by the murder of Zedekiah, the son and successor of Jeroboam, was the commencement: the termination will be the restoration of the whole Jewish nation under one head, in the latter days, in the great day of Jezräel; and the intermediate parts of the action are the judgments which were to fall, and accordingly have fallen, upon the two distinct kingdoms of Israel and Judah, typified by Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi."[1]

The Scope of this prophet's prediction is, 1. Partly to detect, reprove, and convince the Jewish nation generally, and the Israelites in particular, of their many and heinous sins, especially of their gross idolatry; the corrupt state of the kingdom is also incidentally noticed; 2. Partly to denounce the imminent and utter rejection, final captivity, and destruction of the Israelites by the Assyrians (if the former persisted in their wicked career), notwithstanding all their vain confidence in the assistance to be afforded them by Egypt; and, 3. Partly to invite them to repentance with promises of mercy, and evangelical predictions of the future restoration of the Israelites and Jews, and their ultimate conversion to Christianity.[2]

III. The prophecy of Hosea contains fourteen chapters, which may be divided into five sections, exclusive of the title in i. 1.; viz.

1. Under the figure of the infidelity after marriage of the prophet's wife[3] is represented the spiritual infidelity of the Israelites, a remnant of whom shall be saved (i. 2—11.); and they are exhorted to forsake idolatry (ii. 1—13.). Promises are then introduced, on the general conversion of the *twelve* tribes; and the gracious purposes of Jehovah towards the *ten* tribes are represented under the figure of the prophet taking back his wife on her amendment (ii. 14—23., iii.).

2. The prophet inveighs against the bloodshed and idolatry of Israel (iv. 1—14, 17—19.), against which Judah is to take warning (15, 16.). In chap. v. 1—14. the divine judgments are denounced against Israel, to whom are held out promises of pardon in v. 15., which are continued through vv. 1—3. of chap. vi. The metaphors used in a more immediate sense denote a speedy deliverance, but in a remote sense they refer to the resurrection of Christ (comp. Hosea vi. 2. with 1 Cor. xv. 4.) and the blessings of the gospel.

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[1] Horsley's Hosea, Pref. pp. xxv. xxvi. [Hosea refers to Judah but incidentally.]

[2] Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, p. 656.

[3] Bishop Horsley contends at great length, contrary to most interpreters, that the prophet's marriage was a real transaction, and a type of the whole Jewish nation; distinct parts of which were typified by the three children, Jezräel, Lo-ruhamah, and Lo-ammi. See the Preface to his version of Hosea, pp. viii.—xxv. Witsius, however, has shown that the whole was a figurative representation. Miscell. Sacr. lib. i. cap. xii. pp. 90—94. Comp. Smith's Dict. of the Bible, art. Hosea.

3. The exhortations to repentance proving ineffectual, God complains of their obstinate iniquity (vi. 4—11., vii. 1—10.), and denounces Isarel's captivity, notwithstanding their reliance on Egypt (vii. 11—16., viii.).

4. The captivity further threatened (ix., x.): the Israelites are reproved for their idolatry, yet they shall not be utterly destroyed, and their return is foretold (xi.).[1] Renewed denunciations (xii., xiii. 1—8.).

5. After a denunciation of punishment, intermixed with promises of restoration (xiii. 9—16.), the prophet exhorts to repentance, furnishes a suitable prayer (xiv. 1—3.), and foretells their reformation, together with the subsequent restoration of *all* the tribes, and their conversion to the gospel (4—9.).

[It must, however, be acknowledged that any divisions are uncertain. Some would simply arrange in two parts, the first including what was done under Jeroboam (i. — iii.); the latter the subsequent threatenings and promises (iv.—xiv.).]

IV. The style of Hosea, bishop Lowth remarks, "exhibits the appearance of very remote antiquity: it is pointed, energetic, and concise. It bears a distinguished mark of poetical composition, in that pristine brevity and condensation which is observable in the sentences, and which later writers have in some measure neglected. This peculiarity has not escaped the observation of Jerome," who remarks that this prophet is altogether laconic and sententious.[2] "But this very circumstance, which anciently was supposed to impart uncommon force and elegance, in the present state of Hebrew literature, is productive of so much obscurity, that, although the general subject of this writer be sufficiently obvious, he is the most difficult and perplexed of all the prophets. There is, however, another reason for the obscurity of his style. Hosea prophesied during the reigns of the four kings of Judah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah: the duration of his ministry, therefore, in whatever manner we calculate, must include a very considerable space of time. We have now only a small volume of his remaining, which, it seems, contains his principal prophecies; and these are extant in a continued series, with no marks of distinction as to the times when they were published, or the subjects of which they treat. There is, therefore, no cause to wonder if, in perusing the prophecies of Hosea, we sometimes find ourselves in a similar predicament with those who consulted the scattered leaves of the sibyl."[3]

[1] The prediction in Hosea xi. 10, 11., respecting the return of the Israelites to their own country, was partly fulfilled in consequence of Cyrus's decree (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23.; Ezra i. 1—4.); but, in its fullest extent, it remains to be accomplished in the future restoration of the Jews to their own land. This is one instance, among many, in which the language of the prophets is adapted to two or more events. We have the authority of an inspired writer to extend this remark to another part of the same chapter (comp. xi. 1. with Matt. ii. 15.). Smith's Summary View of the Prophets, p. 177.

[2] Osee commaticus est, et quasi per sententias loquens. Præf. in xii. Proph.

[3] Lowth, Prælect. xxi. vol. ii. pp. 95, 96. Bishop Horsley differs in opinion from bishop Lowth, as to the cause of the obscurity which is observable in the prophecies of Hosea. Bishop Horsley ascribes it, not to the great antiquity of the composition, nor to anything peculiar to the language of the author's age, but to his peculiar idioms, frequent changes of person, his use of the nominative case absolute, his anomalies of number and gender, and the ambiguity of pronouns. See the Preface to his version of Hosea, pp. xxix. — xliii.

[The symbolic actions of chaps. i.—iii. are related in prose. But Hosea's style generally is highly poetic, full of vivid description and richness of imagery, in which there mingle much tenderness and pathos; so that Ewald calls him the prophet of tragic and elegiac sorrow, and regards him and Joel as the most poetical of the older prophets.[1] There is an obscurity in his writings, arising mainly from his conciseness and abrupt transitions. There are peculiarities in his diction too. Keil enumerates many peculiar words used by him; such as נַאֲפוּפִים, ii. 4.; נַבְלוּת, ii. 12.; אָהֲבוּ הֵבוּ, iv. 18.; נָוֶה, v. 13.; מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב, v. 13., x. 6.; שַׁעֲרִירִיָּה, vi. 10.; שְׁבָבִים, fragments, viii. 6.; הַבְהָבַים, viii. 13.; מַשְׂטֵמָה, ix. 7, 8.; רְתֵת, xiii. 1.; תַּלְאוּבֹת, xiii. 5.; אֱהִי, where? xiii. 14. Remarkable forms of an Aramaic cast are תִּרְגַּלְתִּי, xi. 3.; וְאֶמְאָסְאךָ, iv. 6.; the infinitive חַכֵּי, vi. 9.; אוֹכִיל for אַאֲכִיל, xi. 4.; קָאם for קָם, x. 14.; תְּלוּאִ, xi. 7.; יַפְרִיא for יַפְרֶה, xiii. 15.; קִימּוֹשׂ for קִמּוֹשׂ, ix. 6. Singular constructions are לֹא עָל, vii. 16.; אֶל־עַל, xi. 7.; צֹפֶה עִם, ix. 8.; נְשַׁלְּמָה פָרִים שְׂפָתֵינוּ, xiv. 3.; כִּמְרִיבֵי כֹהֵן, iv. 4.; רֻבֵּי תּוֹרָתִי, viii. 12.; רָעַת רָעַתְכֶם, x. 15.[2]

It may be added, that Hengstenberg has conclusively shown that Hosea has based his prophecies upon the Pentateuch.[3] Keil believes that he refers to Amos.[4] Several passages in this book are cited or referred to in the New Testament: see Matt. ii. 15., ix. 13., xii. 7.; Rom. ix. 25, 26.

SECTION VIII.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JOEL.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Occasion and scope.*—III. *Analysis of the book.* —IV. *Observations on its style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 810—660, *or earlier;* perhaps 877—847.

I. CONCERNING the family, condition, and pursuits of this prophet, there is great diversity of opinion among learned men. Although several persons of the name of Joel are mentioned in the Old Testament[5], we have no information concerning the prophet himself, except what is contained in the title of his predictions (i. 1.), that he was the son of Pethuel. According to some idle reports collected and preserved by the pseudo-Epiphanius[6], he was born at Bethor, a village belonging to the tribe of Reuben. It is equally uncertain under what sovereign he flourished, or where he died. Kimchi and others place him in the reign of Joram, and are of opinion that he foretold the seven years' famine which prevailed in

[1] Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. pp. 122, 123.
[2] Einleitung, § 84. p. 319.
[3] Dissertations on the Pent., diss. i. vol. i. pp. 107, &c.
[4] Einleitung, § 85. pp. 319, 320.
[5] See Simonis, Onomasticon Vet. Test. p. 517.
[6] De Vitis Prophetarum in Epiphanii Op. tom. ii. p. 245.

that king's reign (2 Kings viii. 1—3.). The authors of the two Jewish Chronicles intitled Seder Olam (both great and little), Jarchi, and several other Jewish writers, who are also followed by Drusius, archbishop Newcome, and other Christian commentators, maintain that he prophesied under Manasseh. Tarnovius, Eckermann, Calmet, and others, place him in the reign of Josiah; but Vitringa [1], Moldenhawer [2], Rosenmüller [3], and the majority of modern commentators, are of opinion (after Abarbanel), that he delivered his predictions during the reign of Uzziah: consequently, he was contemporary with Amos and Hosea, if indeed he did not prophesy before Amos. This opinion, which we think more probable than any, is supported by the following arguments: 1. Only Egypt and Edom (iii. 19.) are enumerated among the enemies of Judah; no mention whatever being made of the Assyrians or Babylonians: 2. Joel (iii. 4—7.) denounces the same judgments as Amos (i. 9—11.) against the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Idumæans (who had invaded the kingdom of Judah, carried off its inhabitants, and sold them as slaves to the Gentiles): 3. It appears, from Joel ii. 15—17., that at the time he flourished the Jews were in the full enjoyment of their religious worship: 4. More prosperous times are promised to Judæa, together with uncommon plenty (ii. 18, 19.): 5. Although Joel foretells the calamity of famine and barrenness of the land, it is evident from Amos (iv. 6, 7.) that the Israelites had not only suffered from the same calamity, but were even then labouring under it.

[It is difficult among the conflicting opinions of eminent critics to venture on forming a decisive judgment respecting the date of Joel. But perhaps some lines may be drawn within which we may suppose him to have lived. Now, not only is Tyre threatened, but acts of hostility had been committed by the Tyrians against Judah (iii. 4—6.). But a hostile position would not have been assumed by Tyre till after Athaliah's death, who was the daughter of a Tyrian princess. We cannot place Joel, therefore, earlier than the reign of Joash. Again, Edom is threatened with impending judgment (iii. 19—21.). Now Edom revolted from Judah under Jehoram (2 Kings viii. 20.); and, if we may suppose that Amaziah's conquest (2 Kings xiv. 7.; 2 Chron. xxv. 11, 12.) was the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy, we must of course place it before that expedition, that is, not later than the first half of Amaziah's reign. It is true that this is but conjectural; for Jeremiah, much later, threatens Edom in similar language (Jer. xlix. 17.); still it is not improbable that the earlier judgment is the one intended. Between the beginning of Joash's reign, then, and, at the latest, the 14th of Amaziah's must Joel have lived. And, as after the death of Jehoiada the temple worship was neglected (2 Chron. xxiv. 17, 18.), Joel's prophecy may be dated before that event, or in the earlier part of the reign of Joash, while that king yet observed the precepts of the law, between 877 and 847 B.C. Joel therefore preceded Amos,

[1] Typus Doctrinæ Prophet. cap. iv. pp. 34, 35.
[2] Introductio in Libros Canonicos Vet. et Nov. Test. pp 120, 121.
[3] Scholia in Vet. Test., Partis septimæ vol. i. pp. 433, 434.

who adopts some of his expressions (comp. Amos i. 2. with Joel iii. 16.; Amos ix. 13. with Joel iii. 18.[1]).]

II. From the palmer-worm, locust, canker-worm, caterpillar, &c. being sent upon the land of Judah, and devouring its fruits (the certain forerunners of a grievous famine), the prophet takes occasion to exhort the Jews to repentance, fasting, and prayer, promising them various temporal and spiritual blessings.

III. This book consists of three chapters, which may be divided into three discourses or parts; viz.

PART I. *An exhortation, both to the priests and to the people, to repent, by reason of the famine brought upon them by the palmer-worm, &c. in consequence of their sins* (i. 1—20)*; which is followed by a denunciation of still greater calamities, if they continued impenitent* (ii. 1—11.).

A double prophecy, applicable, in its primary sense, to a plague of locusts, which was to be accompanied with so severe a famine as should cause the public service of the temple to be interrupted[2]; and, in its secondary sense, it denotes the Babylonian invasion, and perhaps also the invasions of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans.

PART II. *An exhortation to keep a public and solemn fast* (ii. 12—17.), *with a promise of removing the calamities of the Jews on their repentance* (18—26.).

From the prosperity of the land here described, the prophet passes to the blessings of the gospel, particularly the effusion of the gifts of the Holy Spirit: with these he connects the destruction of the Jewish polity in consequence of their rejecting the gospel; interspersing promises of safety to the faithful and penitent, afterwards signally fulfilled to the Christians (27—32. Comp. Acts ii. 17—21.).

PART III. *predicts the general conversion and return of the Jews, and the destruction of their opponents, together with the glorious state of the church that is to follow* (iii).

[Keil would divide the prophecy into two parts, the first, i. ii. 18., comprising a call to repentance under the fearful plague inflicted; the second, ii. 19 — iii. 21., connected with the preceding by the declaration, "The Lord answered and said to his people," containing promises of deliverance and eventual blessing.

It is a question whether the description of the locusts is literal or figurative. This is discussed by Hävernick[3], who, agreeing with Hengstenberg, adopts the latter view. If, however, it be a present judgment which is described rather than a future calamity, the literal interpretation must be preferable. And for this Keil strongly argues.[4] The greatest difficulty in the way of this is the expression הַצְּפוֹנִי (ii. 20), "the northern army;" and it is maintained that locusts never came into Judæa from the north. It is replied that they certainly infested Syria and the Syrian desert; so that a north-west wind might carry them thence into Judæa. This is not very satisfactory;

[1] See Keil, Einleitung, § 86. pp. 322, 323.

[2] The famine predicted by Joel Jahn refers to that which took place in the time of the Maccabees. See 1 Macc. ix. 23—27.

[3] Einleitung, § 237. II. ii. pp. 294, &c.

[4] Einleitung, § 87. pp. 324, &c.

though perhaps upon the whole the literal sense is to be preferred.[1]]

IV. The style of Joel, though different from that of Hosea, is highly poetical [2]: it is elegant, perspicuous, and copious, and at the same time nervous, animated, and sublime. In the first two chapters he displays the full force of the prophetic poetry; and his descriptions of the plague of locusts, of the deep national repentance, and of the happy state of the Christian church, in the last times of the gospel, are wrought up with admirable force and beauty.

SECTION IX.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET AMOS.

I. *Author.*—II. *Occasion of his prophecy.*—III. *Its scope.*—IV. *Synopsis of its contents.*—V. *Observations on its style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 810—785.

I. AMOS is the third of the minor prophets, according to the order adopted in our modern bibles: he is supposed to have been a native of Tekoah, a small town in the kingdom of Judah, situate about four leagues to the south of Jerusalem. There is, however, no proof of his being a native of this place, except his retiring thither when driven from Bethel by Amaziah, the high priest of Bethel (Amos vii. 10—13.). Calmet thinks he was born in the territories of Israel. We have more certain information of his rank and condition in life; for he himself tells us that he was "no prophet, neither a prophet's son;" in other words, that he was not educated in the schools of the prophets, but was called to the prophetic office from being a herdsman and a gatherer of sycamore fruit. In Palestine, "none but the very poor consent to be herdsmen, and only such, at this day, gather sycamore fruit, or use it."[3] That he prophesied during the reigns of Uzziah king of Judah, and of Jeroboam II. the son of Joash, we are not only informed from the first verse of his predictions, but we also have internal evidence of it from the argument or subject-matter of his book. For the prophet describes the state of the kingdom of Israel, particularly in chap. vi. 12—14., to be precisely such as is recorded in 2 Kings xiv. 23, &c. We further learn from Amos i. 1., that he began to prophesy in the second year before the earthquake, in the reign of Uzziah; which is, by Josephus and most commentators, referred to that prince's usurpation of the sacerdotal office when he attempted to offer incense. Consequently Amos was contemporary with Hosea (though he is supposed not to have lived so long as the last-mentioned prophet), with Jonah, and probably also with Joel.

[That Amos was a native of Tekoah, that at least it was his ordinary

[1] Comp. Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Joel.; Henderson, The Book of the Minor Prophets, note on ii. 19, 20.; Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. pp. 78, 79. The question has been largely discussed by Dr. Pusey, The Minor Prophets, with a Commentary, 1860 Introd. to Joel, pp. 97, &c. He decides against the literal interpretation of the passage.

[2] Early in the last century, Hermann Von der Hardt, whom, from his love of philosophical paradoxes, bp. Lowth has termed the *Hardouin of Germany*, attempted to reduce Joel's elegies to iambic verse. He accordingly published the first three elegies at Helmstadt, in 1708, and again, with additions, at the same place, in 1729, in 8vo.

[3] Dr. Thomson's The Land and the Book, p. 23. Lond. 1860.

dwelling-place, cannot admit of reasonable doubt. Amaziah's recommendation (vii. 12.) to him to flee into Judah is an additional reason for supposing him a native of the southern kingdom. Whether he did so flee and return to Tekoah is not stated. Amos was not trained in the prophetic schools; but it by no means follows that he was uneducated, a mere working-man. From his compositions we might conclude him a person of some attainments: and the word נֹקֵד (i. 1.), describing his occupation, is used elsewhere (2 Kings iii. 4.) to signify a large possessor of flocks. The story of Josephus that the earthquake in Uzziah's reign occurred at the time that prince attempted to burn incense is evidently baseless. For Amos delivered his prophecies in the days of Jeroboam II. of Israel (vii. 10, &c.). But Jeroboam died in the fifteenth of Uzziah (2 Kings xiv. 23., xv. 1.). Hence the earthquake must have occurred not later than the seventeenth year of Uzziah, no doubt long before Uzziah's sacrilegious attempt (2 Chron. xxvi., 16—21.).[1] It is true that some critics have supposed an error in 2 Kings xv. 1., and have imagined that Uzziah's accession was twenty-seven years before Jeroboam II.'s death: still this would carry us little beyond the middle of Uzziah's reign. Besides, some of the predictions in Amos i. were fulfilled by Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 6, 7.); after which his prosperity seems to have continued a considerable space (2 Chron. xxvi. 8—15); else Jotham his son would have been too young to undertake the office of regent, which he assumed on his father being struck with leprosy.]

II. The Occasion on which Amos delivered his predictions was the oppression of the Jews and Israelites by the neighbouring nations, and the state of the two kingdoms under Uzziah and Jeroboam II. (Amos i. compared with 2 Kings xiv. 25—27., and 2 Chron. xxvi. 6—15.). But as the inhabitants of those kingdoms, especially the Israelites, abandoned themselves to idolatry, effeminacy, avarice, and cruelty to the poor, contrary to the divine command, the prophet takes occasion thence to reprove them with the utmost severity.

III. The Scope of the book is to certify to the twelve tribes the destruction of the neighbouring nations, to alarm those who "were at ease in Zion," living in a state of carnal security, by the denunciation of imminent punishment, to lead them to repentance, and to cheer those who were truly penitent with the promise of deliverance from future captivity, and of the greater prosperity of the Messiah's kingdom; of which we have a particular prediction in ix. 11.

IV. The book of Amos contains nine chapters or discourses, of which Calmet thinks that the seventh is first in order of time[2]: it may be divided into three parts; viz.

Part I. *The judgments of God denounced against the neighbouring Gentile nations:* as the Syrians (i. 1—5.), which see fulfilled in 2 Kings xvi. 9.; the Philistines (i. 6—8.), recorded as accomplished in 2 Kings xviii. 8.; Jer. xlvii. 1, 5.; and 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.; the Tyrians (i. 9, 10.); the Edomites (i. 11, 12. compared with Jer. xxv.

[1] See Keil, Einleitung, § 88. p. 328. Comp. Smith's Dict. of the Bible, art. Amos.

[[2] Some critics have imagined that vii. 1—ix. 10. was delivered at Bethel, and that Amos expanded this after his return to Tekoah into the book we have. But this is doubtful. See Keil, Einleitung, § 89.

9, 21., xxvii. 3, 6., and 1 Macc. v. 3.); the Ammonites (13—15.); and the Moabites (ii. 1—3.).

PART II. *The divine judgments denounced against Judah and Israel* (ii. 4—ix. 10.); and herein we have,

1. The divine judgments against Judah (ii. 4, 5.), which were literally executed about two hundred years afterwards.

2. Against Israel, to whom the prophet's mission was chiefly directed, and to whom we have four distinct sermons delivered by him; viz.

I. A general reproof and aggravation of their various sins against God (ii. 6—16.).

II. A denunciation of the divine judgments, with a particular enumeration of their several causes (iii.).

III. A reproof of the Israelites for their luxury and oppression (iv.).

IV. A lamentation over the house of Israel, with an earnest exhortation to them to repent, and seek the Lord; and to abandon their idolatry, luxurious ease, and sinful alliances with their idolatrous neighbours (v. vi.). In v. 6. the carrying of the Israelites into captivity, beyond Damascus into Assyria, is explicitly announced: see its fulfilment in 2 Kings xv. 29. and xvii. 5—23. The certainty, nearness, and severity of the judgments thus denounced are confirmed by several prophetic visions, contained in chapters vii. viii.[1] and ix. 1—10.

PART III. *Consolatory or evangelical promises describing the restoration of the church by the Messiah,* first, under the type of raising up the fallen tabernacle of David (ix. 11, 12.); and, secondly, announcing magnificent temporal blessings; viz. great abundance, return from captivity, and re-establishment in their own land; all of which were prophetic of the blessings to be bestowed under the reign of the Messiah (ix. 13—15.).

In order to illustrate the supernatural character of the predictions contained in this book, they ought to be compared with the history of the times; from which it appears that, when they were made, the kingdoms of Israel and Judah though in a depressed condition, had yet some gleam of their former prosperity. See 2 Kings xiv. 1—17., xvi. 1—7., 2 Chron. xxv. xxvi.; also 2 Kings xiii. 1—9, 23, 10—20, 25., 2 Chron. xxv. 17—24., and 2 Kings xiv. 23—28.[2]

V. Jerome calls Amos "rude in speech, but not in knowledge,"[3] applying to him what St. Paul modestly professes of himself (2 Cor. xi. 6.).

Calmet and many others have followed the authority of Jerome, in speaking of this prophet as if he were indeed quite rude, ineloquent, and destitute of all the embellishments of composition. The matter, however, as bishop Lowth has remarked, is far otherwise: "Let any person who has candour and perspicacity enough to judge, not from the man, but from his writings, open the volume of his predictions, and he will, I think, agree that our shepherd 'is

[1] An eminent commentator is of opinion that the prophet Amos in viii. 9, 10. foretells that, during their solemn festivals, the sun should be darkened by an eclipse, which in those days was accounted *ominous*, and should turn their joy into mourning. According to archbishop Usher (A.M. 3213), about eleven years after Amos prophesied, there were two great eclipses of the sun, one at the feast of tabernacles, the other at the time of the passover. This prophecy, therefore, may be considered as one of those numerous predictions which we have already shown have a double meaning, and apply to more than one event. See Lowth's Commentary on the Prophets, p. 453. 4th edit.

[2] Professor Turner's translation of Jahn's Introduction, p. 325.

[3] . . . imperitus sermone, sed non scientia, Jerome, Præf. Comment. in Amos.

not a whit behind the very chief of the prophets' (2 Cor. xi. 5.). He will agree that, as, in sublimity and magnificence, he is almost equal to the greatest, so, in splendour of diction, and elegance of expression, he is scarcely inferior to any. The same celestial Spirit, indeed, actuated Isaiah and Daniel in the court, and Amos in the sheep-folds; constantly selecting such interpreters of the divine will as were best adapted to the occasion, and sometimes 'from the mouth of babes and sucklings perfecting praise,' occasionally employing the natural eloquence of some, and occasionally making others eloquent."[1] Many of the most elegant images employed by Amos are drawn from objects in rural life, with which he was, from his avocations, most intimately conversant.

SECTION X.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET OBADIAH.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Synopsis of its contents.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 588—583.

I. THE time when this prophet flourished is wholly uncertain. Jerome, with the Jews, is of opinion that he was the same person who was governor of Ahab's house, and who hid and fed one hundred prophets whom Jezebel would have destroyed. Some other critics think that he was the Obadiah whom Josiah constituted overseer of the works of the temple, mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12. Dupin refers him to the time of Ahaz, in whose reign the Edomites, in conjunction with the Israelites, made war against the tribe of Judah; because his prophecy is almost wholly directed against the Edomites or Idumæans. Grotius, Huet, Dr. Lightfoot, and others, however, make him to be contemporary with Hosea, Joel, and Amos, agreeably to the rule of the Jewish writers, viz. that, where the time of the prophet is not expressed, his predictions are to be placed in the same chronological order as the prophecy immediately preceding. Archbishop Newcome, with great probability, supposes that Obadiah prophesied between the taking of Jerusalem (which happened in the year 587 before Christ) and the destruction of Idumæa by Nebuchadnezzar, which took place a very few years after; consequently he was partly contemporary with Jeremiah. As the latter has many expressions similar to others in Obadiah, it is a question which of the two has borrowed from the other. Opinions vary on this subject, and there is not much preponderance of evidence on either side; except that, as Jeremiah has used the works of other prophets in his predictions against foreign nations, this fact renders it more probable that he had read Obadiah than the reverse. [Some, a Ewald[2], have imagined that both borrowed from some older prophet.

[1] Bishop Lowth, Lectures, vol. ii. lect. xxi. p. 98.
[2] Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. p. 399.

This is merely a conjecture.] The following table of the parallel passages will enable the reader to form his own judgment: —

Obadiah, verse 1.	compared with Jeremiah xlix.	14.
2.		15.
3, 4.		16.
5.		9.
6.		10.
8.		7.[1]

The writings of Obadiah, which consist of only one chapter, are composed with much beauty, and unfold a very interesting scene of prophecy.

[Keil places this prophet under Jehoram between 889 and 884, B.C.[2]; Hävernick under Uzziah[3]: Hitzig imagines him an Egyptian Jew who lived about 312 B.C.[4] But the date assigned above is more probably correct; vv. 10, &c., must be supposed to refer to a past event.[5]]

II. The prophecy of Obadiah consists of two parts; viz.

Part I. *is minatory, and denounces the destruction of Edom for their pride and carnal security* (1—9.), *and for their cruel insults and enmity to the Jews, after the capture of their city* (10—16.).

This prediction, according to archbishop Ussher, was fulfilled, about five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, by the Babylonians subduing and expelling them from Arabia Petræa, of which they never afterwards recovered possession.

PART II. *is consolatory and foretells the restoration of the Jews* (17.), *their victory over their enemies, and their flourishing state in consequence* (17 — 21.).

Archbishop Newcome considers this prophecy as fulfilled by the conquests of the Maccabees over the Edomites (See 1 Macc. v. 3—5, 65., &c.). But the prediction in the last verse will not receive its complete fulfilment until that time when "the kingdoms of the world are become *the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ*" (Rev. xi. 15.).

SECTION XI.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JONAH.

I. *Title and author*—II. *Occasion of the prophecy of Jonah.*—III. *Scope.*—*Vindication of its literal truth.*—IV. *Synopsis of its contents.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 856—784.

I. THIS book is, by the Hebrews, called סֵפֶר יוֹנָה, or the Book of Jonah, from its author Jonah, the son of Amittai, who was a native of Gath-Hepher in the tribe of Zabulon, which formed part of the

[1] Professor Turner's Translation of Jahn, p. 369. note. [2] Einleitung, § 90. p. 331.
[3] Einleitung, § 241. II. ii. pp. 321, &c. [4] Die Zwölf Klein. Proph. 1838, pp. 342, 343.
[5] See Henderson, The Minor Prophets, Pref. to Obadiah; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Obadiah

kingdom of Israel, and afterwards of Galilee (Jonah i. 1. with Josh. xix. 13., and 2 Kings xiv. 25.). He is supposed to have prophesied to the ten tribes, according to bishop Lloyd, towards the close of Jehu's reign, or in the beginning of Jehoahaz's reign; though Witsius, Blair, and archbishop Newcome, Jahn, and others, with greater probability, place him under Jeroboam II. about forty years later. With the exception of his sublime ode in the second chapter, the book of Jonah is a simple narrative.

II. It is very probable that, at the time Jonah promised the restoring and enlarging of the *coasts of Israel* in the days of Jeroboam II. (2 Kings xiv. 25.), when both the king and the people were exceedingly wicked, he also invited them to repentance and reformation. But, the Israelites still continuing impenitent and obdurate, God took occasion to send him to Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, to denounce the impending divine judgments against its abandoned inhabitants. Jonah, declining the commission, was cast into the sea from the vessel in which he was sailing to Tarshish, and was swallowed by a large fish; not, says Irenæus[1], that he might be swallowed up, but that, by his miraculous deliverance (preparing Jonah to preach more dutifully, and the Ninevites to hear more effectually), the people of Israel might be provoked to repent by the repentance of Nineveh.[2] The time of Jonah's continuance in the belly of the fish was a type of our Lord's continuance in the grave (Luke xi. 30.). The fame of the prophet's miraculous preservation was so widely propagated as to reach even Greece: whence, as Grotius, Huet, Bochart, and other learned men have remarked, the story was derived of Hercules having escaped alive out of the fish's belly.[3]

III. The Scope of this book is to show, by the very striking example of the Ninevites, the divine forbearance and long-suffering towards sinners, who were spared on their sincere repentance. From the conduct of the Ninevites, Jesus Christ takes occasion to reprove the perfidiousness of the Jews (Matt. xii. 41.). The evidence offered by Jonah was sufficient to convince and lead the former to repentance; while the Jews, who had the greater evidence of miracles, and the more convincing evidence of our Saviour's doctrine, continued obstinately impenitent. Some critics have imagined that the prophecy of Jonah is a parabolic history; but, from the manner in which the sacred historians and Jesus Christ speak of him (2 Kings xiv. 25.; Matt. xii. 39—41., xvi. 4.; and Luke xi. 29, 30.), it is evident that this book is a true narrative of a real person, and that Jonah was a prophet of considerable eminence.[4]

[It may safely be said that, had not the book of Jonah contained

[1] Adversus Hæres. lib. iii. cap. xx. (*al.* xxii.) p. 213. (edit. Par. 1710.).
[2] Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, p. 667.
[3] See Grotius de Veritate, lib. i. c. 16. in notis; Huet, Demonstr. Evangelica, prop. iv. vol. i. p. 433. 8vo. edit., or p. 240. edit. 1679.; Bochart, Opera, Hieroz. pars ii. lib. v. cap. 12. tom. iii. pp. 742, &c.; Pfeiffer, in Difficiliora Loca Script., cent. 4. locus lxxxvi. Op. tom. i. pp. 447, 448.
[4] The reality of the history and prophecy of Jonah is fully proved against the modern neologians by Alber, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Vet. Test. tom. ii. pp. 399—407.

the narrative of supernatural events, no objection would have been made to the literal historical truth of it. This is not the place to argue the credibility of miracles; that credibility must here be taken as established, and the arguments for the truth of Jonah's history be examined from that basis.

The narrative is plainly given like the ordinary accounts of scripture. The mission of Jonah to Nineveh just agrees with the historical relations of his time, when the first communications between Israel and Assyria are recorded (Hos. v. 13., x. 6.); and it was not long after Jeroboam II.'s death that Pul made Menahem, then king of Israel, tributary (2 Kings xv. 19.), as God had threatened. The description of Nineveh as a great city (Jonah iii. 3.), accords with all history: the corruption of the people is noted by Nahum, iii. 1.; Zeph. ii. 13., &c.; and the mourning of men and beasts, iii. 5—8., is mentioned as an Asiatic custom by Herodotus, ix. 24.[1]

The mere reception of the book of Jonah into the canon is a strong presumption that the narrative was fact. And, though the lesson which the book teaches, viz., God's readiness to forgive repentant sinners, might have been inculcated perhaps as forcibly by a parable or an allegory, yet, when we see how Jonah is appealed to in the New Testament, the conclusion is surely not to be evaded, that our Lord's distinct authority is given to the truthfulness of the story. Let it be observed that (Matt. xii. 39—41.) not only is Jonah referred to, but two events mentioned in his book are affirmed — that he was three days and three nights in the fish's belly, and that the Ninevites repented at his preaching. Our Lord affirms these facts, and, still further, declares himself greater than Jonah. He, who spake as never man spake, would, we may be sure, never have compared or contrasted himself with a man in a fable, a parable, a myth.[2] Just as well, as Henderson[3] appositely remarks, if we reject the historical bearing of the reference in this case, might we extinguish the queen of Sheba, named immediately afterwards, and regard the account of her visit to Solomon as an allegory, or moral fiction.

These arguments are equally conclusive against such as, allowing some fact at the bottom, suppose that it has been elaborated and dressed out with marvellous details, borrowed, so some appear to think, from heathen sources.

The objections made are taken from the improbability of Jonah thinking that he could flee from the presence of the Lord. This was unwise, it was sinful, no doubt. But we find analogous facts; as when Moses would have declined God's commission (Exod. iii., iv.), and when one of the sons of the prophets refused to do the bidding of his fellow, who spoke to him in God's name (1 Kings xx. 35, 36.). Jonah knew, of course, that God's eye would be everywhere on him;

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 91. p. 336.

[2] See Keil for account of the different lights in which critics, who disbelieve the literal truth of Jonah's history, view it, Einleitung, § 91.

[3] The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets (edit. 1858.), Pref. to Jonah, p. 201. Comp. Hävernick, Einleitung. § 246. II. ii. pp. 356, 357.

but he possibly believed that, if he retired from Palestine, got out of the land of theocratic manifestation, the message might be entrusted to another.

The argument that it was a long journey to Nineveh is futile; and so is the objection that the heathen inhabitants would not be likely to listen to an Israelitish stranger. Paul made longer journeys, and found his preaching in heathen cities as stirring, nay, made, by God's power, far more effectual than that of Jonah was.

The prayer of Jonah, it is said, never could have been composed in its poetical form and imagery in the fish's belly. Of course not: he did not *write* it there. But the ideas were conceived under the specified circumstances, just as those of Hezekiah in his sickness (Isai. xxxviii.); and both the prophet and the king put in writing *after* their deliverance the experience of their mournful moments, and add their praises (see Jonah ii. 2, 6, 9.) for the mercy vouchsafed them. It is not needful, therefore, to resort to the expedient of translating מִמְּעֵי הַדָּגָה (ii. 1), "on account of," or when "out of the fish's belly." [1] For a full refutation of the various objections, the student may be referred to Hävernick.[2]

Whether Jonah wrote the book himself has been a question. Some critics have brought it down to a very late date; Hitzig even to Maccabæan times. The use of the third person is no proof that Jonah did not compose it. The way in which Nineveh is spoken of in the past tense (iii. 3.), urged by Ewald as a proof that the great city had perished long before[3], is regarded by De Wette as of no weight[4]: the uniformity of the narrative required such a mode of expression. The only argument therefore, is, that we find some Aramaisms, which Keil contends may be readily accounted for.[5]

IV. The book of Jonah consists of two parts; viz.

PART I. His first commission to Nineveh, and delivery from the fish (i. ii.).

PART II. His second mission and its happy result to the Ninevites, who repented (iii.); and the discontent of Jonah (iv.).

SECTION XII.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET MICAH.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Occasion and scope.*—III. *Synopsis of its contents.* —IV. *Prophecies concerning the Messiah.*—V. *Observations on its style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 758—699.

I. MICAH was a native of Moresheth, a small town in the southern part of the territory of Judah; and, as we learn from the com-

[1] See Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Jonah.
[2] Einleitung, § 245. II. ii. pp. 328, &c.
[3] Die Propheten des A. B. vol. ii. 559.
[4] Einleitung, § 237. p. 325.
[5] Einleitung, § 92.

mencement of his predictions, he prophesied in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of that country; consequently he was contemporary with Isaiah. The time, place, and manner of his death are unknown. The genuineness of his prophecies, relating to the complete destruction of Jerusalem, and of the temple, is supported by the testimony of Jeremiah (xxvi. 18, 19.).

[It would seem more likely that Micah's birth-place was Moresheth-gath (i. 14), rather than Mareshah (i. 15.) De Wette and some others dispute the authenticity, at least in part, of the inscription i. 1, thinking that the whole of his book evinces its composition in the earlier part of Hezekiah's reign.[1] But the reasons are not sufficient to justify the objection. Thus it is said that the prophet could not name Samaria in his title. And yet he utters a threatening against Samaria, i. 5—8. Again, a particular prediction of Micah is cited in Jer. xxvi. 18, as being given in the days of Hezekiah. Therefore, say the critics, he prophesied *only* in Hezekiah's reign. It would be a waste of time to argue against such reasoning. The student who desires more information may consult Hävernick[2] and Keil[3]; though their replies are not very judicious, one saying that there were old people alive in Jeremiah's time who remembered Hezekiah; the other, that of the three kings named in the title Hezekiah alone had theocratic authority.]

II. The people of Judah and Israel being very profane and impenitent in the days of Isaiah[4] (in consequence of which the Assyrian captivity was then hastening upon Israel, and the Babylonian above a century after fell upon Judah), the prophet Micah was raised up to second Isaiah, and to confirm his predictions against the Jews and Israelites, whom he invited to repentance both by threatened judgments and by promised mercies.[5]

III. This book contains seven chapters, forming three parts; viz. Introduction or title, i. 1.

Part I. *comprises the prophecies delivered in the reigns of Jotham king of Judah (with whom Pekah king of Israel was contemporary), in which the divine judgments are denounced against both Israel and Judah for their sins* (i. 2 — 16.).

Part II. *contains the predictions delivered in the reigns of Ahaz king of Judah (with whom his son Hezekiah was associated in the government during the latter part of his life), and of Pekah king of Israel, who was also contemporary with him* (ii. — iv. 8.).

Micah foretells the captivity of both nations (ii. 1—5.), and threatens Israel for their enmity to the house of David (6—13.), and Judah for their cruelty to the pious (iii. 1—7.). He then announces that Zion should be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem should become heaps (8—12.). This prophecy had its utmost completion in the final destruction of the city and temple by the Romans. We learn, from Jer. xxvi. 18, 19, 24., that this

[1] De Wette, Einleitung, § 238. Conf. Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. p. 327.
[2] Einleitung, § 248. II. ii. pp. 362, 363.
[3] Einleitung, § 93. pp. 340, 341.
[4] Comp. 2 Kings xv.—xix.; 2 Chron. xxvi.—xxxi.; Isai. xxxvi.—xxxviii.
[5] Roberts, Clavis Bibliorum, p. 671.

prediction was uttered in the time of Hezekiah; and that in the reign of Jehoiakim it was a means of preserving Jeremiah. In iv. 1—8. the glorious kingdom of Messiah is foretold.

Part III. *includes the prophecies delivered by Micah during the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah; the first six years of whose government were contemporary with the greater part of the reign of Hoshea, the last king of Israel* (iv. 9–13. v.—vii.).

The Jews are threatened with the Babylonish captivity (iv. 9, 10.). The total overthrow of Sennacherib's forces is foretold (11—13.); and Hezekiah is assured by a new promise of the Messiah, who should descend from him (the place of whose nativity is particularly indicated), and by a prediction of Sennacherib's murder (v. 1—15.). The people are then forewarned of judgments in the reign of Manasseh (vi. 1—16.), whose wickedness is further described, together with his captivity and return, as also the return of the Jews from Babylon, and from their general dispersion after they shall be converted to the gospel (vii.).

[It is questionable whether the book of Micah can be separated into distinct discourses uttered at various times. It would rather seem that the prophet ultimately gathered up his oracles into one connected whole; and this we may suppose he did at the close of his ministry in the reign of Hezekiah. The structure is curiously fitted and developed. There are three sections, chaps. i. ii.; iii. — v.; vi., vii. Each begins with the same word שִׁמְעוּ; and each closes with a promise of strength and salvation to God's people. And there is a kind of parallel development. Thus, in the first section, Judah is threatened that the deadly blows which are dealt out on Samaria should reach to the gates of Jerusalem, i. 9, 12. There is also the deliverance promised of the covenant-people from their misery, and a victorious bursting out of captivity, ii. 12. &c. In the second section we find the destruction of Jerusalem with the temple, and the exile of the nation to Babylon solemnly proclaimed, iii. 12, iv. 10; while also positive salvation through the supremacy of Messiah is described, iv. v. The third section is hortatory both in its threatenings and promises.[1]

Jahn makes the following enumeration of the most remarkable predictions contained in this book[2]: "(1.) The overthrow not only of the kingdom of Israel, which was near at hand, but also of Judah, and the destruction of Jerusalem, iii. 12., vii. 13. (2.) The carrying away of the Jews to Babylonia, iv. 10, 11., vii. 7, 8, 13. This event took place almost 150 years after Micah's time; and the Chaldeans, who were to be the instruments in effecting it, had not arisen, in the prophet's age, to any distinction among the nations. (3.) The return from exile, the restoration of Jerusalem, the re-building of the temple, its celebrity, the perseverance of the nation in the worship of Jehovah, and the peaceful period under the Persian and Grecian governments; all of which events were from 200 to 500 years distant from the prophet, iv. 1—8., vii. 11, 14—17. (4.) The still more

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 94.

[2] Introduction to the Old Test. transl. by Turner and Whittingham, part ii. sect. ii. chap. ii. § 97. p. 333.

remote wars of the Maccabees, iv. 13. (5.) The restoration of the royal residence in Zion, iv. 8. (6.) The coming of a king of the family of David from Bethlehem v. 2. The three last predictions, inasmuch as they relate to a very remote period, are involved in some degree of obscurity."]

IV. The book of Micah, who (we have seen) was the contemporary of Isaiah, contains a summary of the prophecies delivered by the latter concerning the Messiah and the final return of the Jews. Dr. Hales puts together v. 2., iii. 3., and iv. 4, and remarks:

"This prophecy consists of four parts, 1. The human birth-place of Christ. 2. His eternal generation. 3. His temporary desertion of the Jews, until his miraculous birth of the Virgin; after which they are to return with the true Israelites. 4. His spiritual and universal dominion."

The application of the first part of this prophecy was decided at the time of our Saviour's birth, by the most respectable Jewish synod that ever sat, convened by Herod, to determine from prophecy the birth-place of the Messiah, which they agreed to be *Bethlehem*, upon the authority of Micah, which they cited. Their citation, of the first part only, is given by the evangelist Matthew, in an improved translation of the original.

Matt. ii. 6. "And thou *Bethlehem*, territory of *Judah*,
Art by no means least among the *captains of Judah*;
From thee shall issue THE LEADER,
Who shall guide my people, the Israel [of God]."

1. Here the evangelist has removed the ambiguity of the question proposed by the prophet, by supplying the answer in the negative. As in Nathan's prophecy, *Shalt thou build me a house?* (2 Sam. vii. 5.), the parallel passage answers in the negative, *Thou shalt not build me a house* (1 Chron. xvii. 4.).

2. He has supplied a chasm in the Masoretic text, of נָגִיד, an usual epithet of the Messiah (1 Chron. v. 2.; Isai. lv. 4.; Dan. ix. 25.), usually rendered Ἡγούμενος, *leader*, by the Septuagint, and retained here by the evangelist, as a necessary distinction of his character, as supreme commander, from the *captains of thousands* styled ἡγεμόσι, judiciously substituted for *the thousands* themselves in Micah, to mark the analogy more correctly.

3. He has also determined the *pastoral* nature of the Messiah's "rule" by the verb ποιμανεῖ, "shall guide as a *shepherd*," afterwards intimated by Micah, וְרָעָה, καὶ ποιμανεῖ, as there rendered by the Septuagint. For he is *the shepherd of Israel* (Gen. xlix. 24.; Psal. lxxx. 1.), *the chief shepherd* (1 Pet. v. 4.), and *the good shepherd* (John x. 14.), who appointed his apostles to *guide* and *pasture* his *sheep* (John xxi. 16.).

4. The *human* birth of the Messiah is carefully distinguished by Micah from his *eternal* generation, in the parenthetical clause, which strongly resembles the account of the primeval birth of Wisdom (Prov. viii. 22—25.).

5. *The* blessed *virgin* of Isaiah's former prophecy (vii. 14.) is evidently alluded to by Micah, and also the *return of the remnant* of the

Jews (Isai. x. 20, 21.), and the final *peace* of his kingdom (Isai. ix. 6, 7.).

This prophecy of Micah is, perhaps, the most important single prophecy in the Old Testament, and the most comprehensive, respecting the personal character of the MESSIAH, and his successive manifestation to the world. It forms, therefore, the basis of the New Testament, which begins with his human birth at Bethlehem, the miraculous circumstances of which are recorded in the introductions of Matthew's and Luke's Gospels; his eternal generation, as the Oracle or Wisdom, in the sublime introduction of John's Gospel; his prophetic character, and second coming, illustrated in the four Gospels and Epistles, ending with a prediction of the speedy approach of the latter in the Apocalypse (Rev. xxii. 20.).[1]

V. "The style of Micah is, for the most part, forcible, pointed, and concise, sometimes approaching the obscurity of Hosea; in many parts animated and sublime, and in general truly poetical."[2] His tropes are very beautiful, and varied according to the nature of the subject.[3]

SECTION XIII.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET NAHUM.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Scope and synopsis of its contents.*—III. *Observations on its style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 720—698.

I. NAHUM, the seventh of the minor prophets, is supposed to have been a native of Elkosh or Elkosha, a village in Galilee. There is very great uncertainty concerning the precise time when he lived; some making him contemporary with Jotham, others with Manasseh, and others with Josiah. The most probable opinion is that which places him between the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities, about the year 715 before the Christian era; and, as the design of this prophet is to denounce ruin upon Nineveh and the Assyrians, for their cruel tyranny over the Israelites, and as the captivity of the ten tribes took place in the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel (2 Kings xvii. 6, &c. compared with 2 Kings xviii. 9—11.), it is most likely that Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians for the comfort of the people of God towards the close of Hezekiah's reign, and not long after the subversion of the kingdom of Israel by Shalmaneser.

[There is an Assyrian Elkosh not very far from Nineveh; and some suppose that Nahum, a Hebrew exile, dwelt there. But the

[1] Dr. Hales, Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 462, 463., or pp. 423—426. (edit. 1830). [Hales's arrangement is hardly to be justified: his expressions also are somewhat extravagant. Comp. Henderson, Minor Prophets, note on v. 1.]
[2] Lowth, Lectures, vol. ii. p. 98.
[3] See Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Micah.

probabilities are against the supposition. Still more baseless is the attempt to connect Nahum with Capernaum, כְּפַר נָחוּם. It is likely that he prophesied in Judah; in support of which, Henderson traces the resemblance of a number of phrases to passages in Isaiah (comp. i. 8. with Isai. viii. 8.; i. 9. with Isai. x. 23.; ii. 11. (E. V. 10.) with Isai. xxiv. 1. and xxi. 3.; ii. 1. (E. V. i. 15.) with Isai. lii. 7.); the inference being that Nahum must have been in Isaiah's neighbourhood to have thus borrowed from him.[1]

In i. 1. are two inscriptions: De Wette[2] and others consider "The burden of Nineveh" a later addition. Keil, however, defends its genuineness, and maintains that the one title is necessary to designate the contents, the other the form of the prophecy.[3]

As to the date of this book, as Nahum seems to refer to the invasion of Sennacherib historically (*e. g.* Judah had heard the voice of the Assyrian messengers, ii. 13.; but the enemy should not oppress a second time, ibid. i. 9, 12.), it is probable that the prophecy was uttered soon after the destruction of the Assyrian host.

It has been alleged that the diction indicates a late character. Thus Ewald instances הֻצַּב ii. 8. and טִפְסָר and מִנְּזָר, iii. 17. as Assyrian words.[4] But, as Keil replies, there is no ground for supposing the first of these to be the name of an Assyrian queen, as Ewald imagines: the use of the second may be accounted for by the Assyrian invasion; and, as to the last, its Assyrian origin is very questionable. The employment of some other expressions may be explained by the fact that the prophet was from Galilee.[5]]

II. The scope of this prophecy is to denounce the certain and imminent destruction of the Assyrian empire, and particularly of the inhabitants of its metropolis Nineveh; who, after a transient repentance in consequence of Jonah's preaching, had relapsed into their former sins, which they even aggravated by their wickedness. With this denunciation, the prophet introduces consolation for his countrymen, whom he encourages to trust in God.

His prophecy is one entire poem, which, opening with a sublime description of the justice and power of God tempered by long-suffering and goodness (i. 1—8.), speaks of the destruction of Sennacherib's forces, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire (9—12.), together with the deliverance of Hezekiah and the death of Sennacherib (13—15.). The destruction of Nineveh is then predicted, and described with singular minuteness (ii. iii.).[6] This prophecy, archbishop Newcome observes, was highly interesting to the Jews, as the Assyrians had often ravaged their country, and had recently destroyed the kingdom of Israel.

III. In boldness, ardour, and sublimity, Nahum is superior to all

[1] The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, Pref. to Nahum.
[2] Einleitung, § 241.
[3] Einleitung § 96. p. 345.; comp. Hävernick, Einleitung, § 250. II. ii. pp. 370, 371.
[4] Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. p, 350.
[5] Keil, Einleitung, § 95. pp. 344, 345.
[6] The best commentary, perhaps, on this prophet is the ninth of bishop Newton's Dissertations (vol. i. pp. 141—158.); in which he has ably illustrated the predictions of Nahum and other prophets who foretold the destruction of Nineveh.

the minor prophets. His language is pure; and the exordium of his prophecy, which forms a regular and perfect poem, is not merely magnificent, it is truly majestic. The preparation for the destruction of Nineveh, and the description of its downfall and desolation, are expressed in the most vivid colours, and with images that are truly pathetic and sublime.[1] [He appears occasionally to refer to the Pentateuch. Comp. i. 2, 3. with Exod. xx. 5., xxxiv. 6, 7, 14.; Numb. xiv. 18.]

SECTION XIV.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HABAKKUK.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Analysis of his prophecy.*—III. *Observations on his style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 612—598, *or perhaps earlier.*

I. WE have no certain information concerning the tribe or birth-place of Habakkuk. The pseudo-Epiphanius affirms that he was of the tribe of Simeon, and was born at Beth-zocher. Some commentators have supposed that he prophesied in Judæa in the reign of Manasseh; but archbishop Ussher places him, with greater probability, in the reign of Jehoiakim. Comp. Hab. i. 5, 6. [So De Wette[2], Ewald[3], and Henderson.[4] Hävernick, hesitating between the time of Josiah and that of Manasseh, decides for the last.[5]] Consequently this prophet was contemporary with Jeremiah. Several apocryphal predictions and other writings are ascribed to Habakkuk, but without any foundation. His genuine writings are comprised in the three chapters which have been transmitted to us; and the subject of them is the same with that of Jeremiah, viz. the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, for the heinous sins of the Jewish people, and the consolation of the faithful amid all their national calamities.

[It is difficult to speak with any certainty of the prophet Habakkuk and the date of his book. Delitzsch, from the subscription in chap. iii. 19., concludes that he was of the tribe of Levi; and Keil assents.[6] It is thought to be some corroboration of this view, that, in an inscription preserved in the Codex Chisianus to the LXX. Bel and the Dragon, we find Ἀμβακοὺμ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευί. But no dependence can be placed on all this.

The date may perhaps be approached with more confidence. According to i. 5, 6., a Chaldean invasion is threatened. It was from a quarter from which danger was not then expected, so that the announcement would not be believed; and yet it was to occur in the

[1] Lowth, Lectures, vol. ii. p. 99.
[2] Einleitung, § 242. p. 330.
[3] Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. pp. 372, 373.
[4] The Book of the Minor Prophets, p. 291.
[5] Einleitung, § 254. II. ii. pp. 383—389.
[6] Keil, Einleitung, § 97. p. 347.

life-time of that generation. This would place the prophet in the reign of Josiah. Again, by comparing ii. 20. with Zeph. i. 7., it is inferred that Habakkuk preceded Zephaniah; and further, from i. 8. with Jer. iv. 13., v. 6., that he delivered his predictions prior to Jeremiah's appearance as a prophet, *i. e.* before the thirteenth year of Josiah. But it can hardly be supposed (comp. iii. 19.) that he prophesied before the beginning of Josiah's reformation, or till (see also ii. 20.) the temple-service was restored.]

II. The prophecy of Habakkuk consists of two parts: the first is in the form of a dialogue between God and the prophet; and the second is a sublime ode or hymn, which was probably intended to be used in the public service.

PART I. *The prophet complaining of the growth of iniquity among the Jews* (i. 1—4.), *God is introduced, announcing the Babylonish captivity as a punishment for their wickedness* (5—11.).

The prophet then humbly expostulates with God for punishing the Jews by the instrumentality of the Chaldæans (12—17., ii. 1.). God replies that he will, in due time, perform his promises to his people, of deliverance by the Messiah (implying also the nearer deliverance by Cyrus) (ii. 2—4.). The destruction of the Babylonish empire is then foretold (5—20.).

PART II. *contains the prayer or psalm of Habakkuk.*

In this prayer he implores God to hasten the deliverance of his people (iii. 1, 2.), and recounts his wonderful works in conducting his people through the wilderness, and giving them possession of the promised land (3—16.); whence he encourages himself and other pious persons to rely upon God for making good his promises to their posterity.

[It must not be supposed that this prophecy was uttered at various times: it forms one whole, describing (i.) the impending judgment, (ii.) the downfall of the enemy of God's church, with (iii.) the answer of that believing church to the two-fold revelation.[1] The strophical arrangement of ii. 6—20. may be observed. The first four stanzas begin with "woe," and end with a verse commencing with כִּי. The fifth has a verse introductory to the "woe."[2]]

III. Habakkuk holds a distinguished rank among the the sacred poets: whoever reads his prophecy must be struck with the grandeur of his imagery and the sublimity of its style, especially of the hymn in the third chapter, which bishop Lowth considers one of the most perfect specimens of the Hebrew ode.[3] Michaelis, after a close examination, pronounces him to be a great imitator of former poets, but with some new additions of his own, which are characterized by brevity, and by no common degree of sublimity. Comp. Hab. ii. 12. with Micah iii. 10., and Hab. ii. 14. with Isai. xi. 9.[4] [Habakkuk is repeatedly referred to in the New Testament. See Rom. i. 17.; Gal. iii. 11.; Heb. x. 38.]

[1] See Keil, Einleitung, § 98. p. 349.
[2] See Smith's Dict. of the Bible, art. Habakkuk.
[[3] Comp. Kitto, Daily Bible Illustrations, Sec. Ser., Week xxvi., Day iv.]
[4] Lowth, Lectures, vol. ii. p. 99.

SECTION XV.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ZEPHANIAH.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Scope and analysis of this book.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 640—609.

I. THIS prophet, who was "the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah" (i. 1.), is supposed to have been of the tribe of Simeon; but, though he has mentioned his ancestors for no less than four generations, nothing certain can be inferred from thence, as to the family to which he belonged. We learn, however, from his prophecy, that he delivered his predictions in the reign of Josiah; consequently he prophesied about the time that Jeremiah entered on his prophetic office, and in method and subject he greatly resembles him.

On this account Zephaniah has been considered as the abbreviator of Jeremiah; but it is evident that he prophesied before Jeremiah, because the latter (Jer. ii. 5, 20, 22.) seems to speak of those abuses as partially removed, which the former (Zeph. i. 4, 5, 9.) describes as existing in the most flagitious extent. From his account of the disorders prevailing in Judah, it is probable that he discharged the prophetic office before the eighteenth year of Josiah; that is, before this prince had reformed the abuses and corruptions of his dominions. The style of Zephaniah is poetical, though it is not characterized by any striking or uncommon beauties.

[There seems no valid reason for doubting that the Hizkiah or Hezekiah from whom Zephaniah descended was the king of that name. This will explain the length of the genealogy given, greater than in the case of any other prophet. The distance of time is amply sufficient for the number of generations; especially as Amariah might have been an elder brother of Manasseh. The only objection of any kind of weight is that Hezekiah, wherever elsewhere named, is called "the king."

Zephaniah discharged his prophetic office sometime between the twelfth and eighteenth years of Josiah. Some progress seems to have been made in the work of reformation; but many abuses evidently remained. The argument for a later date of Carpzov, adopted by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Delitzsch, and others, that the king's sons (i. 8.) must have been grown to nearly man's estate and have manifested the evil principles which afterwards ruined them, is not of weight. The expression is used merely to include all classes. Besides, there were probably other kings' sons in Jerusalem as well as the children of Josiah. It must not be assumed that that prince had no brothers. The judgment denounced against Nineveh (ii. 13—15), it may be added, must have been delivered before that city was destroyed, the date of which is generally taken as 625 B.C.

The desolation threatened by Zephaniah is that impending by the Chaldeans: Eichhorn, Hitzig, and others, will have it to be the invasion of the Scythians described by Herodotus, lib. i. 105.[1] A sufficient

[1] See Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. i. p. 361.

answer is that it is by no means certain that the Scythian inroad affected Judah; besides, though Zephaniah i. 7., iii. 15. does not name the enemies intended, yet he describes manifestly the same judgment as Jeremiah iv.—vi., who certainly means the Chaldeans.[1]

Keil gives a list of many places in which Zephaniah seems to have borrowed from, and repeated the utterances of other prophets.[2]]

II. In consequence of the idolatry and other iniquities prevailing in the kingdom of Judah, whose inhabitants had disregarded the denunciations and admonitions of former prophets, Zephaniah was commissioned to proclaim the enormity of their wickedness, and to denounce the imminent desolation that awaited them, to excite them to repentance, to foretell the destruction of their enemies, and to comfort the pious Jews with promises of future blessings.

His prophecy, which consists of three chapters, may be divided into four sections; viz.

1. A denunciation against Judah for their idolatry (i.).
2. Repentance the only means to avert the divine vengeance (ii. 1—3.).
3. Prophecies against the Philistines (ii. 4—7.), Moabites, and Ammonites (8—11.), Ethiopia (12.), and Nineveh (13—15.).
4. The captivity of the Jews by the Babylonians foretold (iii. 1—7.), together with their future restoration and the ultimate prosperous state of the church (8—20.).

[Perhaps it is better with Hävernick[3] to regard this book as a single closely-connected prophecy; as iii. 8. seems especially to refer to ii. 1—3.[4]]

SECTION XVI.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HAGGAI.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Argument and scope.*—III. *Analysis of its contents.*—IV. *Observations on its style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 520—518.

I. Nothing is certainly known concerning the tribe or birth-place of Haggai, the tenth in order of the minor prophets, but the first of the three who were commissioned to make known the divine will to the Jews after their return from captivity. The general opinion, founded on the assertion of the pseudo-Epiphanius, is that he was born at Babylon, and was one of the Jews who returned with Zerubbabel in consequence of the edict of Cyrus. The same author affirms that he was buried at Jerusalem among the priests; whence some have conjectured that he was of the family of Aaron. The times of his predictions, however, are so distinctly marked by himself, that we have as much certainty on this point as we have with respect to any of the prophets.

[1] Keil, Einleitung, §§ 99, 100. [2] Ibid. § 99.
[3] Einleitung, § 255. II..ii. pp. 391, 392.
[4] Compare, for an account of Zephaniah and his book, Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Zephaniah.

[Ewald is inclined to believe, from ii. 3., that Haggai was one of the few remaining fathers who had seen the first temple.[1] The supposition is not unlikely. For that of the Talmud, that he was a member of the Great Synagogue, there is less probability.[2] Lord A. Hervey adduces reasons, from similarity of style, diction, &c., for believing that Haggai wrote Ezra iii. 2—vi. 22. with the exception of iv. 6—23.[3]]

II. The Jews, who were released from captivity in the first year of the reign of Cyrus (Ezra i. 1, &c.), having returned to Jerusalem and commenced the re-building of the temple (Ezra ii. iii.), were interrupted by the neighbouring satraps, who prejudiced the Persian monarchs (Cambyses, and the pseudo-Smerdis) against them (Ezra iv. 1. with 24.) until the second year of Darius. Discouraged by these impediments, the people ceased, for fourteen years, to prosecute the erection of the second temple, as if the time were not yet come, and applied themselves to the building of their own houses; but God, disposing that sovereign to renew the decree of Cyrus, raised up the prophet Haggai about the year 520 before Christ; and, in consequence of his exhortations, they resumed the work, which was completed in a few years.

Further, in order to encourage them to proceed in this undertaking, the prophet assured them that the glory of this latter house should far exceed the glory of the former.

III. This book comprises four distinct discourses, viz.

1. The delay of the people in re-building the temple was the reason why they were punished with great drought (i. 1—12.). Encouragement to undertake the work (13—15.).

2. Promise that the glory of the second temple should surpass that of the first (ii. 1—9.). This was fulfilled by Christ honouring the second temple with his presence. See Luke xix. 47., xx. 1., xxi. 38.; John xviii. 20.[4]

3. Censure of the legal righteousness by which the people were deprived of a blessing (ii. 10—19.).

4. The setting up of the kingdom of Messiah under the name of Zerubbabel ii. (20—23.).

IV. The style of this prophet is for the most part plain and prosaic, and vehement when he reproves; it is, however, interspersed with passages of much sublimity and pathos when he treats of the advent of the Messiah, whom he emphatically terms "the desire of all nations."

[Though Haggai's style is prosaic, he occasionally uses parallelism, as in i. 6, 9, 10., ii. 6, 8, 22. He frequently introduces interrogatories, as in i. 4, 9., ii. 3, 12, 13, 19. A favourite expression is שִׂימוּ לְבַבְכֶם, i. 5, 7., ii. 15, 18.

It is more than doubtful whether the phrase "the desire of all nations" (ii. 7.), was intended to refer to Christ. The Vulgate translates *desideratus cunctis gentibus;* and hence the idea has become current. But the original will hardly bear it. The verb is plural, and can be

[1] Die Propheten des A. B., vol. ii. p. 516. [2] Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Haggai.
[3] See Smith's Dict. of the Bible, art. Ezra, Book of.
[4] W. Lowth's Commentary on Haggai.

properly construed with a singular noun, חֶמְדַּת, only when it is a noun of multitude. Hence, the LXX. render, τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, "the choice of all nations." All shall be shaken or fear; but the choicest, the best, shall come to give honour to God. So Ewald, Die liebsten aller Völker kommen.[1] Also Dr. Moore, "And the beauty of all the nations shall come." Dr. Moore examines this passage at length, and adduces several strong reasons against the common interpretation.[2]]

SECTION XVII.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Analysis of its contents.*—III. *Observations on its style.*—IV. *The last six chapters proved to be genuine.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 520—518.

I. The names of Zechariah's father and grandfather are specified (Zech. i. 1.); and he was one of the captives who returned to Jerusalem in consequence of the decree of Cyrus. [In Ezra v. 1. and vi. 14. he is called the son of Iddo; the word *son* being frequently used in an extended signification. If, as is very probable, the Iddo named Neh. xii. 4. be the prophet's grandfather, Zechariah was of a priestly family. It is likely that he himself is meant, Neh. xii. 16.] As he opened his prophetic commission in the eighth month of the second year of Darius the son of Hystaspes, that is, about B.C. 520, he was contemporary with Haggai. From ii. 4. we may believe that he was called to the prophetic ministry when young.

II. This prophecy consists of two parts: the first concerns the events then taking place, viz. the restoration of the temple, interspersing predictions relative to the advent of the Messiah. The second comprises prophecies relative to more remote events, particularly the coming of Jesus Christ, and the war of the Romans against the Jews.

Part I. *contains the prophecies delivered in the second year of Darius* (i.—vi.).

1. Exhortation to the Jews to guard against the sins of their ancestors (i. 1—6.). Promises to encourage them in their work; which point also to the times of Messiah (i. 7—ii. 13.).

2. Under the type of Joshua the high-priest clothed with new sacerdotal attire, is set forth the glory of Christ as the chief corner-stone of his church (iii.).

3. Under the vision of the golden candlestick and two olive-trees is represented the success of Zerubbabel and Joshua in re-building the temple and restoring its service (iv.).

4. Under the vision of a flying roll, quick judgments are denounced

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[1] Die Propheten des A. B., vol. ii. p. 520.

[2] The Prophets of the Restoration, or Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. New York, 1856. Comm. on Haggai ii. 7. pp. 75, &c. Comp. Henderson, The Minor Prophets, note *in loc.*

against robbery and perjury, transgression of both tables of the law (v. 1—4.); threatening of a second captivity (5—11.).

5. Under the vision of the chariots may be represented the four empires (vi. 1—8.), and, by the two crowns on the head of Joshua, the re-establishment of the civil and religious polity of the Jews under Zerubbabel and Joshua, and the high-priesthood and kingdom of Christ, both king and high-priest of the church of God (9—15.).

PART II. *Prophecies delivered in the fourth year of the reign of Darius* (vii.—xiv.).

1. Some Jews having been sent to Jerusalem from the exiles at Babylon, to inquire of the priests and prophets whether they were bound to observe the fasts that had been instituted on account of the destruction of Jerusalem (vii. 1—3.), the prophet enforces on them the weightier matters of the law, viz. judgment and mercy, lest the same calamities should befall them which had been inflicted upon their fathers (4—14.). God promises the continuance of his favour (viii. 1—8.), encourages them to go on with the building (9—17.), and permits them to discontinue the observance of the fasts (18—23.).

2. Predictions of the conquest of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, by Alexander the Great (ix. 1—7.), and of the watchful providence of God over his temple in those times (8.); the advent of Christ (9, 10.) (Comp. with Matt. xxi. 5., and John xii. 15.); the conquests of the Jews, particularly of the Maccabees, over the princes of the Grecian monarchy (11—17.). Prosperity is further promised (x. 1—3.); and their victories are again foretold (4—12.). It is probable that this prophetic discourse remains to be fully accomplished in the final restoration of the Jews.

3. The rejection of the Jews for their rejection of Messiah (xi.) (Comp. Matt. xxvi. 14, 15., and xxvii. 3—10., with Zech. xi. 11—13.). The Jews themselves have expounded this prophecy of the Messiah.

4. A series of prophecies, relating principally to the times of the gospel. The former part (xii. 1—9.) announces the preservation of Jerusalem against an invasion. The grief of the Jews, for their fathers having crucified the Messiah, is then foretold (10—14.), as also the crucifixion itself, and the general conversion of the Jews (xiii.). The destruction of their enemies is again foretold (xiv. 1—15.); and the final conversion of all nations to the gospel, and the prosperity of the church (16—21.).[1]

[Much difference of opinion exists as to the interpretation of many parts of this prophet's book, for which the student must consult the commentators.]

III. Zechariah's style, like that of Haggai, is for the most part prosaic, though more obscure towards the beginning on account of his types and visions. But the difficulties arising from his alleged obscurity may be accounted for by the fact, "that some of his predictions relate to matters which are still involved in the womb of futurity: no wonder, then, that these fall not within the reach of our perfect comprehension. Others there are which, we have good reason to believe, have already been fulfilled, but do not appear with such a degree of evidence, as they probably would have done, if we had been better informed concerning the times and facts to which they relate. With respect to the emblems and types that are exhibited,

[1] Keil divides the book into three parts, I. i.—vi.; II. vii. viii.; III. 1. ix.—xi., 2. xii.—xiv. Comp. Moore, The Prophets of the Restoration, Zechariah.

they are most of them of easy and determinate application. And, in favour of the importance of his subject-matter, it must be acknowledged that, next to Isaiah, Zechariah is the most evangelical of all the prophets, having more frequent and more clear and direct allusions to the character and coming of the Messiah, and his kingdom, than any of the rest . . . the latter chapters, in particular, rising to a degree of elevation and grandeur scarcely inferior to the sublimest of the inspired writings."[1]

IV. The diversity of style observable in the writings of this prophet has induced many modern critics to conclude that the last six chapters could not have been written by Zechariah; but their objections, however formidable in appearance, admit of an easy and satisfactory solution.

1. It is alleged that the evangelist Matthew (xxvii. 9.) cites a passage now found in Zech. xi. 13. as spoken, not by Zechariah, but by Jeremiah. But on this topic see above, p. 133, note.[2]

2. It is urged that many things are mentioned in these chapters, which by no means correspond with Zechariah's time; as when events are foretold, which had actually taken place before that time. But it may be questioned whether those subjects of prophecy have been rightly understood, and whether that, which has been construed as having reference to past transactions, may not in reality terminate in others of a later period, and some perhaps which are yet for to come.

3. Another argument is drawn from chap. xi., which contains a prophecy of the destruction of the temple and people of the Jews; a prophecy, "which (it has been said) is not agreeable to the scope of Zechariah's commission, who, together with his colleague Haggai, was sent to encourage the people, lately returned from captivity, to build their temple, and to restore their commonwealth." This, it is granted, was the general scope of Zechariah's commission in the first eight chapters; nor would it have been a fit time to foretell the destruction of both the temple and the commonwealth, while they were but yet building. But, between the date of these first chapters and that of the succeeding ones, many circumstances might have occurred, and certainly did occur, to give rise to a commission of a very different complexion from the foregoing. The former are expressly dated in the second and fourth years of the reign of Darius; to the latter no date at all is annexed. Darius is supposed to have reigned thirty-six years; and the Jews have a tradition that the three prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, did not die before the last year of that king's reign. Admitting, then, Zechariah to have prophesied again towards the close of his life, he may well be supposed to have published without any incongruity, after such an interval, what would not altogether have accorded with the period and purport of his first commission. And, as there is good reason to believe that this was the case, so upon this ground we may also not improbably conclude him to have been that very Zechariah of whom our Saviour

[1] Dr. Blayney's Translation of Zechariah, Prel. Disc. pp. xv. xvi.
[2] Comp. Moore, The Prophets of the Restoration, pp. 211, 212, 260—263.

spake (Matt. xxiii. 35.) as slain between the temple and the altar. For he was, according to our Saviour's description, the son of Barachias, and comes in — where, from what is said of him, he might naturally be expected — at the close of that series of prophets (for there were none after him until the coming of Christ), who were put to death in the faithful discharge of their duty. That he was become obnoxious to his countrymen may be collected from chap. xi. 8. And, if the records of the Old Testament are silent concerning his death, let it be remembered that it was a very small part of them, if any, that was written after that event.

4. Lastly, upon the same supposition, the allowed difference of style and manner may be accounted for, not only as arising from the diversity of the subject, but from the different age of the author; who may well be credited to have written with more dignity in his advanced years, than when he was but a youth, as he is said to be in chap. ii. 4.

Upon the whole this conclusion may be drawn; that, setting aside the doubtful authority of St. Matthew's text, there is nothing else to be found sufficient to invalidate the title of Zechariah to the chapters in question [1]; and, consequently, that they were not written *by* Jeremiah, as Mede, Dr. Hammond, and others have supposed, nor *before* the time of that prophet, as archbishop Newcome conjectured; whose opinion was adopted by archbishop Secker, and also by Doederlein.

[It is a difficult matter to decide whether the later chapters of this book (ix.—xiv.), proceed from the author of the earlier part. De Wette has supplied lists of critics who have adopted opposite views, and has exhibited the arguments chiefly relied on as proofs that Zechariah did not write these chapters.

They are the following: In the former parts of the book symbolism is largely employed; here we have scarcely a trace of it: the former chapters are prosaic; while the later exhibit poetry and rhythm. In the earlier portion we have introductory formulas, i. 1, 7., iv. 8., vi. 9., vii. 1., viii. 1, 18.; which are varied afterwards, as in ix. 1., xi. 4., xii. 1.; and in these later ones the name of the prophet never occurs.[2] The historical position seems also to be different. For Damascus, Tyre, Philistia (ix. 1—6.), Javan (ix. 13.), Assyria and Egypt (x. 10, &c.), are described as the enemies of Judah; a subsisting division of the two kingdoms is implied (ix. 13., x. 6, &c., xi. 14.), and the continuance of a monarchy (xi. 6., xiii. 7.: comp. xii. 7, &c., 12.). Moreover, the references to idolatry and false prophets (x. 2, &c.; xiii. 2, &c.) are proofs that these chapters must have been composed before the exile.[3] It must be added that

[1] Dr. Blayney's Translation of Zechariah, pp. 35—37. The genuineness of the latter part of the prophecy of Zechariah is satisfactorily proved, by a minute examination of its language, style, poetical structure, argument, and scope, by Dr. F. B. Koester, in his Meletemata Critica in Zechariæ Prophetæ Partem posteriorem, capp. ix.—xiv. pro tuenda ejus authentiâ. 8vo. Gottingæ, 1819. See also Dr. Hengstenberg's Dissertations on the Genuineness of Daniel, and the Integrity of Zechariah, translated by the Rev. B. P. Pratten. Edinburgh, 1848, 8vo.

[2] In Amos the introductory formulæ exhibit considerable variation. Yet that prophet is not dismembered on this account.

[3] De Wette, Einleitung, § 250. b.

there is a more archaic cast of style in the later portions than in the earlier part of the book.

It would be unfair to deny these arguments considerable weight. But perhaps the citation (Matt. xxvii. 9.) of Jeremiah, where we should have expected Zechariah[1], has given them to many minds a force which they would not otherwise have had. It may be well to observe that, though many critics agree in denying chaps. ix.—xiv. to be Zechariah's, they vary most remarkably in their appropriation of the chapters in question. Thus Newcome places ix.—xi. before the captivity of the ten tribes, and xii.—xiv. after Isaiah, and prior to the fall of Jerusalem. Flügge believes that he has discovered nine different fragments, which he assigns to various times and authors, chap. ix., for instance, to the Zechariah mentioned 2 Chron. xxvi. 5. De Wette enumerates several other conjectures.[2] Commentators and critics ought to learn caution from facts of this kind.

It is a most formidable objection to the dismembering of this book that Zechariah lived not very long before the closing of the canon. His writings must have been fresh in men's minds at the time; and they could scarcely have ascribed to one who had but just passed from among them the utterances of seers some centuries before.

Further, we find the unusual expression, מֵעֹבֵר וּמִשָּׁב, in both portions, vii. 14, and ix. 8.; הֶעֱבִיר, in the sense of "to remove," iii. 4., xiii. 2. (comp. 2 Chron. xv. 8.); the symbolical description of Divine Providence, as "the eyes of God," iii. 9., iv. 10., ix. 1, 8.; the peculiarity of comprehending the whole in its part, v. 4., xiii. 1, 3.; the describing of the theocracy as the "house of Judah and Israel," as "Ephraim," or "Joseph," i. 12., ii. 2, 16. (i. 19., ii. 12, E. V.), viii. 15., ix. 13., x. 6., xi. 14, &c. Further, there are passages bearing a close resemblance, ii. 14. (10 E. V.), and ix. 9.; similar terms of expression in ii. 13, 15. (9, 11, E. V.), and xi. 11.; the same manner in viii. 14. and xiv. 5. Purity of language is evidently sought; and yet Chaldaisms not unfrequently occur; as צָבָה for צָבָא, ix. 8.; רָאֲמָה for רָמָה, xiv. 10.; בָּחַל, xi. 8.; מִלֵּא קֶשֶׁת for דָּרַךְ קֶשֶׁת, ix. 13. The *scriptio plena* דָּוִיד is found xii. 7. and elsewhere.

In both portions, also, there are allusions to previous writers: thus comp. iii. 8. and vi. 12. with Isai. iv. 2, Jer. xxiii. 5. and xxxiii. 15.; iii. 10., with Micah iv. 4.; vi. 13, with Psal. cx. 4.; vii. 14. and ix. 8. with Ezek. xxxv. 7.; xi. 3., with Jer. xii. 5., xlix. 19., l. 44.; ix. 10. with Psal. lxxii. 8.; xiii. 2. with Hos. ii. 19. (17. E. V.); xi. 4, 5. with Jer. l. 6, 7., Ezek. xxxiv. 4.; ix. 5. with Zeph. ii. 4.; xiii. 8, 9. with Ezek. v. 12.; xiv. 8. with Ezek. xlvii. 1—12.; xiv. 10, 11. with Jer. xxxi. 38—40.; xiv. 20, 21. with Ezek. xliii. 12., xliv. 9.; xiv. 16—19. with Isai. lxvi. 23. and lx. 12.[3]

Historical references are also said to show that the later chapters were composed after the captivity. Some of these, it must be acknowledged, cannot be relied on. But ix. 12., x. 6. may seem to pre-suppose the destruction of the monarchy; xii. 11. alludes to Josiah's death; and in xii. 7, 8, 12., xiii. 1. the house of David is

[1] See before, pp. 133, 882.
[2] Einleitung, § 250. b.
[3] See De Wette, ibid.; Keil, Einleitung, §§ 103, 105.

spoken of as not actually reigning, but to be thereafter restored to pre-eminence and power.[1]

An ingenious but gratuitous supposition has been made that another Zechariah, possibly the one mentioned Isai. viii. 2., was the author of the later chapters. But in the absence of all proof it will not do to assume this as a fact. The limits of this volume prevent the fuller discussion of the matter in this place: the editor, after weighing the various arguments as diligently as he can, can only express, though with diffidence, his belief that the whole book flowed from one pen, and must refer the student to authors who have more largely treated the question.[2]]

SECTION XVIII.

ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET MALACHI.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Occasion and scope of his prophecy.*—III. *Analysis of its contents.*—IV. *Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 436—420.

I. CONCERNING Malachi, the last of the minor prophets (which name signifies *my angel* or *my messenger*), so little is known, that it has been doubted whether his name be a proper name, or only a generic name, signifying the angel of the Lord, a messenger, a prophet. From a comparison of Haggai (i. 13.) with Malachi (iii. 1.), it appears that in those times the appellation of *Malach-Jehovah*, or the messenger of the Lord, was given to the prophets. The Septuagint translators have rendered Malachi *his angel* instead of *my angel*, as the original imports; and several of the fathers have quoted Malachi under the name of the angel of the Lord. Origen entertained the extravagant notion that Malachi was an angel incarnate sent from God. Calmet, after Jerome and some other ancient writers, thinks that Malachi was the same person as Ezra, who wrote the canonical book that passes under his name, and was governor of the Jews after their return from the captivity. As he revised the holy scriptures, and collected the canon of the Old Testament, and performed various other important services to the Jewish church, Ezra has been considered both by ancient Jewish, and also by the early Christian writers, as a very extraordinary person sent from God; and therefore they thought him very appropriately denominated Malachi; but for these opinions there is no foundation whatever.

It is certain that Malachi was a distinct person from Ezra, and (as Rosenmüller observes) the whole argument of his book proves that

[1] Keil, Einleitung, § 105. It will be observed that some of these texts are appealed to by critics who take opposite views — a proof of the difficulty of forming a decided judgment.

[2] See Hävernick, Einleitung, §§ 263, 264. II. ii. pp. 413—426.; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Zechariah, 5.; Henderson, The Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, Pref. to Zechariah; Moore, The Prophets of the Restoration, pp. 209—216.

he flourished after the return from the captivity. That he was contemporary with Nehemiah was the unvarying opinion of the ancients, and is placed beyond all doubt by the subject of the book, which presents the same aspect of things as in Nehemiah's time. Thus, it speaks of the temple, as having been built a considerable time; it introduces the Jews as complaining of the unfavourable state of their affairs; it finds fault with the heathen wives, whom Nehemiah after some time separated from the people (Neh. xiii. 23—30.); it censures the withholding of tithes, which was also noticed by Nehemiah (xiii. 5.).[1] From all these circumstances it appears that Malachi prophesied while Nehemiah was governor of Judæa, more particularly after his second coming from the Persian court; and he appears to have contributed the weight of his exhortations to the restoration of the Jewish polity, and the final reform established by that pious and excellent governor. Archbishop Newcome supposes this prophet to have flourished about the year 436 before the Christian era; but Dr. Kennicott places him about the year 420 before Christ; which date is adopted by Dr. Hales, as sufficiently agreeing with the description of Josephus and the varying dates of chronologers.[2] [It would seem from i. 10. iii. 1. that the temple-worship was observed at the time.]

II. The Jews, having re-built the temple and re-established the worship of Jehovah, after the death of Zerubbabel and Joshua relapsed into their former irreligion in consequence of the negligence of the priests. Although they were subsequently reformed during the governments of Ezra and Nehemiah, yet they fell into gross abuses after the death of Ezra, and during Nehemiah's absence at the court of Persia. The prophet Malachi was therefore commissioned to reprove the priests and people, for their irreligious practices, and to invite them to repentance and reformation of life by promises of the great blessings that should be bestowed at the advent of the Messiah. [This book is referred to in the New Testament, Matt. xi. 10., xvii. 12.; Mark i. 2, ix. 11, 12.; Luke i. 17.; Rom. ix. 13.]

III. The writings of Malachi, which consist of four chapters, comprise three sections, viz.

1. The Jews having complained that God had shown them no particular kindness, the prophet in reply reminds them of the special favour bestowed upon them; their country being a cultivated land, while that of the Edomites was laid waste, and was to be still farther devastated, by the Persian armies marching through those territories against the revolting Egyptians (i. 1—5.). Malachi then reproves them for not showing due reverence to God (6—10.); for which their rejection is threatened, and the calling of the Gentiles is announced (11.). Divine judgments are threatened against the priests for unfaithfulness (12—ii. 9.).

2. Reproofs for the intermarriages of the people with idolatresses, and divorcing their legitimate wives (ii. 10—16.).

3. Foretells the coming of Christ, and his forerunner John the Baptist, under the name of Elias, to purify the priests, and to smite the land with a curse, unless they all repented. Reproofs are interspersed, and the re-

[1] Jahn, Introduction, p. 435.

[2] Archbishop Newcome, Minor Prophets, p. xliii.; Kennicott, Dissertatio Generalis, § 14. p. 6.; Dr. Hales, Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 533., or p. 489. (edit. 1830).

ward of the good and the punishment of the wicked are predicted (ii. 17—iii. 3.). The prophecy concludes with enjoining the strict observance of the law, since they were to expect no prophet until the forerunner already promised should appear in the spirit and power of Elijah, to introduce the Messiah, and commence a new and everlasting dispensation (4—6.). "The great and terrible day of the Lord," in verse 5., denotes the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, A.D. 70.; though this expression may also be applied to the general dissolution of all things, agreeably to the usual mode of speaking among the prophets. Comp. Isai. xiii. 9, 10.[1]

IV. Although the writings of this prophet are almost wholly in prose, yet they are by no means destitute of force and elegance. He reproves the wickedness of his countrymen with great vehemence; and Bishop Lowth observes that his book is written in a kind of middle style, which seems to indicate that the Hebrew poetry, from the time of the Babylonish captivity, was in a declining state, and, being past its prime and vigour, was then fast verging towards the debility of age.[2]

CHAPTER V.

ON THE APOCRYPHA.

[THE limits of this volume render it impossible to discuss at any length the books commonly termed apocryphal. This is, however, perhaps the less necessary, as the author has fully stated in Vol. I.[3] the reasons why these books are excluded from the canon of scripture. The editor, therefore, can only add a few brief observations and references.[4]]

SECTION I.

ON THE FIRST BOOK OF ESDRAS.

IT is not known at what time the first book of Esdras was written: it is extant only in Greek; and in the Alexandrian manuscript it is placed before the canonical book of Ezra, and is there called the first book of Ezra, because the events related in it occurred prior to the return from the Babylonish captivity. In some editions of the Septuagint it is called the *first book of the priest* (meaning Ezra); the authentic book of Ezra being called the second book. In the editions of the Latin Vulgate, previous to the council of Trent, this and the following book are styled the third and fourth books of Esdras; those of Ezra and Nehemiah being entitled the first and second books. The author of this book is not known: it is compiled from those of Ezra and Nehemiah, which, however, it contradicts in many in-

[1] W. Lowth and Reeves, on Malachi.

[2] See Ewald, Die Propheten des A. B. vol. ii. pp. 541—543.; Hävernick, Einleitung, §§ 265, 266. II. ii. pp. 426—434.; Keil, Einleitung, §§ 106, 107. pp. 362—365.; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Malachi.

[3] See Vol. I. pp. 469—511.

[4] For able discussions on the subject, see Smith's Dict. of the Bible, arts. Apocrypha, and Canon of Scripture.

stances. It is chiefly historical, and gives an account of the return from the Babylonish captivity, the building of the temple, and the re-establishment of divine worship. The style is much purer than that of the greater part of the Septuagint version, and is said frequently to approach that of Symmachus, the most elegant of all the Greek translators of the bible. Although this book is often cited by the fathers, it is rejected by Jerome as being spurious; and the church of Rome never recognized its canonical authority: it is not appointed to be read for lessons in the Anglican church. There is a Syriac version of it extant.

[Josephus seems to have made some use of this book: see Antiq. lib. xi. cap. ii. 1. compared with ii. 16, &c.; lib. x. cap. iv. 5. and cap. v. 1, &c. with i. 1, &c. It must therefore have been compiled before Christ. De Wette exhibits the portions of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah to which the contents of this book correspond: he considers it a fragmentary compilation, probably a part of some larger work, and pronounces it of no historical but only of some philological and critical value.[1]]

SECTION II.

ON THE SECOND BOOK OF ESDRAS.

In what language the second book of Esdras was originally written, it seems impossible at this distant period to determine with certainty. Morinus conjectures that it was Hebrew, or perhaps Chaldee, from which it was translated into Greek, and thence into Latin;[2] and this conjecture he grounds upon what he considers to be its evidently Jewish style and phraseology. [This, however, is more than doubtful.] Archbishop Laurence thinks it highly probable that the Latin version was immediately and literally taken from the Greek: it is indisputably of very high antiquity. It is also extant in an Arabic translation, the date of which is unknown, and in an Ethiopic version (where it is called the first book of Esdras), which last cannot be traced higher than the fourth century: both, however, seem to be taken from the Greek, and differ considerably from the Latin version; which last, in the judgment of Dr. Laurence, may be advantageously corrected by the other two. In the Ethiopic version, it is termed the first book of Esdras. Both this and the Arabic versions have only from chap. iii. to chap. xiv. inclusive. The remaining chapters, as found in the Latin Vulgate, have clearly no connection with it, but form two separate apocryphal pieces, and are thus distinguished in almost all the *manuscripts* of the Vulgate, though they are now *printed* as part of the second book of Esdras.[3]

The author is unknown: although he personates Ezra, it is manifest from the style and contents of his book that he lived long after.

[1] Einleitung, §§ 297, 298. pp. 395—397.
[2] Exercitationes Biblicæ, lib. ii. p. 225.
[3] Primi Ezræ Libri Versio Æthiopica. General Remarks, pp. 280, &c.

He pretends to visions and revelations; but they are so fanciful and absurd, that it is clear that the Holy Spirit could have no concern in dictating them. He believed that the day of judgment was at hand, and that the souls of good and wicked men would all be delivered out of hell after it. Numerous rabbinical fables occur, particularly the account of the six days' creation, and the story of Behemoth and Leviathan, two monstrous creatures that are designed as a feast for the elect after the day of resurrection, &c. He says that the ten tribes are gone away into a country which he calls Arsareth (xiii. 40—45.), and that Ezra restored the whole body of the scriptures, which had been entirely lost (xiv. 21.). And he so speaks of Jesus Christ and his apostles, that the gospel itself is scarcely more explicit. On these accounts, and from the numerous vestiges of the language of the New Testament, and especially of the Revelation of St. John, discoverable in this book, Moldenhawer and others conclude that it was written by a converted Jew, in the close of the first or early in the second century, who assumed the name of Esdras or Ezra. But archbishop Laurence considers those passages to be interpolations, and observes that the character which the unknown writer gives of the Messiah is a very different one from what a Christian would have given. He therefore thinks that this book was written by a Jew, who lived before the Christian era; and that, as an authentic record of Jewish opinions on several interesting points almost immediately before the rise of Christianity, it deserves no inconsiderable attention.[1] This book was rejected as apocryphal by Jerome. [For fuller accounts of the third and fourth books of Esdras, the student may consult Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Esdras, Books of; and Smith's Dict. of the Bible, arts. Esdras, First Book of, and Esdras, the Second Book of.]

SECTION III.

ON THE BOOK OF TOBIT.

CONCERNING the author of the book of Tobit, or the time when he lived, we have no authentic information. It professes to relate the history of Tobit and his family, who were carried into captivity to Nineveh by Shalmaneser; but it contains so many rabbinical fables, and allusions to the Babylonian demonology, that many consider it as an ingenious fiction, calculated to form a pious temper, and to teach important duties. From some apparent coincidences between this book and parts of the New Testament, Moldenhawer refers it to the end of the first century; but Jahn and others to about 150 or 200 B.C. According to Jerome, who translated it into Latin, it was originally written in Chaldee by a Babylonian Jew. It was probably begun by Tobit, continued by his son Tobias, and finished by some other individual of the family; after which it was digested into the order in which we now have it. There is a Greek version extant,

[1] Ibid. pp. 309, 310, 320.

much more ancient than Jerome's Latin translation; for it is referred to by Polycarp, Clement of Alexandria, and other fathers. From this Greek version the Syriac translation was made, and also that which is found among the apocryphal books in our English bibles. Although the book of Tobit has always been rejected from the sacred canon, it was cited with respect by the early fathers of the Christian church: the simplicity of its narrative, and the pious lessons it inculcates, have imparted to it much interest.

[There are several texts of this book: as, (1.) Jerome's Latin, rendered from the lost Chaldee; (2.) the Greek text of the LXX by some considered the original; (3.) a revised incomplete Greek text, printed by Tischendorf in 1846; (4.) the Syriac, made from the Greek, in the London Polyglott; (5.) the ante-Hieronymian Latin, published by Sabatier; (6.) the Hebrew text of Sebastian Munster, first printed at Basil in 1542; (7.) the Hebrew of Paulus Fagius, which appeared originally at Constantinople in 1517. There would seem to be much probability that this book was written in Hebrew, perhaps, as De Wette thinks, by a Palestinian Jew.[1] There is an examination of it in the Journal of Sacred Literature[2]; in which the writer exhibits some of the absurdities of the narrative, and decides against its authority and truth. Many of the fathers cite it; but several of the testimonies produced in its favour are worthless. Such is the alleged epistle of Innocent I. to Exuperius of Toulouse.]

SECTION IV.

ON THE BOOK OF JUDITH.

THE book of Judith professes to relate the defeat of the Assyrians by the Jews, through the instrumentality of their country-woman Judith, whose genealogy is recorded in chap. viii.; but so many geographical, historical, and chronological difficulties attend it, that Luther, Grotius, and others, have considered it rather as a parable than a real history. Dr. Prideaux, however, is of opinion that it carries with it the air of a true history in most particulars, except that of the long-continued peace said to have been procured by Judith; which, according to the account given here, must have continued *eighty* years. It has been contended by Heidegger, Moldenhawer, and others, that, if it were a true history, some notice of the victory it records would have been taken by Josephus. Philo is equally silent concerning this book and its author. The time when and the place where he lived are totally unknown. Dr. Prideaux refers it to the time of Manasseh; Jahn to the age of the Maccabees, and thinks it was written to animate the Jews against the Syrians. Grotius refers it to the same period, and believes it wholly a parabolic fiction, written

[1] See De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 309—311. pp. 408—412.; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Tobit, Book of.

[2] Jan. 1858, pp. 373—382. Comp. Whitaker, Disputation on Holy Scripture. Park. Soc. edit. quest. i. chap. x. pp. 80—82.

in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that its design was to confirm the Jews in their hope that God would send them a deliverer. According to him, by Judith is intended Judæa; by Bethulia, the temple or house of God; and, by the sword which went out thence, the prayers of the saints: Nabuchodonosor denotes the devil; Assyria his kingdom, that is, pride: Holofernes means Antiochus Epiphanes, who was the devil's instrument in that persecution, &c. &c. But such conjectures, as an able commentator[1] remarks, however ingenious, are better calculated to exhibit the powers of fancy and the abuse of learning, than to investigate truth, or throw light on what is uncertain and obscure.

The book of Judith was originally written in Chaldee, and translated into Latin. Besides this translation, there are two others, one in Greek, and the other in Syriac: the former is attributed to Theodotion, but is certainly much older, for it is cited by Clement of Rome in his epistle to the Corinthians[2], who flourished sixty years before Theodotion. The Syriac version was made from the Greek; whence also our present English translation was made.[3]

[The Chaldee text does not seem to have been the original: the Greek version, according to De Wette, gives sufficient evidence that it has been rendered from the Hebrew.[4] There are some peculiarities in this Greek translation. No book in the LXX. has so few particles. The Syriac adheres closely to the Greek; and the old Latin, the diction of which is barbarous, is from the same source. The Vulgate of Jerome has additions, transpositions, and omissions. Perhaps he made the old Latin the basis of his work, occasionally consulting the Chaldee. The author was probably a native of Palestine; and the composition may date from the first or second century before Christ. The difficulties in the way of believing it a true history are very great: it must therefore be regarded as a fictitious narrative.[5]]

SECTION V.

ON THE REST OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

"The rest of the chapters of the book of Esther, which are found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee," were originally written in Greek, whence they were translated into Latin, and formed part of the Italic or old Latin version in use before the time of Jerome. Being there annexed to the canonical book, they passed without censure, but were rejected by Jerome in his version, because he confined himself to the Hebrew scriptures; and these chapters never were extant in the Hebrew language. They are evidently the production of a Hellenistic Jew, but are considered both by Jerome and Gro-

[1] Mr. Hewlett, in his Preface to the book of Judith. [2] Epist. i. § 55.

[3] Grotius, Præf. ad Annot. in Libr. Judith, apud Crit. Sacr. tom. v. p. 50.; Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Vet. Test. pp. 155—158.; Dr. Prideaux, Connection, vol. i. pp. 36—40.; Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 554—561. [4] Einleitung, § 308. pp. 405, 406.

[5] See Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Judith; also Journal of Sacred Literature, July, 1856, pp. 342—363.

tius as a work of pure fiction, which was annexed to the canonical book of Esther by way of embellishment.[1]

These additions to the book of Esther are often cited by the fathers of the church; and the council of Trent has assigned them a place among the canonical books.

[The additions to the book of Esther, thrown by Jerome to the end of the book, and placed by Luther among the Apocrypha, comprise: 1. Mordecai's dream, in the LXX. preceding Esth. i. 1., and forming the Vulgate xi. 1—xii. 6. 2. The edict of Haman (mentioned iii. 12, &c.), in the LXX. after iii. 13., in the Vulgate xiii. 1—7. 3. A prayer of Mordecai and Esther, in the LXX. after iv. 17., in the Vulgate xiii. 8—xiv. 19. 4. An embellishment of the scene between Esther and the king, LXX. v. 1, 2., Vulgate xv. 4—19. 5. Mordecai's edict (mentioned viii. 9.), in the LXX. after viii. 12., Vulgate, xvi. 1—25. 6. The interpretation of Mordecai's dream, and the account of the proclamation of the Purim feast in Egypt, in the LXX. and Vulgate after x. 3. These additions are spurious, as appears by their contradicting the genuine text: comp. LXX. i., Vulgate xi. 2., xii. 1, &c. with Esth. ii. 16, 19—22., iii. 1, 4.; LXX. viii. 13, &c., Vulgate xvi. 22. with Esth. ix. 20, 32.; also by the religious tone, which varies from that of the Hebrew book.[2]

There are two Greek texts, a simpler and more ancient, and a revised one with several alterations, first printed by Ussher. It has been imagined, from the subscription appended to the LXX., where it is said that the epistle of Purim had been translated, that there was a Hebrew original; but most probably by this "epistle of Purim," the whole (genuine) book is intended. The additions were therefore from a Greek writer. The translator of the canonical book did not compose them, else he would not have admitted the contradictions already pointed out. Perhaps they are the work of an Egyptian Jew in the second century before Christ. There are many versions extant.[3]]

SECTION VI.

ON THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

"The Wisdom of Solomon" is commonly ascribed to that Hebrew monarch, either because the author imitated his sententious manner of writing, or because he sometimes speaks in his name, the better to recommend his moral precepts. It is, however, certain that Solomon was not the author; for it was never extant in Hebrew, nor received into the Hebrew canon, nor is the style like that of Solomon. Besides, numerous passages are cited in it from Isaiah and Jeremiah;

[1] From the subscription to the book of Esther in the LXX., it seems to have been translated B.C. 163., or, as some compute, 177.; at which time it is probable the apocryphal parts were first interpolated. See before, p. 64., note [*].

[2] De Wette, Einleitung, § 200. p. 269.

[3] Comp. Whitaker. Disputation on Holy Script. Park. Soc edit. quest. i. chap. viii. pp. 71—76.; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Esther, Apocryphal additions to

see also xv. 14., where the author represents his countrymen as being in *subjection to enemies*, whom he describes as being "most foolish, and more miserable than very babes." Whereas Judah and Israel enjoyed the greatest possible prosperity during the reign of Solomon (1 Kings iv. 20, 21, 24, 25.). To which we may add that this book contains several words borrowed from the Grecian games, that were not in use till long after his time; see iv. 2., x. 12. On these accounts, Jerome informs us that several ancient writers of the first three centuries ascribed it to Philo the Jew.[1] Drusius attributes it to another more ancient Philo, who is cited by Josephus[2]; but the Philo of Drusius was a heathen. Bishop Lowth considers this book to be evidently the production of some Hellenistic Jew, by whom it was originally written in Greek. [Eichhorn, Gfrörer, and others have supposed the author to belong to the sect of the Therapeutæ, from what is said in iii. 13, &c., xvi. 28.; but without sufficient reason. Little more can be said than that he was an Alexandrian Jew, living probably in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, B. C. 145—117.[3]]

The book of Wisdom consists of three parts; the *first*, which is written in the name of Solomon, contains a description or encomium of wisdom; by which comprehensive term the ancient Jews understood prudence and foresight, knowledge and understanding, and principally the duties of religion and morality. This division includes the first six chapters. The *second* part points out the source of true wisdom and the means of obtaining it, in the seventh and eighth chapters. In the *third* part, comprising the remainder of the book, the author personifies Solomon, in whose name he introduces a long and tedious prayer or address to the Deity, which treats on a variety of topics, differing from the subject of the two preceding parts; viz. reflections on the history and conduct of the Israelites during their journeyings in the wilderness, and their subsequent proneness to idolatry. Hence he takes occasion to inveigh against idolatry, the origin of which he investigates, and concludes with reflections on the history of the people of God. [Other divisions have been proposed, into two parts, i.—ix., x.—xix.; and into three, i.—v., vi.—ix, x.—xix. The book has also been called incomplete, a collection of various fragments, and interpolated by a Christian hand. But no satisfactory proofs have been produced.[4]]

The style bishop Lowth pronounces to be very unequal. "It is often pompous and turgid, as well as tedious and diffuse, and abounds in epithets, directly contrary to the practice of the Hebrews; it is, however, sometimes temperate, poetical, and sublime."[5] This book has always been admired for the sublime ideas which it contains of the perfections of God, and for the excellent moral tendency of its precepts; on which account some of the ancients styled it *Panaretos*, or the treasury of virtue. Although the fathers of the church, and particularly Jerome, considered it as apocryphal, yet

[1] Præf. in Prov. Sal.

[2] Drusius de Henocho, c. 11.

[3] De Wette, Einleitung, § 314. pp. 415—417.

[4] Ibid. § 313. pp. 414, 415.

[5] Bishop Lowth, Lectures, vol. ii. p. 179.

they recommended its perusal, in consideration of its excellence. The third council of Carthage, held in 397, pronounced it to be a canonical book, under the name of the fourth book of Solomon; and the council of Trent confirmed this decision. Three ancient translations of it are extant, in Syriac, Arabic, and Latin; the last was executed before the time of Jerome, who says that he did not correct it. It is full of barbarisms.

[There are other versions, as the Armenian, which is very faithful. It has been said that this book is cited or alluded to in the New Testament: comp. iii. 7. with Matt. xiii. 43.; ii. 18. with Matt. xxvii. 43.; xiii. 1. with Rom. i. 20.; ix. 13., v. 18, 19., vii. 26., with Rom. xi. 34., Eph. vi. 13, 14, 17., Heb. i. 3.; &c. &c. Some of these must be acknowledged very doubtful[1]; there is nothing, however, incongruous in supposing that a man like St. Paul, versed in all the literature of his time and country, might occasionally adopt the phraseology of this book, just as he has confessedly done of heathen authors. No divine authority is thereby attributed to it. Among the fathers it is said first to be cited by Clement of Rome[2]; but he does not call it scripture. Later writers certainly seem to give it higher honour.[3]]

SECTION VII.

ON THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

"THE Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus," like the preceding, has sometimes been considered as the production of Solomon; whence the council of Carthage deemed it canonical under the title of the fifth book of Solomon; and their decision was adopted by the council of Trent. It is, however, manifest that it was not, and could not, be written by Solomon, because allusion is made (xlvii. 24, 25.) to the captivity; although it is not improbable that the author collected some scattered sentiments ascribed to Solomon, which he arranged with the other materials he had selected for his work. Sonntag is of opinion that this book is a collection of fragments or miscellaneous hints for a large work, planned out and begun, but not completed.[4] Respecting the author we have no information but what we collect from the book itself; and from this it appears that it was written by Jesus the son of Sirach, who had travelled in pursuit of knowledge, and who, according to Bretschneider[5], lived about 180. B.C. This man, being deeply conversant with the Old Testament, and having collected many things from the prophets, blended them, as well as the sentences ascribed to Solomon, with the

[1] See Bp. Cosin, Scholastical Hist. of the Canon, no. xxxvi. pp. 24—26. (edit. Oxford. 1849.).

[2] Epist. i. ad Cor. §§ 3, 27.

[3] Comp. Whitaker, Disp. on Holy Script. quest. i. chapp. vi. xii. pp. 56, 86—90.; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Wisdom of Solomon.

[4] De Jesu Siracidæ Ecclesiastico Commentarius, 4to. Riga, 1792.

[5] Bretschneider, Liber Jesu Siracidæ. Proleg. pp. 10—32. [Comp. De Wette, Einleitung, § 316. pp. 418, 419.]

result of his own observation, and thus endeavoured to produce an ethical treatise that might be useful to his countrymen. [See xii. 8—xiii. 23., xv. 11—20., xvi. 26—xvii. 20., xix. 6—17., xxiii. 16—27, xxvi. 1—18., xxx. 1—13., xxxvii. 27—xxxviii. 15., 24—xxxix. 11.; &c.: comp. also i.—ix. xxiv. with Prov. i.—ix.[1]] This book was written in Hebrew, or perhaps the Syro-Chaldaic dialect then in use in Judæa, and was translated by the author's grandson into Greek, about the year 130. B.C., for the use of the Alexandrian Jews, who were ignorant of the language of Judæa. The translator is said to have been a son of Sirach, as well as his grandfather the author. But this is doubtful.

This book "is a collection, without any definite order, of meditations and proverbs relating to religion, to morals, and to the conduct of human life; generally distinguished by much acuteness of thought, and propriety of diction; and not unfrequently marked by considerable beauty and elegance of expression; and occasionally rising to the sublimest heights of human eloquence."[2] From the great similarity between this book and the Proverbs of Solomon, in sentiments, diction, complexion of the style, and construction of the periods, bishop Lowth is of opinion that the author adopted the same mode of versification which is found in the Proverbs; and that he has performed his translation with such a religious regard to the Hebrew idiom, that, were it literally and accurately to be re-translated, he has very little doubt that, for the most part, the original diction might be recovered.[3]

This book has met with general and deserved esteem in the Western church, and was introduced into the public service by the venerable reformers and compilers of our national liturgy. It may be divided into three parts; the *first* of which (i.—xliii.) contains a commendation of wisdom, and precepts for the regulation of life, that are adapted to persons of all classes and conditions, and of every age and sex. In the *second* part, the author celebrates the patriarchs, prophets, and other distinguished men among the Jews (xliv.—l.). And the *third* part (li.) concludes with a prayer or hymn of the author, and an exhortation to the pursuit of wisdom.

The book of Ecclesiasticus was frequently cited by the fathers of the church under the titles of ἡ Ἰησοῦ Σοφία, *the wisdom of Jesus*, Πανάρετος Σοφία, *wisdom, the treasure of all the virtues*, or Λόγος, *the discourse*. The Latins cite it under the appellation of *Ecclesiasticus*, that is, a book which was read in the churches, to distinguish it from the book of Ecclesiastes. Anciently, it was put into the hands of catechumens, on account of the edifying nature of its instruction: next to the inspired writings, a collection of purer moral precepts does not exist. Besides the Greek copy of this book, and the Latin version, there are two versions of it, one in Syriac, and the other in Arabic: the Latin translation is supposed to have been executed in the first century of the Christian era: it is full of Greek terms, but

[1] De Wette, Einleitung, § 517. p. 420.
[2] Christian Remembrancer, May 1827, p. 262. Comp. Addison, Spectator, No. 68.
[3] Bishop Lowth, Lectures, vol. ii. p. 177.

differs widely from the present Greek of Ecclesiasticus. "The authorized English version of this treatise appears to have been made from the Greek text, as exhibited in the Complutensian Polyglott, a text which has, not without reason, been suspected of having been made conformable in many places to the Vulgate. A new translation, made immediately from the Vatican or Alexandrian text, would exhibit this treatise to us in a purer form."[1]

[For some examples of the phraseology, which prove that the original was Hebrew, and for a table of the different arrangements of various sections of this book according to the Vatican, Alexandrian and Aldine, and the Complutensian, Paris, and Antwerp texts, the student may consult De Wette.[2]

It is said that this book is cited by Ignatius and by Clement of Rome; but this is not true. Ignatius certainly does not allude to it[3]; and no citation has been discovered in Clement. Later fathers have repeatedly referred to it. Allusions have been supposed in the New Testament: *e. g.* James i. 19., to Ecclus. v. 10, 11.; but these are questionable.

The Talmud speaks of a work of Jesus Ben Sira, and reckons it among the כְּתוּבִים, or hagiographa; and there are still extant two alphabetical collections of proverbs under the same name. But it can hardly be supposed that the author of these was identical with the author of Ecclesiasticus.[4]]

SECTION VIII.

ON THE BOOK OF BARUCH.

THE book of Baruch is not extant in Hebrew, and only in Greek and Syriac; but in what language it was originally written it is now impossible to ascertain. It is equally uncertain by whom this book was written, and whether it contains any matters historically true, or whether the whole is a fiction. Grotius is of opinion that it is an entire fiction, and that it was composed by some Hellenistic Jew under the name of Baruch. In the Vulgate version it is placed after the Lamentations of Jeremiah; but it was never considered as a canonical book by the Jews, though, in the earliest ages of Christianity, it was cited and read as a production entitled to credit.

[Critics do not agree as to whether the whole of this book proceeded from the same author. De Wette argues for the unity of the whole, and is probably right. It would seem most likely that it was originally written in Hebrew; and Hitzig has conjectured that one person translated it and the book of Jeremiah into Greek.[5]

[1] Christian Remembrancer, vol. ix. p. 263.
[2] Einleitung, §§ 317, 318. pp. 420, 421.
[3] It is cited in an epistle ad Heronem, once ascribed to Ignatius, but which every one now knows to be spurious.
[4] Comp. De Wette, Einleitung, § 319. pp. 422—424.; see also Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach; and Smith's Dict. of the Bible, art. Ecclesiasticus.
[5] See Fritzsche, Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apocr. des A. T., Das Buch Baruch, Einleitung, § 5. p. 173.

Sufficient proofs have been produced against its truthfulness. The name of Baruch is mentioned in the list of canonical books of scripture approved in the council of Laodicea; but, according to bishop Cosin, not this apocryphal work is thereby meant, but "those passages of him which are comprehended in the book of Jeremy."[1]]

The principal subject of the book is an epistle, pretended to be sent by Jehoiachin and the captive Jews in Babylon to their brethren in Judah and Jerusalem. The last chapter contains an epistle which falsely bears the name of Jeremiah. There are two versions of this book extant, in Syriac and in Arabic; the Latin translation in the Vulgate is prior to the time of Jerome. There is another revised Latin version.

[The apocryphal additions to Daniel, viz., the Song of the Three Children, the History of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon, have already been noticed.[2]]

SECTION IX.

ON THE PRAYER OF MANASSES.

"THE Prayer of Manasses, king of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon," though not unworthy of the occasion on which it is pretended to have been composed, was never recognized as canonical. It is rejected as spurious even by the church of Rome. In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19. there is mention of a prayer by the king, which is said to be written "in the Book of the kings of Israel," and also, "among the sayings of the seers." But it is evident that this composition, which abounds with deeply-pious and penitent expressions, cannot be the prayer there alluded to; for it never was extant in Hebrew, nor can it be traced to a higher source than the Vulgate Latin version. [It is found in Greek, as in the Codex Alexandrinus. A Hebrew translation was made from the Greek.] As it is mentioned by no writer more ancient than the pseudo-Clement, in the pretended apostolical constitutions, which were compiled in the fourth century, it is probable that this prayer was composed by some unknown person, who thought he could supply the loss of the original prayer.[3]

SECTION X.

ON THE BOOKS OF MACCABEES.

THE two books of Maccabees are thus denominated, because they relate the patriotic and gallant exploits of Judas Maccabæus and his

[1] Scholast. Hist. of the Can. of Script., nos. lix.—lxi. pp. 67, &c., table of matters, pp. 311, &c. See also Whitaker, Disp. of Holy Script. quest. i. chap. vii. pp. 67—70.; De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 321—325. pp. 424—429.; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Baruch, The Book of.

[2] See before, pp. 852—854. [3] See Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Manasses, Prayer of.

brethren: they are both admitted into the canon of scripture by the church of Rome.

1. The first book contains the history of the Jews, from the beginning of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Simon, a period of about thirty-four years [B.C. 175—135]. Its original language has been greatly controverted. Jerome expressly says that he had seen the original in Hebrew.[1] But this is supposed to have been lost.[2] The title which it then bore was *Sharbit Sar Bene El*, which has been variously translated, *The Scourge of the Rebels against the Lord*, and *The Sceptre of the Prince of the Sons of God*, a title which is not unsuitable to the character of Judas, who was a valiant commander of the persecuted Israelites. The author of this book is not certainly known: some conjecture that it was written by John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, who was prince and high-priest of the Jews for nearly thirty years, and who commenced his government at the time when this history ends; and many are of opinion that it was compiled by the Great Synagogue. It is, however, not improbable that it was composed in the time of John Hyrcanus, when the wars of the Maccabees were terminated, either by Hyrcanus himself, or by some persons employed by him. From the Syro-Chaldaic (or Hebrew) it was translated into Greek, and thence into Latin. Our English version is made from the Greek.[3] "The first book of Maccabees is a most valuable historical monument, written with great accuracy and fidelity, on which more reliance may be placed than on the writings of Josephus, who has borrowed his materials from it, and has frequently mistaken its meaning."[4]

[The name Maccabees is probably derived from מַקָּבִי, a hammer; that of Asmonæans is חַשְׁמַנִּים, the fat, *i. e.* nobles (Psal. lxviii. 32.); comp. حَشِيم, a great man with a retinue.

The original language of 1 Maccabees was in all probability Hebrew; and De Wette has pointed out certain expressions and mistakes in the Greek text, easy and flowing as it is, which prove in his opinion that it is but a translation. The author he believes to have been a Palestinian Jew, and places him (comp. xiii. 30., xvi. 23, 24) after the death of Hyrcanus. Josephus seems to have used the Greek version, from which were made the Syriac and the old Latin before the time of Jerome.[5]]

2. The second book of Maccabees consists of several pieces compiled by an unknown author. It commences with two epistles sent from the Jews of Jerusalem to those of Alexandria and Egypt, exhorting them to observe the feast of the dedication of the new altar, erected by Judas Maccabæus on his purifying the temple. These

[1] Hieron. Prolog. Galeat sive Præf. in Lib. Regum.

[2] Dr. Kennicott, however, in his Dissertatio Generalis, cites two manuscripts, one of which, No. 474., is preserved at Rome, Libr. Maccab. Chaldaice, written early in the thirteenth century; a second, No. 613., existing at Hamburgh, Libr. Maccab. Hebraice, written in the year 1488. Dr. Cotton's Five Books of Maccabees, pp. xxi., xxii.

[3] Prideaux, Connection, sub anno 166. vol. ii. pp. 185, 186.

[4] Michaelis, Introd. to New Test. vol. i. p. 71.

[5] De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 299—301.: comp. Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Maccabees, Books of.

epistles, which are confessedly spurious, are followed by the author's preface to his history, which is an abridgement of a larger work compiled by one Jason, a Hellenistic Jew of Cyrene; who wrote in Greek the history of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, and an account of the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes, and his son Eupator, in five books. The entire work of Jason [which was not earlier than 161 B.C.] has long since perished; and Dr. Prideaux is of opinion[1] that the author of this second book of Maccabees was a Hellenistic Jew of Alexandria, because he makes a distinction between the temple in Egypt and that at Jerusalem, calling the latter *the great temple.* This book is not equal in accuracy to the first, which it contradicts; it is not arranged in chronological order, and sometimes is at variance with the inspired writings. Comp. 2 Macc. i. 18. with Ezra iii. 2, 3.; and ii. 5—8. with Jer. iii. 16. It must, therefore, be read with great caution. It contains the history of about fifteen years, from the execution of the commission of Heliodorus, sent by Seleucus to bring away the treasures of the temple, to the victory of Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor, that is, A.M. 3828 to 3843. Two ancient translations are extant, one in Syriac, the other in Latin: both are prior to the time of Jerome, and both miserably executed. [The Arabic in the Paris Polyglott is a compilation extending beyond the point where this work stops.] The version in our bibles was executed from the Greek. [The original language was Greek, though it has been supposed that the prefixed letters, which are not genuine, were first written in Hebrew. Josephus has not used this work.[2]]

Besides the two books of Maccabees here noticed, there are three others which bear their names, but very improperly: none of them has ever been reputed canonical.

3. The third book of Maccabees contains the history of the persecution of the Jews in Egypt by Ptolemy Philopater, and their sufferings under it. From its style, it appears to have been written by some Alexandrian Jew: it abounds with absurd fables. It ought in strictness to be called the first book of Maccabees, as the events it professes to relate occurred before the achievements of that family; but as it is of less authority than the other two it is reckoned after them. It is extant in Syriac, though the translator was but imperfectly acquainted with the Greek language; and it is also found in the Alexandrian and Vatican texts of the Greek Septuagint version; but it was never inserted in the Latin Vulgate, nor in our English bibles.[3] Being reputed a canonical book by the Greek church, it is inserted in the various editions of the Septuagint: a translation of the third book of Maccabees is in Becke's edition of the English bible, printed in 1551; a second translation by Mr. Whiston was published in his "Authentic Documents," in two volumes, 8vo. 1719-27; and a third version by Crutwell was added to his edition

[1] Connection, sub anno 166. vol. ii. pp. 186, 187.
[2] See De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 302—304.; Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Maccabees, Books of.
[3] Prideaux, Connection, vol. ii. p. 111. 8th edit. *sub anno* 216.

of the authorized English version, with the notes of bishop Wilson. Dr. Cotton considers Mr. Whiston's version to be the more faithful of the three; but he has not held himself bound to retain it in his English edition of the five books of Maccabees, wherever an examination of the original suggested an alteration as advisable.[1]

4. The fourth book of Maccabees is supposed to be the same as the book "concerning the government or empire of reason," ascribed to Josephus by Philostratus, Eusebius, and Jerome. Its author is not known: it is in the Alexandrian MS. and in various editions of the LXX., in which it is placed after the three books of Maccabees, but it is not extant in any Latin bibles. It is designed to adorn and enlarge the history of old Eleazar, and of the seven brothers, who with their mother suffered martyrdom under Antiochus, as is related more succinctly in 2 Macc. vi. vii.[2] Dr. Cotton has the honour of giving the first correct English version of this book.

5. The fifth book of the Maccabees is the work of an unknown author, who lived after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus; it is supposed to have been compiled from the acts of each successive high-priest. Although Calmet believes it originally written in Hebrew, whence it was translated into Greek, it is not now extant in either of those languages. It is, however, found both in Syriac and in Arabic. Dr. Cotton has given an English translation of it from the Latin version of the Arabic text, printed in bishop Walton's Polyglott. "This book is a kind of chronicle of Jewish affairs, commencing with the attempt on the treasury of Jerusalem made by Heliodorus (with an interpolation of the history of the LXX. version, composed by desire of Ptolemy), and reaching down to the birth of Jesus Christ; or, speaking accurately, to that particular point of time, at which Herod, almost glutted with the noblest blood of the Jews, turned his murderous hands upon the members of his own family, and completed the sad tragedy of the Asmonæan princes, by the slaughter of his own wife, Mariamne, her mother, and his own two sons."[3]

[1] Cotton's Five Books of Maccabees, p. xx. [Comp. De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 305, 306.]

[2] Calmet's Preface sur le IV. Livre des Maccabees. Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 423—428., or Comm. Lit. tom. iii. pp. 1040—1042., where he has collected all the traditionary information extant concerning this book.

[3] Cotton's Five Books of Maccabees, pp. xxxii. xxxiv. xxxv.: comp. Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. art. Maccabees, Books of.

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